The Pulse

Undergraduate Journal of Baylor University

VOLUME 8 NUMBER 1 FALL 2010

SPECIAL EDITION IN HISTORY

Scientia Crescat

Honors College
Baylor University
Waco, Texas

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

On behalf of the department of History I am very grateful to the editors and staff, the sponsors, and everyone associated with *The Pulse* for producing this special edition of articles authored by students of history. The department of History has long been recognized for its outstanding teachers, including Baylor legends and Master Teachers such as Ralph Lynn, Bob Reid and Jim Vardaman. As we continue to honor and emulate that tradition of classroom excellence, it is increasingly important to engage in ever more active forms of teaching and learning, thereby serving as mentors in the area of undergraduate research. History is too often perceived as a collection of facts: what Henry Ford disparagingly referred to on various occasions as "bunk" and "one damned thing after another." Yet in a recent publication of the American Historical Association, the authors noted that "the opportunity to engage undergraduates thoughtfully with ethical and political dilemmas is available, appealing and feasible."[1] Such engagement is often best approached through structured research that incorporates the study of both primary and secondary sources and the synthesis of results into a single narrative account. Such work is going on in classes throughout the department and culminates in term papers as well as, with increasing regularity, Honors theses. In the last several years, for example, faculty members in the department of History have served as thesis directors for about ten Honors theses each year, on topics ranging from Eleanor of Aquitaine to turn of the century Waco, from Richard II to the Second Chechen War, and from Law and Democracy in the Southern Cone to Jewish Adam Literature in Rome. The four articles featured in this edition of *The Pulse* reflect some of the diverse approaches to history being explored here at Baylor.

In "Music and Society in the British Colonies of North America: From the Plymouth Colony through the American Revolution," Andrew Stiefel demonstrates how differing musical styles reflect the social hierarchies present at a particular moment in early American history. Lindsay Smith examines the Confederate response to shortages in medical supplies during the Civil War in "Acquiring a Necessity: Medicine in the Beleaguered South." Her study focuses on the development of the Confederate Medical Laboratories, but the topical nature of her research was demonstrated just in the last few weeks, when news reports described the x-ray examination of two Civil-War era dolls at Virginia Com-

monwealth University Medical Center that were likely used to smuggle quinine or morphine past Union blockades in the 1860s.[2] An examination of more recent Southern history is presented by Abby Worland in "The Mississippi Freedom Schools: Catalysts for the Development of Black Identity in the Eyes of the Students and the Teachers." This essay examines one initiative of the 1964 Freedom Summer campaign, whose goal was to instill "a sense of racial value into young blacks by equipping them with an education comparable to that of whites in an era when the white population held the power and was largely better educated." Finally, in "The Palestinian Liberation Organization in the 1960s: Causes of Terrorism and the Fatah-led 'Iron Wall of Aggression,'" Paul Baumgardner explores the historical roots of more than a half-century of political violence in the Middle East by exploring the Palestinian reply to the Israeli policy of the Iron Wall of Aggression.

I want to conclude by congratulating Andrew, Lindsay, Abby, and Paul for the inclusion of their work in this volume, by congratulating the *Pulse* team for the ongoing work in support of undergraduate research at Baylor, and by encouraging everyone who reads this issue to accept the challenge to submit their own best work for inclusion in some future volume of *The Pulse*.

J. S. Hamilton
Professor and Chair of History

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[1] *The History Major and Undergraduate Liberal Education: Report of the National History Center Working Group to the Teagle Foundation,* ed. S. Katz and J. Grossman (Washington, D.C.: 2008), p. 8.

[2] Steve Szkotak, Associated Press, October 28, 2010.

The territorial division of Palestine in 1948 accommodated the creation of Israel as a Jewish state but displaced large numbers of Palestinian Arabs. The Israeli strategy of an "Iron Wall of Aggression," first formulated by Zionist Vladimir Jabotinsky, led Israel to project a forceful military presence to gain domestic and international political leverage. A version of this same philosophy was eventually also adopted by the displaced and disenfranchised Palestinian Arabs, who, through the Palestinian Liberation Organization, used violence and terrorism to force political and diplomatic concessions from Israel and the world.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization in the 1960s: Causes of Terrorism and the Fatah-led "Iron Wall of Aggression"

Paul Baumgardner

As the nineteenth century came to a close, one European writer penned a book that drastically affected the next century. Theodor Herzl's *The Jewish State* documented and denounced a severe problem permeating his world: anti-Semitism. Herzl argued that anti-Semitism still threatened the worldwide Jewry, and that the sole remedy for this outrage was the creation of a Jewish homeland, where Jews would not have to fear persecution by or assimilation into non-Jewish culture. Fifty years later, following controversial contracts of Ottoman land redistribution, two world wars, and acts of genocide perpetrated against millions of Jews, the state of Israel was established. However, the creation of a Jewish homeland engendered another set of serious problems. Native Palestinian Arabs, ousted from their homeland by Zionist state policies and civil war, began to experience what would become a long history of disenfranchisement, resulting in widespread destitution and social tension. Initially rejected by the international community in their bid to regain former lands, the Palestinian people turned to their own military and political capabilities. By the mid-1960s, the Arab Palestinians looked to the Palestinian Liberation Organization for support and protection. In this essay, I shall outline the social and political factors that led to the

emergence and then to the wide influence of the powerful Fatah group of the PLO. These factors, complemented by the PLO's ultranationalist platform and strong reliance on terrorism, engendered a climate of mutual aggression that continues to shape the Middle East today. This mutual aggression can be traced back to an Israeli political philosophy, Jabotinsky's "Iron Wall of Aggression," which was first endorsed by early Zionists and then by the Palestinian Liberation Organization in the 1960s.

To fully understand the story of Fatah's emergence, one must first consider the story of the formation of the Israeli state. As the Zionist movement gained traction in the decades following Herzl's call to action in *The Jewish State*, the movement's greatest political intellects addressed the question of the relations between the proposed Jewish state and the Arab population of Palestine. Russian Zionist leader Vladimir Jabotinsky proposed that an "Iron Wall" be erected between the two peoples. Jabotinsky understood that the Palestinian nation could not be bought off or completely expelled. Additionally, he saw that the Arabs seemed willing to forcibly resist Jewish efforts at expansion and political aggrandizement. Jabotinsky asserted that only a wall of military force, community solidarity, and international sanction could pressure the Palestinian Arabs to moderate their territorial interests and negotiate the balance of political power in a shared state. Jabotinsky's strategy called for the aggressive assertion of Jewish interests, leading to the successful establishment of Jewish social, political, and economic power in the region. Jabotinsky believed that only vigorous military action, backed by an impassioned community and international support, could achieve the Zionist objectives, and his political philosophy became engrained in the minds of the Zionist leadership.

In 1948, after the United Nations formally partitioned Palestine to accommodate both an Arab and a Jewish state, fighting broke out between the two parties. Arabs, outraged by the loss of a considerable amount of their territory to the Jewish people, united against Israel. However, due to Jabotinsky's "Iron Wall" paradigm, Jewish leaders had been preparing for such violent resistance. The Israeli victory in the 1948 war reflected the rigorous military training and arms acquisitions conducted by the Jewish community in the 1930s and 1940s.

By the end of the 1948 war, the Jewish people possessed an even greater amount of land than the United Nations partition had promised, while the defeated Palestinians were left poor and fleeing.

After the war, oppression did not stop for the Arabs, as elected Jewish leaders enacted statutes that further weakened the once-powerful Arab population. Jabotinsky's influential political philosophy demanded that policy decisions made by the nascent Israeli state reflect an aggressive and preferential Zionist focus. The Israeli Declaration of Independence opened up land grants as an incentive for continued Jewish immigration; many of these properties had recently belonged to Palestinian Arabs. The 1950 Law of Return discarded all former immigration quotas and allowed every Jew in the world a legal right to citizenship in Israel. Jewish empowerment and discrimination against Arabs became central themes in Israel's early political vision.[1]

As the fight for Palestine continued through the 1940s, the Arab Palestinian voice in Middle Eastern decision-making became minimized, and Palestinian "appeals to Britain and the United Nations were in vain."[2] However, the international community heeded the demands of the Jewish people. Following the atrocities of the Holocaust, the world showed great compassion for the European Jewish population. For the Zionist leadership, global sympathy translated into substantial political gains: "the Zionists took advantage of the world's collective sense of guilt and the international community offered . . . unconditional support for the aims of Zionism."[3] This unconditional international support for Zionist objectives engendered worldwide inattention to the violations of human rights being perpetrated against the majority Arab Palestinian population.

In keeping with Jabotinsky's aggressive plan of regional dominance, Zionist politicians and military heads turned to the intimidation and even massacre of the Arab population in order to secure the "Jewishness" of the new Israeli state. According to Abdallah Frangi, "The Israeli army attacked countless defenseless Arab villages, blew up houses and entire villages and indiscriminately killed men, women, and children," driving survivors from the villages.[4] This sustained government-sponsored program achieved Zionist aims: by the mid-1950s, more than 80 percent of the population of Palestine was Jewish. Through the use of force and political threats, this policy successfully exiled the Palestinian people from their homeland. Yitzhak Rabin, former Chief of Staff and later Prime Minister of Israel, described this seismic demographic change: "By razing villages to the ground and driving out the inhabitants we will ensure that there are no villages left for the Arabs to return to."[5]

The Zionists' active "Iron Wall" doctrine significantly diminished

the political rights and territorial interests of the Palestinian people. But not all Palestinians remained in Palestine to suffer from Jewish-tailored public policy and imminent domain settlement claims; nearly one million Arabs were pushed into the hardships of refugee life. Although strong discontent arose within the Arab population because of biased Israeli domestic policies in the mid-twentieth century, refugee concerns provided the primary rationale for the PLO's ascendance. The landless Arabs were almost completely dependent upon the aid of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and of neighboring nations—many of whom were less than willing to help. According to Frangi, "The UNRWA provided aid, but Arab states refused to resettle the Palestinian refugees permanently. The Arab nations wanted to keep the refugee problem an open sore, as an affront against the United Nations, and as a weapon against Israel."[6] Additionally, surrounding Arab nations suffered from the aftershocks of the Six-Day War of 1967. Viewing the growing Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian militaries as regional threats, the Israeli military took the offensive on three fronts, utilizing their enhanced air force to overwhelm the surprised Arab armies. Palestinian hope for regional political support dwindled after this devastating defeat. Twenty years after being the majority population in their homeland, the Palestinian Arabs found themselves exiled, penniless, and without any international means to regain their homes. As Monte and Princess Palmer write, "The Palestinians could no longer rely on Egypt or other Arab countries to liberate their land. If Palestine were to be liberated, it would be liberated by Palestinians."[7]

The Egyptian government witnessed this great cultural dissolution and proposed the formation of an organization that forever shaped the politics of the Middle East. In 1964 Egyptian President Gamel Abdel Nasir meticulously crafted an Arab organization whose purpose, veiled behind principled calls for "self-determination" and "democratic rule," was the repossession of the Palestinian state and the expulsion of the alien Jewish population. However, the Palestinian Liberation Organization's diverse composition made the goals of land repossession and war on Israel appear impractical. Nasir's original PLO contained numerous departments, many of which were not charged with making territorial gains. Instead, much of the early PLO's work centered on Arab League relations, Palestinian economic problems, and social welfare concerns. These multiple directions led critics to view this new umbrella organization as an elaborate "show-piece designed to promote

the Palestine issue through propaganda . . . incapable of either disputing the policies of Arab states or fulfilling the Palestinians' desire to destroy Israel and throw out its Jewish population."[8]

In 1969, following five years of futile posturing against Israel, the PLO underwent a radical makeover. The leadership shifted from Nasir's original bureaucratic figureheads to a younger coterie of Fatah-branch revolutionaries, with Yasir Arafat as the charismatic leader. While many PLO leaders had been addressing economic and social concerns for the past five years, Arafat's growing Fatah branch had been mobilizing Palestinian youths, transporting them from refugee camps and training them for a violent resistance effort. After 1969, the change in leadership was felt immediately within the PLO, as noted by Barry Rubin: "While the original PLO lacked independence, strategy, and proper leadership, . . . the new Fatah leadership sought to show itself as a group of self-sacrificing heroes transforming the Arab world's daze of defeat and fatalism into a revolutionary storm."[9] This new revolutionary spirit was prepared to take on the formidable Israeli military on behalf of the impoverished, disadvantaged Palestinians.

This revolutionary force gained popular support not only because of its passionate militarism, but also because of its community aid. Influenced greatly by the Muslim Brotherhood's history of humanitarianism, the PLO began using its resources to provide social services to the Palestinian people. Like Hasan al-Bannah's Muslim Brotherhood, the PLO witnessed the Western oppression against the Arab people and responded by creating more faith-based communities where Islamic principles could be integrated with needed social services. Schools, medical clinics, and industrial development sprouted in Palestinian villages, and the Arab people placed trust in this new, prosperous liberation body.[10] By constructing a broad "social and economic infrastructure," the PLO was able to supply refugees with technical skills, commercial relations, agricultural assistance, and the means for relative economic self-sufficiency.[11] The humanitarian side of the PLO benefited the organization in many ways; by offering the Palestinian people life-affirming aid, the organization was accumulating regional and international approval, political interest, and most importantly, healthy revenue to finance its military operations.

In response to aggressive Jewish policies, the PLO responded with its own brand of a militaristic "Iron Wall." The strategy and platform of the late 1960s Fatah leadership reflected the scarred psychology and

vengeful resistance of the Palestinian people. Although the political front of the PLO would become necessary in order to present legitimate social aims, the PLO mission stressed armed struggle over political principle. Arafat declared that "We do not have any ideology—our goal is the liberation of our fatherland by any means necessary. . . . Palestine can be recovered only by blood and iron; and blood and iron have nothing to do with philosophies and theories. It is the commandos who decide the future."[12] The Arab defeat in the Six-Day War radicalized the Palestinian people and strengthened their claim for *total* liberation—anything less than full repossession of Israel would be rejected by the PLO. This territorial intransigence became a fundamental platform of the 1960s PLO. Just as Jabotinsky advocated constant armed aggression in order to secure Israeli independence, by the 1960s, the PLO advocated a similar unrelenting emphasis on armed resistance without negotiation. On one occasion, the UN helped broker a deal with Israel in which all lands lost in the 1967 war would be returned if the PLO promised to put down its weapons. The Fatah did not hesitate in its response, which Rubin articulates: "We want all the land, not just the West Bank and Gaza. . . . Withdrawal from the occupied territories of 1967 will do no more in our eyes than eliminate the latest manifestation of aggression; the question of the source of the aggression—the alien Zionist presence in our land—will remain unaffected."[13]

Beginning in the 1960s, the PLO relied heavily upon violence and terrorism to achieve its political and social objectives. During this time period, the PLO became known as the paragon of guerrilla resistance: "The PLO became the pivot of international terrorism in training, financing, and inspiration, and it involved itself in terrorism in many countries. The Palestinians have had active contacts with many other terrorist organizations—the Irish Republican Army, Baader-Meinhof, Red Army Faction, and the Japanese Red Army."[14] Religious jihadist influences mixed with Palestinian nationalism, creating a "revolutionary, violent [philosophy] which . . . led to the belief that there could be no Islamic state in Palestine until the Israelis had been defeated. That could only be achieved by force."[15]

The Fatah leadership elected to endorse forceful, terrorist tactics in their struggle against the Israeli state for many reasons. The goal of local and international recognition, coupled with the hope for political legitimacy, guided this fundamental PLO military strategy:

> PLO leaders usually thought terrorism to be an easy, appropriate, and successful strategy. Operations induced a sense of achievement among Palestinians and PLO activists, mobilized Palestinian and Arab support for the PLO, raised the Palestine issue's international priority, coerced Arab states or other Palestinians into rejecting negotiations with Israel, and made many European states eager to appease the PLO.[16]

Although several nations, including the United States and Israel, saw these militaristic actions as further justification for clamping down on the Palestinian population and its guerrilla forces, the PLO believed that other governments in the region and beyond would take a closer look at the Palestinians' plight because of the terrorist activities.

The PLO leadership believed it required the publicity and explosiveness of terrorism in order to demand political concessions from the more technologically and financially secure Israeli state. Palestinian terrorism forced the Israeli government to work more diligently in intelligence and clandestine military operations, thereby diverting attention and resources away from Israel's greatest assets: a large trained army, advanced air force capabilities, and sustained support for open warfare. In the 1960s the Fatah leadership did not desire open warfare, which would force an outnumbered Palestinian peasant militia to face a better-equipped modern military machine. By weakening the social fabric of the Israeli state, Palestinian terrorists plotted to "prevent [Jewish] immigration and encourage emigration. . . . To destroy tourism. To prevent immigrants becoming attached to the land. To weaken the Israeli economy and to create and maintain an atmosphere of strain and anxiety that will force the Zionists to realize that it is impossible for them to live in Israel."[17] Disturbance, unrest, and social dysfunction were the keys to subverting the Israeli government and citizenry. Additionally, the Palestinian terrorists attempted to use the chaos and pain arising from terrorist activities to paint a picture of social fragility in the Israeli state. Terrorism also functioned as a significant tool in projecting the PLO as the international representative and guardian of the disadvantaged Palestinian population.

Arafat's most significant addition to the platform of the PLO was his insistence upon fostering Palestinian nationalism. This patriotic identification was a new phenomenon for the Palestinian people:

> In 1917, when the British Government issued the Balfour Declaration promising Jews a national home in Palestine, there was no Palestine, either in law or in fact. Palestine was a British creation and during the Mandate the Arab people of Palestine thought of themselves as Arabs of southern Syria. . . . After the 1967 war the Arab people of Palestine began to think of themselves primarily as Palestinians rather than Arabs. The new awareness became a new nationalism.[18]

Claims of nationalism attempted to unify the politically and economically marginalized Palestinian people, leading to greater internal support for PLO military action.[19] The Palestinian identity was founded not only on a unification of geographically intimate Arab people; the new modern Palestinian identity was predicated on armed struggle and anti-Zionist fervor.[20] As Yezid Sayigh notes, "To declare Palestinian identity no longer [meant] that one [was] a 'refugee' or second-class citizen. . . . [Rather, the] declaration . . . arouse[d] pride, because the Palestinian [had] become the revolutionary who [bore] arms."[21] The dependent and discounted Palestinian population of the past two decades was reborn, discovering independence and meaning in the fight that it waged.

Behind every brutal act of Fatah terrorism lay an ideological bent for revenge and for an international redress of grievances.[22] For many Fatah fighters, every shot, every murder, every detonation represented a reciprocal action. The PLO believed that they were paying just retribution against an equally terroristic enemy. Ironically, the Arab people had become the true disciples of Vladimir Jabotinsky's Zionist political philosophy. Just as the Israeli Jews had gained international sanction thirty years before by means of the "Iron Wall," the PLO became the recognized representative for the displaced Palestinian people:

> By the end of the 1970s, the Palestinian Liberation Organization had achieved impressive diplomatic success and acceptance. The organization had been allowed to open 82 offices—which in some cases have quasi-ambassadorial status—in scores of capitals and major cities. It was also given a permanent office, with its own representative, at the United Nations.[23]

Like the early Israeli Zionists, the Palestinian cause of the 1960s and 1970s also used a strong military backdrop and publicized social

abuses to gain substantial global political legitimacy, despite its heavy reliance upon terrorist activity.

An intractable conflict came full circle in the 1960s, when the Fatah-led Palestinian Liberation Organization embraced many of the same objectives and tactics of the Israeli government. When Jews had flooded into Palestine in the early twentieth century, they outlined plans to protect against any further loss of Jewish culture. They shielded themselves from ever again having to sacrifice or compromise their own way of life. What the Israeli state never took into account—or simply refused to acknowledge—was that as the Jews fought so desperately to safeguard their own cultural identity, they were directly sacrificing the identity of the Palestinian people. Witnessing a widespread deprivation of political liberties, economic opportunities, and human rights, the Palestinian community endorsed an ideology of aggression similar to that previously adopted by the Jewish state. However, whereas the Jewish people acted to protect their newly acquired land, the Arab Palestinians struggled to regain their former territory. The presence of two peoples' ultranationalistic claims to the same land led to a clash of wills and weapons. Although this brewing conflict took decades to materialize in widespread, open violence, the late 1960s provided the setting for explosive military clash between the Palestinian and Israeli populations. Where former Palestinian leaders and neighboring Arab armies had failed, the late 1960s Fatah-led Palestinian Liberation Organization positioned itself in a war of wills, using a wall of aggressive military and community support to resist the Israeli state.

NOTES

[1] Cleveland and Bunton, *History of the Modern Middle East*, 351.
[2] Frangi, *The PLO and Palestine,* 85.
[3] Ibid., 86.
[4] Ibid., 89.
[5] Ibid., 90.
[6] Cleveland and Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 356.
[7] Palmer and Palmer, *Islamic Extremism,* 60.
[8] Rubin, *Revolution Until Victory*, 2.
[9] Ibid., 15.
[10] Cleveland and Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 361.

[11] Adams, *The Financing of Terror*, 86-87.
[12] Rubin, *Revolution Until Victory*, 19.
[13] Ibid., 15.
[14] Laffin, *The PLO Connections*, 17.
[15] Palmer and Palmer, *Islamic Extremism*, 142.
[16] Rubin, *Revolution Until Victory*, 19.
[17] Ibid., 29.
[18] Laffin, *The PLO Connections*, 128.
[19] Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State*, 36-37.
[20] Ibid., 195.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine,* 236.
[23] Laffin, *The PLO Connections*, 19.

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Many popular impressions of the Civil War recognize the Confederacy's struggle to provide adequate medical care for its soldiers and civilians. However, descriptions of Southern war-time medical practice often fail to portray the ingenuity and initiative displayed by the Confederacy in its attempt to curtail medical shortages. This paper describes the rise of the medical industry in the South during the Civil War, focusing particularly on the establishment and operations of the Confederate Medical Laboratories.

Acquiring a Necessity: Medicine in the Beleaguered South

Lindsay Smith

The majority of Americans today possess tainted and overly dramatized ideas of Civil War medicine due to popular books and movies which portray needless amputations, surgery without anesthesia, and various other gory horrors. Such images, however, only tell part of the story. The South's industry, particularly in terms of medical manufacture, was certainly inferior to the North's at the start of the Civil War, but during the course of the war the South developed its industrial capacity to a very considerable extent. The Union's blockade of Southern trade aimed at denying the Confederacy the manufactured goods necessary for a successful rebellion, but the blockade merely forced the beleaguered Confederacy to turn inward for these supplies when external options failed. This paper focuses primarily on the Confederacy's acquisition of medical supplies by illuminating the rarely discussed history of the Confederate Medical Laboratories, starting with their beginnings as an alternative to an unreliable system of illegal trade, continuing with a description of their innovations in the manufacture and development of medicines, and finishing with an examination of the success with which these laboratories operated. Although they have been excluded from mainstream history, the Confederate laboratories played an undeniable role in the Confederacy's fight for national independence.

Prior to the Civil War, the American South was an agrarian society, reliant upon the industry of the northern states and Europe for

"everything from a hair pin to a tooth pick, and a cradle to a coffin," as one Confederate wife put it.[1] At the time of secession, this reliance was a growing cause for concern among many Confederates such as Caleb Cushing who, when asked of the Confederacy's chance of victory in early 1861, replied:

> What chance can it have? The money is all in the North; the manufactories [sic] are all in the North; the ships are all in the North; the arms and arsenals are all in the North; the arsenals of Europe are within ten days of New York, and they will be open to the United States Government, and closed to the South; and the Southern ports will be blockaded. What possible chance can the South have?[2]

The United States War Department was also particularly aware of this problem. Hoping to use this weakness to its own advantage, the department created a list of contraband materials, including medicine, to withhold from the South at the onset of the war.[3] By placing medicine on the list, the Union made the treatment of both casualties and civilians more difficult as the items stored in warehouses and on physicians' shelves began to dwindle. Thus, the Union's ban decision came with serious ethical consequences. Some physicians, citing the certain increase in civilian deaths that would result from inadequate treatment, strongly objected to Union's claim that the restriction of medical resources was a justified wartime tactic. At the American Medical Association meeting in 1864, many petitioned that the restriction on importing medicine to the Confederacy be lifted because of the ethical implications. Their motion was suspended indefinitely, leaving the ban on medicine intact.[4]

Even though the United States government criminalized all attempts to smuggle drugs and equipment into the Confederacy, external trade of medical supplies continued. Shortly after the firing upon Fort Sumter, the Confederate States of America (CSA) hired Caleb Huse as their first purchasing agent and sent him to Europe. Soon after, two other purchasers, Beverly Tucker and A. T. D. Gifford, followed Huse to seek out medical supplies.[5] Records show that during the first two years of the war, Huse purchased and shipped nearly £13,432 worth of medicines, while estimations for the total amount of allocations rested somewhere around $35,980,000 in Confederate currency.[6] Huse, however, noted the difficulty of dealing with such large amounts of money

since the Confederacy "had no system of taxation by which it could hope to derive any revenue available for purchasing supplies abroad."[7] Consequently, he purchased his materials with cotton.[8]

Blockade runners were essential in delivering the recently purchased supplies safely to the Confederacy, but their job was not without risks. Research suggests that runners made nearly 1,300 attempts on the blockade, 1,000 of which were successful. However, as the war progressed the success rates for runners quickly fell from an estimated 90% in 1861 to 50% by the end of the war.[9] Yet, many were still willing to risk an attempt at blockade running because the profit they stood to make was incredible and increased yearly. Even though the purchasers emphasized the acquisition of items such as cloth, shoes, and arms, Horace Cunningham notes that nearly every blockade runner also carried some type of medicine or medical instrument.[10] Of the most common medicines found on a runner, calomel sold for between $8 and $20 per pound;[11] ether prices ranged between $7.25 and $17.50 per pound; morphine prices fluctuated between $10 and $100 an ounce; and the most precious of all medicines at the time, quinine, sold for between $17 and $100 an ounce (nearly $180 in Confederate currency).[12] The 1863 capture of the steamer *Alabama* resulted in an auction of medicinal stores at $7,754.31, over half of the $11,316.81 cargo.[13]

While medicine often came second to armaments and clothing in external trade, it was generally the most important item in internal trade. This was because there were several easy methods of smuggling medicine into the Confederacy. Drug manufacturers and speculators frequently sent large shipments into the Confederacy via the river system. One diarist makes note of this specifically:

> A large contraband drug trade was carried on by an almost continuous line of houseboats floating on the Mississippi River. Drugs were sent down the river originally from Paducah, Kentucky or Cairo, Illinois by Northern speculators or traders and were sent ashore into the confederacy at night.[14]

In addition to a formal system of trade, many individuals worked independently to obtain medicines and smuggle them across the lines, since they could easily conceal small vials and tinctures.[15] In his book *Civil War Medicine,* Keith Wilber describes the infamous dolls used to smuggle the drug ether by carrying it inconspicuously in their hollow bodies.[16] A

Mr. Berg from Alabama secured an old hospital wagon complete with hospital flag and the words "small-pox" painted across the side. He filled his wagon with morphine, quinine, ether, and whiskey and simply rode into the Confederacy. His plan would have succeeded, but Berg decided to take a sample of his whiskey somewhere outside of Memphis. This decision caused his downfall when the unmistakable smell caught the attention of four Union soldiers who were intent upon capturing the merchandise and killing Berg. However, the familiar scent also attracted a group of Confederates who drove off the enemy soldiers and took the goods for their own.[17] As Mary Elizabeth Massey points out, women were particularly adept at smuggling drugs into the Confederacy because they could secure them under a crinoline or layers of petticoats, knowing that Union soldiers hesitated to search the "fairer sex."[18] Internal smuggling of goods across enemy lines became so popular that a song emerged to the tune of "Maryland, My Maryland":

We rowed across the Potomac,
Maryland!
We put up cash and then rowed back,
Maryland!
We're loaded deep with hats and shoes
Or medicines the sick can use-
At prices that just beat the Jews!
Maryland, My Maryland![19]

However, not all attempts at smuggling medicine across the lines were successful. The owners of drug manufacturing companies such as S. Mansfield and Company found themselves jailed for sending medicine through the lines, and there is at least one story of a woman who had her contraband of drugs tied underneath her skirt until the string broke and "the walking drugstore was brought to dire combustion [sic]."[20] However, as with blockade running, Confederates dependent on internal trade were rarely guaranteed that supplies would arrive when needed. Even if contraband was smuggled into the lines, it was mostly in considerably smaller quantities than what a blockade runner could deliver.

Still, an even larger problem existed in assuring the quality of drugs. In early 1862, rumors began to spread that the Union Army allowed tainted medicine to cross the lines and be distributed throughout the Confederacy. However, this adulteration may not have resulted as

much from the malicious intent of the Union Army as from the well-meaning citizens who brought the medicine into the Confederacy themselves. As necessary as discretion was for a successful run, it often caused a mix-up between quinine sulfate, commonly used for the treatment of malaria and as a preventative for fevers, and morphine sulfate, a narcotic drug that works on the nervous system to provide pain relief. This mix-up often resulted in what one chemist called "harm in the hospitals."[21] The uncertainty of timing, quantity, and quality of medicines brought into the Confederacy pushed the South into a new era—manufacturing.

Even with the vast quantity of medicine smuggled into the Confederacy through external and internal trade, drugs and medical equipment began to grow scarce. As early as November 1861, surgeon George W. Peddy wrote to his wife, "Kittie, I wish you to send my Box of Spirits to Redwine and Henry in Newnan so they can send them to me. Tell your Pa if they and my instruments have not been shipped from Newnan, to see that it is done so soon. I need they [sic] very badly."[22] William McPheeters was one of the last doctors to desert his field hospital as the fighting came too close to stay. He took the time to note specifically in his journal that he had mounted his horse "with my amputation case under my arm."[23] Indeed, these were not just shortages felt by isolated individuals on the front lines of battle. A general mandate in October 1862 instructed generals to "authorize their medical purveyors to impress all medical supplies held by speculators, paying them the cost price for the articles."[24] Despite these efforts, though, these supplies were eventually exhausted as well. In order to combat this persistent problem, Samuel Preston Moore, the Surgeon General of the CSA, began to establish a series of medical laboratories that stretched across the southern states.

Reconstructing the exact history of the Confederate Medical Laboratories is difficult because so few of the records have survived. However, historians confirm the existence of at least nine laboratories, the first of which opened in Richmond in January 1862. The other laboratories were scattered across the Confederacy in Columbia, SC; Atlanta (later moving to Augusta) and Macon, GA; Charlotte and Lincolnton, NC; Mobile and Montgomery, AL; and Arkadelphia, AR (later moving to Tyler, TX). Evidence also suggests the existence of two medical laboratories in Little Rock, AR, and Jackson, MS. All of these facilities opened between 1862 and 1863.[25]

Many factors were considered when selecting the locations for these medical laboratories. The Confederacy built laboratories in grow-

ing towns located near important railroad junctures for ease of transportation. The Confederacy also considered the natural resources of the area for their effect on the ease and cost of constructing and running such a facility. For example, in his article "Absurd Prejudice," Guy Hasagawa describes the first building of the Lincolnton laboratory as being constructed of bricks made with clay from the sides of the riverbanks. In fact, the building sat so close to the water that many of its machines were hydro-powered. Also, the Lincolnton laboratory sat at a prime location to receive lime, an ingredient for chloroform, from two mines, one located eight miles south of the laboratory and one at Kings Mountain, 25 miles away. In addition to the manufacturing grounds, the facilities at Lincolnton rented land nearby on which to grow poppies for opium production and flax for linseed oil. Several references also point to the cultivation of different types of grain.[26]

The production of medicine often required large, industrial equipment, including items such as reverberatory furnaces, mills, kilns, leaden chambers, large distilling drums, and vacuum apparatuses.[27] While companies such as Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond or the Confederate States Naval Yard could manufacture some of these items, several pieces of equipment were salvaged from other facilities. A. Snowden Piggot, the director of the Lincolnton facility, obtained most of his notable equipment from the North Carolina Military Institute.[28] However, the Medical Department often fell into the same trap they were trying to prevent by shipping this equipment in through the blockade.[29] Unfortunately, as with the imported medicine, running the blockade in order to deliver the equipment needed for manufacture was not always successful. At least one case tells of a blockade runner successfully entering the port at Wilmington only for the city to fall to Union forces before the equipment could be unloaded and distributed.[30]

In addition to acquiring the means to distill and refine medicine, the medical laboratories needed a knowledgeable staff. Moore placed the majority of the large governmental laboratories under the direction of medical purveyors such as James T. Johnson, who directed the laboratory at Charlotte, or A. Snowden Piggot, who possessed a background in medicine, chemistry, physics, and metallurgy and directed the laboratory at Lincolnton.[31] It was the responsibility of the purveyor not only to oversee the manufacture of medicine, but also to obtain and distribute the resources coming in through the lines and ports of the Confederacy and to test the quality of all drugs before distribution.[32]

Druggists and chemists who had more specialized knowledge about the manufacture of specific medicines worked under the medical purveyors. Among these men were Joseph LeConte, a notable druggist working at the Columbia facility, and Charles Mohr at the Mobile facility. Mohr later wrote of his responsibilities:

> This urgency made us individually responsible for the maintenance of the army with hospital supplies, and the government requested me to meet the challenge by taking an active part in the direction of a laboratory for the preparation of pharmaceuticals and indigenous products. I agreed to do so . . . The task of examining the medical supplies smuggled in through the blockade from Europe, like opium, morphine, quinine, and others was also assigned to me.[33]

Often the expertise of the druggists and purveyors gave the laboratories a diverse wealth of knowledge.

The medical laboratories of the Confederacy specialized in the manufacture of two items: medicines and equipment. Though drugs were the most important of these items, not all were manufactured by the same methods. In treating his patients, a Civil War surgeon relied on two types of drugs, those derived through chemical processes and those extracted from indigenous plants. The first category included drugs such as sulfuric ether and chloroform (the standard for anesthesia at the time), ammonia, mercurial pill mass (otherwise known as blue mass, used for the treatment of dysentery), mercurial ointment, castor oil, and nitrate of silver.[34] However, even with a considerable variety of drugs derived from chemical reactions, medicines derived from a plant base often formed the most important group in a surgeon's pharmacopeia. Quinine was created from cinchona bark, digitalis came from the foxglove plant, opium was manufactured from the Asian poppy, and belladonna came from nightshade.[35] Laboratories manufactured these drugs alongside other medicines made from willow bark, sassafras, and wild cherry syrup.[36] Natural and chemical drugs, however, were not the only things manufactured in these laboratories; the factories also made glass vials, tubs, and barrels in which to transport these drugs. The laboratory at Lincolnton even manufactured items such as hoes and other building materials.[37]

In an effort to manufacture their own supplies, laboratories often focused on producing the four most vital medicines—chloroform, ether, opium, and quinine. Doctors used chloroform and ether for everything from anesthesia during surgery to symptomatic relief for tetanus.[38] Although the overall effect on the patient was similar, specific uses for these drugs emerged because of their differing properties. In addition to its quickness of effect, chloroform was preferred for use in the battlefield because of ether's combustible nature. However, since its discovery in the late 1840s, chloroform had acquired a reputation for causing anesthesia-related deaths, a reputation that ether did not carry. In fact, one record kept during the war identifies only four ether-related deaths for the Union army for the entire span of the conflict while blaming chloroform for 5.4 deaths out of every 1,000.[39] Thus, general hospitals utilized ether, or a combination of both ether and chloroform, during surgery.

Next to chloroform and ether, surgeons utilized opium in great quantities for pain relief. Opium, derived from the Asian poppy plant, led to the development of substances such as laudanum and morphine. By 1863, morphine became the chief pain-relieving drug used by surgeons. There were multiple ways to administer morphine, from a pill taken orally to the recent advancement of subcutaneous injection. One surgeon wrote of his preferred method, "The insertion of morphine into the wounds of the chest, attended by pain and dyspnoea, has been of the utmost advantage. . . Its good effects are especially remarkable in painful wounds of the joints, abdomen, and chest."[40] Pain relief on the battlefield was not the only use found for the miracle drug. Morphine also treated discomfort from surgical operations and rheumatism, as well as persistent coughing from syndromes such as asthma, bronchitis, and tuberculosis. Another popular use for the narcotic was as a treatment for dysentery, since closing of the bowels was a common side effect after prolonged use. Because of its status among surgeons as a drug that performed its task efficiently, morphine was overprescribed in many instances.[41]

Despite the usefulness of chloroform, ether, and opium, these drugs were not the most important to the nineteenth century physician. As one Confederate wrote, "next to munitions of war, few things seemed more important than quinine."[42] Quinine is manufactured from the powdered bark of the cinchona tree, a plant native to South America. The active ingredient of the bark, quinine, was first isolated in 1820;

its versatility made it perhaps the most widely used drug of the nineteenth century.[43] By the 1860s, quinine was the only known treatment for malaria and was used as a preventative treatment for fever.[44] Quinine was vitally important, particularly in the South where the heat and geography made soldiers especially susceptible to malaria. In fact, the Surgeon General of the United States instructed Union forces during the Vicksburg campaign to take daily doses of the drug because fevers were so common.

As the medical laboratories grew under the guidance of the Confederate Medical Department, they began to address the shortages of medicine and other medical supplies. Preparations were made for the manufacture of crucial drugs, particularly these four. However, since opium, quinine, and many other plant-based drugs were purified or derived from species not native to the southern states, the quest turned to finding suitable substitutes.

In 1863, S. P. Moore commissioned a book about the potential medicinal properties of plants native to the South. The author was to be botanist Francis P. Porcher. At the time of the commission, Porcher was working as a surgeon with the Holcombe Legion of South Carolina volunteers. Originally, Moore simply ordered Porcher to elaborate on an earlier pamphlet the botanist had written in 1861. This order accompanied the instruction to plant a botanical garden for further research.[45] What resulted was not simply an enlarged pamphlet, but *Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests,* a 601-page book that contained not only detailed information on the plants originally found in the pamphlet, but also information on several hundred other plants, their potential medical properties, and their refining processes. Thus, Porcher began his book:

> My attention having been occupied with the subject of the substitutes for imported Medicines, I have thought that if some hints were given the Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons in the field, with respect to the useful properties of a few articles, it would greatly lessen the use of the more expensive medicines.[46]

Porcher's book was exactly what the Confederacy needed.

Among the plants in the book are possible substitutes for several of the medicines that were becoming scarcer. For example, Porcher points out the opium poppy's ability to be cultivated in the Confederate

States by referencing how easily the white poppy grows in England. He continues by adding his personal experience of administering opium derived from a species of red poppy he found growing in a garden in South Carolina to his patients. Satisfied with the results, Porcher adds that planting the poppies in the fall produces a better crop.[47] Another herb which Portcher analyzes is *Hamamelis virginica,* otherwise known as witch-hazel. For this plant, Porcher looks back to the Native Americans who used the plant as a treatment for "painful tumors" and "as a wash in inflammatory swellings."[48] If nothing else, Porcher's inclusion of plants such as witch-hazel, of which he freely admits "No analysis has been made," points to a shift within the medical corps of the Confederacy to embrace the folk medicine of the area. While "heroic" medicine, the idea that the purgation of excess bodily fluids is necessary for healing, was still present, treating a patient with harsh drugs was not always a logical choice.[49] Thus, witch-hazel assumed a role within Confederate medicine. Dogwood also became a favorite among many surgeons, particularly for its function as a potential antimalarial agent. Porcher cites the flower as possessing "tonic and anti-intermitten [sic] properties, very nearly allied to those of chinchona [sic]," and praises it as the most important of the indigenous plants in the Confederacy.[50]

A push to collect these indigenous plants and support the manufacture of sorely needed medicines accompanied the publication of Porcher's book. Consequently, Porcher includes instructions for plant-gathering: "All leaves, flowers, and herbs should be preferably gathered in clear, dry weather, in the morning, after the dew is exhaled." The book also explains the process of drying the plants: "[Plants] collected in the warm months and during dry weather may, except in a few instances, be dried by their spontaneous evaporation in a well ventilated apartment," while "in spring and autumn, and in damp, foggy, or rainy weather a drying house should be resorted to; the temperature to range from 70° to 100° F."[51] These instructions are expected, since the audience to whom Porcher writes includes fellow surgeons, many of whom he anticipated to take his suggestions to heart and begin rummaging through the southern forests in search of dogwood and witch-hazel.

The task of collecting medicinal herbs was not performed solely by the Confederate Medical Corps; civilians also participated in the effort. Bartholomew Egan, director of a state-run laboratory in Louisiana, received instructions to "immediately advertise for indigenous barks, roots, [and] herbs."[52] Suddenly the individuals who risked life and limb

to smuggle medicine across the lines from the North had the opportunity to turn botanical collection into a livelihood. Dr. Prioleau, purveyor of the Macon laboratory and depot, advertised in 1862 the potential purchase of medicines from civilian foragers. He received a reply back in late August:

> Have seen your advertisement for dogwood bark and bark of Pinckneya Pubens. I have thought proper to inquire how much of the dogwood you will take from me. I could furnish you with the dogwood bark in a green state now and let you dry it, or I will procure it and dry it provided I know how much you would agree to take from me.[53]

The Macon Depot at the time was buying dogwood bark for ten cents a pound.[54] Southern women were encouraged to incorporate poppies, castor beans, and corn into their gardens and deliver the goods to the nearest depot for manufacturing.[55] With the Confederate Medical Department unified in its encouragement of plant collection, both inside and outside of the army, one might wonder how effective these efforts were. Historians can form some ideas from the records of a shipment of raw materials sent from Macon to Richmond in April 1864. The total amount was for some 9,028.5 pounds of raw material, including 900 pounds of Georgia bark (*Pinckneya pubens*), 840 pounds of willow bark, 3 pounds of hops, and 168 pounds of dogwood—substantial amounts for a single shipment.[56]

While the importance of the decision to turn to substitutes for standard treatment should not be overlooked, historians must not neglect another question—were these substitutes as reliable as their trusted counterparts? Opinions on the matter differ. Egan pronounced the white poppies cultivated in his area to be just as reliable as the imports, while other surgeons lacked faith in the indigenous species.[57] "We have but little more than indigenous barks and roots with which to treat the numerous forms of disease," one soldier complained, implying distrust in the success of these indigenous materials.[58] B. W. Allen, a surgeon working out of Charlottesville, Virginia, carried on with his medical rounds as if there were no substitutes available, ignoring the indigenous substitutes, treating his patients with the usual quantities of potassium iodide and iron sulfate, and waiting for a new shipment of quinine to become available to the hospital. However, records also exist of surgeons

regularly foraging in the forest and substituting snakeroot for calomel, using peach tree leaves to make a tea to treat constipation, and prescribing bloodroot for pneumonia.[59] In reality, judging the success of the manufacturing of both indigenous and chemical medicines based on quality is nearly impossible since such a judgment depends on individual surgeons and their preferences. While some substitutes such as the indigenous white poppy and the locally manufactured chloroform were considered as effective as the drugs unloaded from the blockade runners, others, such as the substitution of dogwood for quinine, became a point of disagreement, as it was regarded as largely ineffective by some surgeons and beneficial by others.[60] Part of the apparent subjectivity among surgeons may have risen from a growing dispute in the decades leading up to the war.

By the 1860s, the medical community had divided into separate factions that further complicated any qualitative judgment. The primary faction, commonly known as the allopathic practitioners, consisted of surgeons such as Samuel Moore and the majority of the medical purveyors for the Confederacy. They were part of the heroic medicine movement that emerged from Benjamin Rush's practices at the turn of the nineteenth century. Heroic medicine, the use of harsh treatments in order to gain drastic results in patients, defined the popular conception of medicine in the nineteenth century. Its treatments included bloodletting, purging, blistering, and the administration of harsh medicines, many of which were the same medicines that purveyors were attempting to manufacture within the Confederacy at the time of the war. On the other side of the argument stood homeopaths, who considered the ways of heroic medicine too harsh and thus sought ways to treat illness with more natural, flora-based medicines, like the barks and roots that they hoped would be deemed suitable substitutes.[61] Because allopathic medicine was considered the orthodox school of thought, many members of the community looked down upon the homeopathic substitutes. At the end of the war, Moore explained his decision to turn to natural remedies for the treatment of disease by saying, "it had been my impression for a long time that many of the southern medicinal plants possessed valuable properties, and that their usefulness would soon be discovered in many diseases if administered with care and attention."[62] Essentially, he avoids aligning himself with the homeopathic school of thought while explaining his actions. Many surgeons, however, associated the foraging

of fields and forests with the homeopathic school of thought, causing them to doubt the quality of the substitute drugs.

If the success of the medical laboratories cannot be measured by quality of substitutions, another criterion must be used—quantity. Did the medical laboratories produce enough medicine to eradicate or at least significantly diminish the shortage felt around the Confederacy? As with the quality of the medicines produced, no absolute answer exists regarding how successful the laboratories were at aiding the war effort. Although the exact quantities produced cannot be determined for each laboratory, estimates are available. Records show that the laboratory at Columbia produced 2,005 pounds of blue mass in a single quarter; Hasegawa notes that this was a year's supply given the standard usage of blue mass.[63] However, a survey of the medicines left at the Richmond depot at the end of the war shows dwindled supplies, such as two and a half pounds of ether sulfate and five pounds of camphor.[64] This discrepancy appears not to have resulted from the quantity of drugs manufactured, but from the breakdown of the Confederate transportation system. Wagon systems collapsed, railroads were destroyed, and commercial waterways were lost. It became increasingly difficult to transport medicine from one place to the other, and when shipping was attempted, it was often accompanied by a complaint of lost supplies. The lack of transportation also resulted in a stunted redistribution of medical supplies, so some areas possessed an overabundance when others were drastically lacking.[65] Porcher even noted that some purveyors "Cling to their stores as if they were a part of themselves, carefully preserve them at points remote from battlefield or beleaguered cities, and will rather see them burned than used."[66] Thus, the inability to adequately distribute medical supplies seems to have been the primary cause of many medicinal shortages, rather than an overall lack of supplies.

Perhaps the most important things to emerge from the war were a new kind of surgeon and a new generation of medicine. After the war, Hunter Holmes McGuire wrote of the Confederate surgeon:

> Before the war ended some of the best military surgeons in the world were to be found in the confederate Army. His scant supply of medicines and hospital stores made him fertile in expedients of every kind. He searched the field and forest for plants of medicinal value. The pliant bark of a tree made him a

> tourniquet; the juice of a green persimmon, a styptic; a knitting needle, with point bent, a tenaculum. Breaking off one prong of a table fork and bending the other prong, he would elevate the bone in a depressed fracture of the skull and save his life.[67]

Though many of the practices put into place during the conflict quietly faded from orthodox medicine, there is no doubt that the obstacles overcome by Confederate surgeons—the blockade, the widespread shortages of standard drugs, the uncertainty of when the next freight would arrive and how much it would contain—were potentially devastating if left unaddressed. In an agrarian society that had little to no industrial infrastructure prior to the war, medicines were gathered and refined, instruments and supplies were manufactured, and new knowledge was tested, prompting the circulation of publications such as the *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal*, the only periodical started in the Confederacy during the war.[68] Although Southern industry was significantly inferior to the North on the eve of Fort Sumter, the South that emerged from the war showed no signs of being anything less than a paradigm of American ingenuity and industry.

NOTES

[1] Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, 4.
[2] Huse, *The Supplies for the Confederate Army*, 14-15.
[3] Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, 115.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 135.
[6] Ibid.; Franke, "Medico-Pharmaceutical Conditions," 45.
[7] Huse, *The Supplies for the Confederate Army*, 22.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Flannery, *Civil War Pharmacy*, 197.
[10] Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 135.
[11] All figures in U. S. dollars unless otherwise noted.
[12] Flannery, *Civil War Pharmacy*, 197.
[13] Ibid., 200.
[14] Ibid., 116-117.
[15] Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, 14.

[16] Wilbur, *Civil War Medicine*, 44.
[17] Flannery, *Civil War Pharmacy*, 195.
[18] Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 138.
[19] Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, 15.
[20] Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 137; Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, 117.
[21] Hasegawa and Hambrecht, "The Confederate Medical Laboratories," 1223-1224.
[22] Peddy, *Saddle Bag and Spinning Wheel*, 17.
[23] McPheeters, *I Acted from Principle*, 139.
[24] Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 158.
[25] Hasegawa and Hambrecht, "The Confederate Medical Laboratories," 1221.
[26] Hasegawa, "'Absurd Prejudice,'" 324.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Herr, "Southern Resources," 116; Hasegawa, "Absurd Prejudice," 325.
[29] Herr, "Southern Resources," 116.
[30] Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, 119.
[31] Ibid., 316; Hasegawa, "Absurd Prejudice," 326.
[32] Hasegawa, "Absurd Prejudice," 326.
[33] Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 147.
[34] Hasegawa and Hambrecht, "The Confederate Medical Laboratories," 1225-1226.
[35] Alfred Jay Bollet, *Civil War Medicine: Challenges and Triumphs*, (Tuscon, AZ: Galen Press, 2002), 246.
[36] Hasegawa and Hambrecht, "The Confederate Medical Laboratories," 1225.
[37] Hasegawa, "Absurd Prejudice," 327.
[38] Bollet, *Civil War Medicine*, 78.
[39] Wilbur, *Civil War Medicine*, 44.
[40] Bollet, *Civil War Medicine*, 239-240.
[41] Ibid., 240-241.
[42] Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, 120.
[43] Bollet, *Civil War Medicine*, 236-237.
[44] Dr. McPheeter made several succinct entries in his journal of his personal use of quinine, including: "spent the day quietly feeling somewhat under the weather—took quinine."
[45] Herr, "Southern Resources," 110-111.
[46] Porcher, *Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests*, 8.

[47] Ibid., 26.
[48] Ibid., 58.
[49] Rutkow, *Bleeding Blue and Gray*, 45.
[50] Porcher, *Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests*, 59.
[51] Ibid., 6-7.
[52] Franke, "Medico-Pharmaceutical Conditions," 58.
[53] Ibid., 78.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Herr, "Southern Resources," 114.
[56] Franke, "Medico-Pharmaceutical Conditions," 83-84.
[57] Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 150.
[58] Herr, "Southern Resources," 118.
[59] Flannery, *Civil War Pharmacy*, 217.
[60] Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 150.
[61] Rutkow, *Bleeding Blue and Gray*, 59.
[62] Herr, "Southern Resources," 108.
[63] Hasegawa and Hambrecht, "The Confederate Medical Laboratories," 1228.
[64] Flannery, *Civil War Pharmacy*, 221.
[65] Ibid., 223.
[66] Quoted in Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 162.
[67] Scaife, *Confederate Surgeon,* 5.
[68] Rutkow, *Bleeding Blue and Gray*, xiv.

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The social hierarchy present among the cultural groups in the British North American colonies is reflected in the differing musical styles of the respective groups. Each musical style portrays the values and structure of the group that created it as well as the group's place in society. Native American music relied heavily on oral tradition and supported religious practices; however, little is known about it. Puritan psalmody relied exclusively on the group's religious beliefs, and its simple style supported their austere worship practices. The ballad, another European genre, represented a more secular dimension of the musical movement and was used to spread political propaganda and other information about popular culture. African American music focused on community and provided the slaves with an emotional and creative outlet.

Music and Society in the British Colonies of North America: From the Plymouth Colony through the American Revolution

Andrew Stiefel

Music in eighteenth-century colonial America was anything but unified. Once in America, European colonists sought to establish societies similar to those that they had left behind. They had little interest in incorporating other cultures into their own and thus freely discriminated against people of different heritages. This practice led to the development of a highly stratified society with a similarly stratified musical culture; imported African slaves and Native American tribes were at the bottom, the newly arrived European classes were on top. The British Colonies along the Atlantic seaboard and their musical societies are the focus of this discussion. Rather than a comprehensive view of all musical activities in the colonies, I will offer representative examples from colonial musical history in the order of the groups' arrival on the eastern seaboard, beginning with the native inhabitants. I will then examine the Puritan tradition of psalmody, the secular ballad tradition, and the music of Africans brought to the colonies as slaves.

Native American Music

Native Americans of colonial America left little recorded material about their own musical tradition, so evidence for it must be pieced together from European accounts during the period. Since the history of the Native Americans' music comes from the people seeking to displace and exploit them, the information that does survive must be understood in light of European perceptions. European views were shaped by political struggles for land and by the economic practices of imperial expansion. The European view of Native Americans left little room for curiosity about how the native people actually lived. The Europeans viewed the native inhabitants as an inferior group that either needed to be changed through education and conversion or eradicated.[1] Besides economic exploitation, European settlers also brought new diseases—it is estimated that native populations were reduced by as much as eighty percent with whole tribal groups disappearing along with their culture and music.[2] What then, do we know about the music already existing along the North American seaboard?

The musical practices of Native Americans reveal much about their personality as a people and the characteristics of the music itself. Music was passed on orally, which makes assigning origins to the music impossible. According to the Native Americans' view, the origin was simple: music was a supernatural gift, and newer songs were based on the original gifts.[3] Their belief in the supernatural also gave Native American music a strong sacred context. Through music they related to their past as a people and to the fabric of the world around them.[4] There was no division between sacred and secular music as exists today in Western music. In this context, "music is primarily part of a larger setting . . . ritual, dance, story narrative, warfare, hunting or other aspects of life."[5] Native Americans perceived music as having inherent power to communicate with the seen and unseen world around them and to bind and create active ties within the tribal group. The communal nature of the music was stressed rather than the aesthetic element.[6] The focus on music's communal nature profoundly influenced the sound and structure of the music the native tribes produced.

The earliest recorded observation of native music-making comes from the 1530s, but it was not until 1670 that the Jesuit priest Claude Dablon transcribed music of the Illinois tribe. His transcription is accompanied by a detailed account of the music and dance involved

in the ceremony honoring a calumet, or peace pipe. Richard Crawford describes the melody in this way:

> The three sections are themselves parallel in certain ways. All begin high and move downward; all seem to take aim on one pitch, which then, through repetition, becomes a tonic resting place for that section; and all, by mixing with three-beat groupings an occasional two beat pair, achieve a gentle, prose-like rhythm.[7]

Crawford points out that repetition and rhythm are two key elements in the example from Dablon.[8] Other accounts during the period note the use of repetition. William Beresford, a cargo officer aboard the *Queen Charlotte* during the 1780s, described a trade song he encountered. He describes a song consisting of several repeated stanzas with a chorus that lasted "near half an hour without intermission."[9] Later research confirms the practice of "monotonous repetition in strongly-marked rhythm of one syllable or of a single word, a feature of the most primitive singing throughout the whole of North America" as a "very characteristic feature" of native music making.[10] This use of repetition allowed Native Americans to develop lengthy music as described by Beresford.

The last observation comes from Theodore Baker, a German ethnomusicologist studying Native American music in the late 1800s. Although his study and published research, *On the Music of the North American Indians*, comes later than the period under discussion, his observations corroborate those presented by eyewitness accounts during the colonization period. The strong oral traditions of the Native American cultures he studied helped preserve many of the older practices that presumably existed one hundred years before. Baker describes Native American music in his section on tonality in this way:

> On the whole, the great majority of Indian songs are alike in character; polyphonic songs are rarely found, and, to judge from the few descriptions of such cases, the harmonic structure of such songs is changed on repetition at the singer's discretion, in such a way that the accompanying voices, while harmonizing more or less well, show no strong feeling for harmony.[11]

Interestingly, some of the first music brought to the shores of North America, in the lands claimed for the English crown, shares the monophonic style of singing as well.

Puritan Psalmody

In 1620, a group of separatist Puritan colonists arrived from England and brought a style of monophonic singing known as psalmody.[11] Puritanism had developed in England as a revolt against the "corruptions" still remaining in the Anglican Church from Roman Catholicism, namely hierarchical offices, ecclesiastical courts, and elaborate ceremonies and vestments. The congregations coming to North America were separatist groups within the Puritan movement who sought to establish their ideal communities outside the reach of the Anglican Church.[12]

The earliest Puritan music comes from a psalm book written by Henry Ainsworth, entitled *The Book of Psalmes: Englished both in Prose and Meter* (published in Amsterdam, 1612), which contained thirty-nine different tunes for one voice part. Ainsworth translated the biblical psalm texts (one hundred fifty in all) into standard meters that allowed the texts to be mixed and matched with the provided tunes.[13] The disparity between the number of tunes and the number of texts would remain a hallmark of Puritan psalmody in the colonies—by limiting the amount of music (which in many cases was not included at all) the psalters could be printed in a pocket-sized form.[14] In fact, most psalm books in the English American tradition had no music at all; it is estimated that eighty percent of surviving editions up to 1800 were published in this manner.[15]

The tunes themselves were usually sung without accompaniment and without harmony in the services of the Puritan church. The Ainsworth tunes as a group were known for the rhythmic complexity of their melodies, but were also characterized by a "certain grace" due to their "symmetrical and echoing lines, each with a definite unity."[16] This complexity arises from their origins: most tunes in the Ainsworth were French and Dutch folk songs. The unusual, ten-syllable lines of the original tunes in the Ainsworth proved awkward for English translation,[17] which likely gave rise to the later decision to abandon the book.[18]

In 1628, another group of Puritans arrived in Salem and established what came to be known as the Bay Colony. They brought with them another form of psalter, the Sternhold and Hopkins. Both

Puritan groups grew dissatisfied with the current versions of their psalters. The Ainsworth had been falling out of favor partly due to the difficulty of the music; however, both groups were ultimately most dissatisfied with what they viewed as faulty translations of the texts. This dissatisfaction led to the creation of what is now known as the *Bay Psalm Book*, originally titled *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre*. Put together by a group of clergymen, it was the first book to be published in the English colonies.[19] The tunes and translations were almost entirely in common meter, making them easier for congregations inexperienced in the practice of singing.[20]

One tune was found in all three psalter versions, and deserves some attention as an example of Puritan psalmody. The most famous of the Puritan tunes, "Old Hundred," was first published in Geneva in 1561. Still in popular use, it is typical of New England psalmody (see Figure 1).

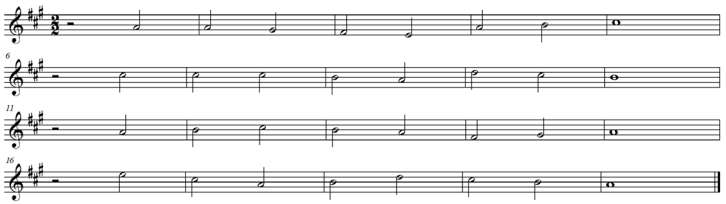


Figure 1 "Old Hundred" (tune only).[21]

"Old Hundred" is "neatly balanced between conjunct (stepwise) and disjunct motion (skipping to a note other than adjacent ones), and between melodic rise and fall."[22] The phrases each provide slightly different high points and overall contours for interest, but the steady, syllabic nature of the music lends it well to text setting. These characteristics of "Old Hundred" and other tunes like it made the tunes "such that the congregation as a whole could sing [them], the uncultured as well as the educated and well-to-do, so that each might render his or her own praise."[23]

The Puritan style of psalmody strongly reflects the religious views of their culture and the purpose of music in the worship service. The service was primarily a teaching occasion centered on the sermon; any activity that could not be justified from Scripture was "shunned as a theatrical distraction."[24] This is not to say that the Puritans hated music or did not use it outside the service; to them, "music as an art

was cherished . . . but its abuse was not tolerated, and it was regarded as having its highest use as an aid to worship."[25] The limiting of music to one part, the simple, syllabic nature of their melodies, and the almost exclusive use of the psalms all sought to direct the worshipper's focus to God and the Bible. There was not room, at least in the worship service, for the distraction of unnecessary harmony and other musical complexities.

European Ballads

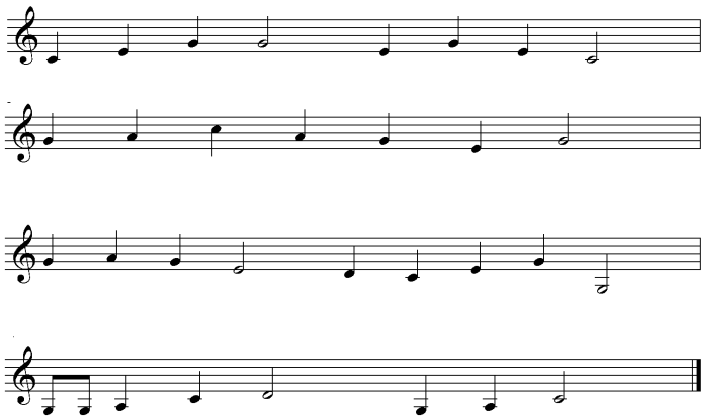
Psalmody was by no means the only music brought by the Puritans upon their arrival in North America. They also brought a rich tradition of Elizabethan ballad singing. As influential as psalmody was in the colonial period in North America, it was limited mostly to the New England colonies. Ballad singing, in contrast, was practiced throughout the British North American colonies by a wide variety of religious groups and social classes. The exact origin of these ballads is unknown, as they likely "circulated for centuries among common people, including the illiterate."[26] They served as a rich part of the American folk music tradition, surviving in communities located in the southern Appalachians until well into the twentieth century.[27] The ballads were deeply rooted in narrative tradition, and the songs all related stories in poetic fashion. The stories were often "tragic, violent, or brutal" and told of "warfare and murder, thwarted love, seduction, and betrayal."[28] Often, the story within the text would stay consistent throughout different regions, even though, as in the song "Barbara Allen," a variety of melodies would be used with the text (see Figure 2).[29]

The ballads themselves were usually performed as unaccompanied solos with liberty taken in rhythm and ornamentation. Sung in strophic form, each stanza of text was matched to the metrical rhythm of the ballad, much like the metrical psalms of the Puritans. Common meter (8.8.8.8) was the most frequently used, to the point of often being referred to as "Ballad Meter."[30] John Ogasapian describes the metrical characteristics of ballads this way:

> Each stanza in common meter contains four lines, the first and third having eight syllables, four of them accented; and the second and fourth lines having six syllables, three of them

> accented. Unlike the strict schemes of the metrical psalms, ballad text often allowed for flexibility within a meter. An extra unaccented syllable might appear in a ballad text, subdividing a pulse.[31]

The use of song was not limited to telling stories; the ballad was also a popular means of communicating current events in the early colonies. Poetic verses related to current events or politics would be printed on large sheets called "broadsides" and then distributed or sold to the public.[33] Most often, the tune would not be notated, but the broadside would contain the instruction: "to be sung to the tune of . . ." The suggested tune was most often a tune of wide popularity like "Barbara Allen." These "new" ballads are referred to as "broadside ballads," in reference to their printing technique. The broadside ballads



So early in the month of May,
The green buds they were swelling,
A Young man on his death bed lay,
For the love of Barbra Allen.

He called his servant to his bed,
And lowly he said to him;
"Go bring the one that I love best,
And that is Barbara Allen."

Figure 2 Example of one tune for "Barbara Allen," with the first two stanzas of text.[32]

would often parody either the tune they were replacing or a well-known poem. They were produced quickly to comment on religious issues, political issues, or other matters of popular interest. John Ogaspian describes them as "the mass media of their time."[34] A broadside ballad only lasted as long as public interest held in the issue, or until another ballad on the topic was printed.

A popular example of a broadside ballad that is still sung today is the song "America," also known as "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." The original tune comes from the British national anthem "God Save the King."[35] The ballad actually underwent several rewritings during the American Revolution, starting with "God Save the Thirteen States," to "God Save Great Washington," to finally "America," which was written by Samuel F. Smith in 1784 (see Figure 3).

"God Save the King" (Original Text)

God save our gracious king, Long live our noble king,
God save our king. Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious, Long to reign over us,
God save the king.

"God Save the Thirteen States"

God save the thirteen states, Long rule the United States,
God save our states; Make us victorious,
Happy, and glorious, No tyrants over us,
God save our States.

"America"

My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrim's pride, From ev'ry mountain side
Let freedom ring!

Figure 3 A comparison of three broadside ballads (text only) to the tune "God Save the King."

The ballad tradition in the North American colonies under British rule strongly reflects the society forming in the colonies. Both the traditional ballads and the broadside ballads were enjoyed by all class levels, from the indentured servants and poor farmers through the transplanted aristocracy in the southern colonies.[36] Even though strong class divisions still existed, the European colonial music system was fairly democratic. The widespread use of broadside ballads to communicate events and ideas during the period as a sort of "news" or propaganda also illustrates the highly active political culture in the colonies. The ballads illustrate this tradition of political thought and dissent. Despite revolution in the colonies for "freedom from tyranny," one major social group never saw the benefits of the revolution: the imported African slave.

African American Music

The arrival of African slaves in the colonies is crucial to understanding social development in the colonies. The first documented arrival of African slaves in America comes from Captain John Smith in his *Generall Historie of Virginia* of 1619, just one year before the establishment of the Puritan colony in Massachusetts: "About the last of August came a Dutch man-of-warre that sold us twenty Negars [sic]."[37] African slavery was an integral part of colonial society from the very start of English colonization in America. The captive African slaves came from the West Coast of Africa, bringing with them a rich tradition of music making and music practices.[38] A striking feature of the African musical tradition is the importance of music, almost always combined with dance, which was used in "almost every activity in the life of the individual or the community."[39] Music-making was part of ceremonies of state, war, hunting, and religion, but also of births, the first tooth, puberty, betrothal, and other personal events of an individual's life. Music was used not only to mark important events, but also for recreational purposes within the community.[40]

The importance of community music-making remained even after families and ethnic groups were separated by the auction system in the colonies. One aspect of communal singing and dancing in the African tradition was the creation of a "cultural space" in which all individuals in the community could air the grievances they carried against their superiors or inferiors without retaliation.[41] Once in North America,

they continued this tradition, in which they "generally relate the usage they have received from their Masters or Mistresses in a very satirical stile [*sic*] and manner."[42] Community music-making also provided a distraction from the hardships of slavery. Popular holidays for music in the American slave communities included the standard European holidays of New Year's, Easter, Pentecost, Election Day, Militia or Muster Day, and Christmas. In the southern colonies, Christmas and Easter normally afforded the slaves the longest breaks from their work and were celebrated with special jubilees. They were celebrated with "merrymaking and dancing to the music of the fiddle or banjo—most often the fiddle."[43] These celebrations could last days, with dancing continuing through the night even until the point when the slaves had to return to work.[44] The traditions the slaves brought from Africa were combined with the new tools available to them for creating music in North America. In Africa, they used a wide assortment of rattles, clappers, rhythm sticks, drums, bells, xylophones, pipes, and flutes as well as stringed instruments.[45] Once in the Americas, they adopted instruments such as the fiddle to supplement their music making.

One major difference between the psalmody of the Europeans and African music was the strict time kept in the African music. The basic pulse had to be maintained in order for the complex rhythms typical of African music to be performed over top of it.[46] The steady rhythm was also key to supporting the dances that invariably accompanied singing. It was also likely key to aiding another aspect of the African musical tradition: improvisation of both text and music.

> Melodic improvisation was as characteristic a feature of the music as was singing "extempore," that is, text improvisation. The first affected the second to some extent: when a singer invented his song on the spot, he naturally changed the repetitions in his melody to fit the ever changing text. But instrumental music also was affected by improvisation. Bowdich observes that the embellishing figures of melodies fell into two classes: those improvised on the spot and those belonging to a traditional repertory.[47]

Improvisation played an important role in venting community frustrations, and was an art practiced in all music-making of the African tradition. Improvisation was aided by a technique known as "call and

response" in which one member of the group sang stanzas that were answered by a repeating chorus sung by the other members of the group. Found in almost all songs, this practice was a fundamental trait of West African singing.[48]

While great differences existed in how music was practiced and viewed by different classes of society, some cultural intermingling did occur within the colonies. There is little evidence of the mixing of Native American music with other cultures; however, one important intermingling should be noted: that of African music with European music. Few written records regarding the music of African slaves in the North American colonies exist; however, newspaper listings of the time reveal that in some cases they were proficient at European instruments:

> RUN AWAY: Negro man named Robert . . . speaks good English, is a fiddler and took his fiddle with him.[49]

Or:

> TO BE SOLD: A young healthy Negro fellow who has been used to wait on a Gentlemen and plays extremely well on the French Horn.[50]

It is likely that slaves were taught to perform on instruments in accordance with their masters' will so they could provide music and entertainment for dances. Currently there is meager evidence on how slaves managed to acquire their musical skills. Some evidence shows that masters bought instruments for their slaves, although the slaves fashioned many of their own as well. Employing itinerant music masters to teach children was a common practice in the South and could have been a means for slaves to gain musical expertise.[51]

In any case, the rise of black dance musicians in both the North and South is well documented. These musicians, most often fiddlers, are known to have been in the colonies as early as 1690.[52] They were employed in meeting house dances, plantation dances, and in a variety of other places as well. These dance musicians likely created their own music in addition to performing tunes from Europe that were popular in the colonies. Nicholas Cresswell, an Englishman traveling in Maryland, recorded a dance during which "a couple [got] up and [began] to cut a jig (to some Negro tune)."[53]As far as is known, no transcriptions

of these early tunes were made. The rise and teaching of black dance musicians also illustrates the function of music in the highly stratified society of the colonies: the black dance musicians fulfilled a purpose and role for their owners much the way compact discs or mp3s do today. They were essentially an object of entertainment. A slave who could play an instrument was more valuable than one who could not. It would not be until much later in the history of the United States that black and white musicians would meet as relative equals in the production and enjoyment of music.

Conclusion

Music throughout the colonies, from the settlement of Plymouth to the American Revolution, reflected the class divisions of the time. The music of those on the edge of society, Native Americans and Africans, was to a large extent marginalized by the dominant European society. Little evidence of their music exists when compared to the volume of information recorded about European music practice in the colonies. The music used by each group reflected their aesthetic and spiritual values as well as the function music played in their respective cultures. The spare, repetitive sounds of Native American music reflected the religious and functional role it played in their culture. The different European styles discussed here, psalmody and the ballad tradition, reflected the religious and political values of the period. Communal music-making reached its highest development in the music of slaves. Despite the rich traditions coexisting together during the period, it would take many more years before any true synthesis of the styles would occur. African music would later show a strong influence in the music of the new republic, the United States of America. Much Native American music has been lost. Some is still preserved on tribal reservations throughout the United States; however, whether it can survive in an increasingly modern nation and world remains in doubt. The cultural history of the United States has always been one of disparate cultural forces coming together in the "New World." The music of the colonial period certainly illustrates this trend. The wide variety of musical traditions arriving or already existing in North America made for a society that, while perhaps lacking a unified voiced, encompassed a variety of styles and traditions.

NOTES

[1] Crawford, *America's Musical Life,* 4-7.
[2] Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, 105-106.
[3] Baker, *On the Music of the North American Indians*, 66.
[4] Crawford, *America's Musical Life,* 4.
[5] Herndon, *Native American Music*, 11.
[6] Ibid., 11-19.
[7] Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 10-11.
[8] Ibid., 11.
[9] Quoted in Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 12-13.
[10] Baker, *On the Music of the North American Indians*, 66.
[11] Ibid., 74.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Chase, *America's Music,* 16-19.
[14] Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 22.
[15] Temperley et al., "Psalmody," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 516.
[16] Pratt, *The Music of the Pilgrims*, quoted in Chase, *America's Music*, 17.
[17] Macdougall, *Early New England Psalmody*, 15-16.
[18] Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America*, quoted in Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 23.
[19] Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 23.
[20] Macdougall, *Early New England Psalmody,* 16.
[21] Crawford, ed., *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody,* 11.
[22] Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 23.
[23] Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, 36.
[24] Ibid., 35.
[25] Chase, *America's Music,* 6.
[26] Crawford, *America's Musical Life,* 57.
[27] Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, 95-96.
[28] Ibid., 97.
[29] Focucci, *A Folk Song History of America*, 35-36.
[30] Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, 96-97.
[31] Ibid., 97.
[32] Focucci, *A Folk Song History of America*, 36.
[33] Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 62-63.
[34] Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, 99-100.
[35] Focucci, *A Folk Song History of America*, 40-41.

[36] Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, 94.
[37] Quoted in Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 3.
[38] Davidson et al., *Nation of Nations*, 59.
[39] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 6-7.
[40] Ibid., 8-9.
[41] Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 104-105.
[42] Cresswell, *Journal of Nicholas Cresswell*, as quoted in Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 104-105.
[43] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 42-44.
[44] Epstein, "African Music in British and French America," 65.
[45] Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, 111-114.
[46] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 15.
[47] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 16. Southern is citing Bowditch, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashanti.*
[48] Chase, *America's Music,* 71.
[49] Advertisement, *New York Packet and American Advertiser*, September 2, 1779 as quoted in Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 28.
[50] Advertisement, *Virginia Gazette*, March, 1766 as quoted in Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 27.
[51] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 50-52.
[52] Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 106-107.
[53] Cresswell, *Journal of Nicholas Cresswell*, quoted in Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 45-46.

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The Mississippi Delta, an agricultural region traditionally plagued by economic hardship and racial tension, was the chosen site for the 1964 Freedom Schools. This project brought white northern volunteer teachers to the Delta in an attempt to improve the quality of education for black students and to instill in them a greater sense of racial pride. While these efforts for their students succeeded on a small scale, the teachers also left the fields of Mississippi changed. In their experience, the nationwide civil rights movement ceased to be merely an idealistic struggle they endorsed and became instead a deeply personal endeavor.

The Mississippi Freedom Schools: Catalysts for the Development of Black Identity in the Eyes of the Students and the Teachers

Abby Worland

During the 1940s, A. Philip Randolph began to crusade for a cause that he saw as vital to the black struggle for freedom and equality. Named the March on Washington Movement (MOWM), it aimed to pressure President Franklin Roosevelt into an increased awareness of the struggle for civil rights and to provide leverage for lobbyists. Timothy Tyson articulates the dual components for the success of such a program and for the entirety of the civil rights movement: "Winning black freedom required not only that black people overcome white resistance but also that they affirm a black sense of self."[1] From these roots the modern civil rights movement of the 1960s was born. The movement evolved from the nonviolent direct-action approach of Martin Luther King Jr. in its earliest stages to the Black Power movement at the end of the decade. The former stage focused on legal action against segregation, an attempt to "overcome white resistance," and the latter stage focused on black nationalism in an attempt to "affirm a black sense of self."

Mississippi's Freedom Summer program of 1964 bridged the gap between these two approaches. Centered in the rural region of the Mississippi Delta, the multi-faceted Freedom Summer program not only sought to equip local African Americans with the tools and knowledge needed to combat the violent racism that plagued their towns, but also

to foster a stronger sense of racial pride. This paper will specifically examine the role of the Freedom Schools in fostering both aspects of Tyson's schema for a successful civil rights movement. Although Freedom Summer lasted only three months and did not effect mass action or radical change in the Delta, the program was deeply influential on the individual level as it heightened black self-awareness and pride, personalized the desegregation movement for the white volunteers, and broke down racial barriers between those teachers and the black students they taught.

Mississippi exemplified the extremes of white supremacy, black subjugation, and the harsh reality of Jim Crow. In response to the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, Mississippi took the lead in organizing resistance to school integration. On July 11, 1954, just two months after the Court voted unanimously to throw out the legitimacy of "separate but equal" as defined by *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), outraged Mississippians formed the White Citizens' Council (WCC) to counteract efforts at black organization and leadership. The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (MSSC), established by the state legislature in 1956, followed suit and aimed to oppose the civil rights movement in a more "respectable way": by recruiting upstanding citizens and using lawful means.[2] These two organizations sought to affirm the system of white paternalism and to perpetuate the black powerlessness that had been the standard since the time of slavery.

The WCC and MSSC used the Ku Klux Klan as their point of comparison for the term "respectable." The KKK claimed, "There is no racial problem here in this state," and that those who attempted unity between the black and white communities were promoting violence. Klan members saw race relations in terms of simple dichotomy: "Segregation, Tranquility and Justice, Or Biracism, Chaos and Death."[3] Even though the Klan claimed otherwise, this resistance often took the form of violence. The pivotal murder of Herbert Lee on September 25, 1961, as he registered to vote, was the first in a series of eight lynchings at the start of the decade that concluded with the kidnapping and murder of the three civil rights organizers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner on June 21, 1964.[4] Although whites tried to align themselves with either the KKK on the one hand or the WCC and MSSC on the other, J. Todd Moye argues that the groups all effectively worked together as "indispensable wings of a phalanx that created massive resistance to integration throughout the South."[5] This

opposition, embedded in tradition, legal authority, and a well-defined sense of racial superiority, stood ready to thwart any civil rights efforts.

White control relegated the status of African Americans in the Delta to a form of neo-slavery. Many blacks worked as sharecroppers for white landowners, a system that perpetuated inequality because the sharecroppers were never able to invest in their own land or fully pay off debts to their employers. In 1960, 82.9 percent of blacks in Mississippi lived on less than $3,000 per year, whereas only 34.5 percent of whites fell into that category. The economic disparity paired with an educational deficiency created a self-perpetuating, downward cycle that kept African Americans at a lower socioeconomic level than their white counterparts. White Mississippians averaged eleven years of formal schooling by the time they were adults, but black Mississippians averaged only six.[6] Scarce job opportunities and inadequate, segregated public schools contributed to a way of life that offered little chance of escape. The Freedom Schools sought to rectify the educational dimension of this neo-slavery.

Although *Brown v. Board of Education* had given campaigners a glimpse of hope, the reality ten years later was no brighter than in 1954. In his "Prospectus for a Summer Freedom School Program in Mississippi," Charles Cobb expressed hope that these schools would "fill an intellectual and creative vacuum in the lives of young Negro Mississippians, and . . . get them to articulate their own desires, demands and questions."[7] From its inception, the Freedom School Program was conceived with the goal of instilling a sense of racial value into young blacks by equipping them with an education comparable to that of whites in an era when the white population held the power and was largely better educated. Therefore, if blacks could achieve the same level of education, they could challenge the injustice of the status quo. The Mississippi-based Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), along with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formed the backbone of support for the Freedom Schools under the larger umbrella program of the 1964 Freedom Summer. Under the direction of Staughton Lynd, the Freedom School Program focused its energies on the Delta region of Mississippi because SNCC had been active there since 1962, and the program's leaders hoped that initial success could spread throughout the rest of the state.[8] The Freedom Schools began under the auspices of established civil rights organizations and sought to resolve the educational inequalities between blacks and whites by providing supplemental instruction.

The curriculum of the Freedom Schools took a radically different approach to education by teaching history through the lens of black rather than white experience. Liz Fusco, the COFO coordinator, defended this approach: "Through the study of Negro History they began to have a sense of themselves as a people who could produce heroes."[9] In her memoir, Sandra E. Adickes, one of the Freedom School teachers, tells of her students' enthusiasm over reading *Black Boy* by Richard Wright. They were excited simply because the book told their own stories through another's parallel experience. Wright dealt with racism, violence, and anger, always finding eloquent expression for these subjects, and Adickes marked this book as a turning point as her students experienced firsthand a black man's contribution to society.[10] Another student, upon learning about other black authors, leaders, and African civilizations, told his teacher, "I think you're lying" and began to cry.[11] The segregated school system had instilled in black students a deep-seated sense of marginalization and inferiority. The Freedom Schools stripped this away and gave students a reason to take pride in their race by seeing the valuable contributions of their heritage.

Black students not only saw black history in a new light but also gained perspective on how they might change the future of blacks through the civic education portion of the curriculum. The Freedom School students were challenged to analyze the inequalities around them. The curriculum questioned the difference between white and black schools, southern blacks and northern blacks, and the poor Negro and the poor white. It made students consider the different types of social power by which they could enact change.[12] Adickes describes the use of role-playing in her classroom as the students acted out courtroom scenes, protests, and debates, all the while discovering "that they themselves could take action against . . . the specific injustices and the condition of injustice that kept them unhappy and impotent."[13] Another teacher had his students picket at a pretend whites-only restaurant, and he watched, impressed, as the students carried on even when those playing the role of "segregationists" poured water over their heads to shame them.[14] These exercises expanded the role of education in the Freedom Schools to encompass not only the traditional study of reading, writing, mathematics, and history, but also the importance of civic action. The students reacted strongly to this new approach and, realizing for the first time that their subjugation was not indisputable, they learned that they had the power to remedy it. Through history and civic education, the

Freedom School curriculum sought to empower the black students by looking past triumphs and equipping them for future successes.

The body of writing produced by Freedom School students abounds with a sense of their own potential. While other Freedom Summer programs organized voter registration drives and other forms of direct action, the schools promoted the cultivation of racial identity among their students. In the *Palmer's Crossing Freedom News* on July 23, 1964, an eleven-year-old student wrote, "The reason for my coming out of darkness is by attending Freedom Schools. At this school both sides of the story are told."[15] The Schools' value was in the basic thinking, writing, and reading taught at the schools as well as the sense of dignity they imparted to their students. Rosalyn W., a student at the Meridian school, published a poem entitled "I Am a Negro" which she opens with the line: "I am a Negro and proud of its color too."[16] These declarations affirm what Tyson labeled as the "black sense of self," but they existed only on an individual basis. Each student came away with an enriched self-image, but this advancement did not incite any collective action outside of the Delta. Although everything in the power structure, economy, and social order pointed to white supremacy, the Freedom Schools demonstrated that black did not mean inferior. This lesson was urged on the 2,500 students, ranging from preschool age to adults, and might have formed the foundation for later activism, but it did not spawn any immediate mass action.[17]

Ironically, those teaching the black students their own history and encouraging independent thinking were white. COFO recruited nearly 1,000 white, northern college students to volunteer as teachers and organizers that summer. In general, volunteers were affluent and politically liberal and saw the Freedom Schools as an opportunity to put into action the idealistic theories they learned in their studies. The organization of the Freedom Schools reversed the pattern of paternalism; instead of whites having authority over blacks, black organizers directed the white volunteers. The volunteers' skin color also worked in favor of the black organizers since the media was much more likely to cover movements involving whites, and national attention was vital to exposing the abuses in Mississippi and providing the support needed to effect a remedy.[18] Publicity, however, was not the only factor contributing to the number of white volunteers. John Dittmer argues that many potential black volunteers went to northern schools as an escape from the South and their parents discouraged them from returning of

their own volition to an atmosphere of racism and violence.[19] The corps of students that came to Mississippi had no firsthand experience with the deeply entrenched southern customs that they sought to change. Their efforts at the Freedom Schools forced the volunteers to formulate their own concept of race and of the barriers facing civil rights activists.

Just one year after the Freedom Summer of 1964, Elizabeth Sutherland edited a collection of the letters sent home by the teachers as they crossed state lines and were confronted with the everyday reality of racism and its effects. These letters honestly portray the naïveté of the volunteers as they struggle to comprehend the severity of Mississippi's segregated society and to track their growing conception of black identity and culture. In one letter, a volunteer named Jo gushes over her admiration for the leaders and paints a glowing portrait of Bob Moses, one of the SNCC chairmen. "He is more or less the Jesus of the whole project," she says, "not because he asks to be, but because of everyone's reaction to him. (I forgot to say, he's a Negro)."[20] As newcomers to an established movement, the volunteers were deeply impressed by the commitment they saw in the black leaders. They endured threats, violence, economic hardship, and shameful treatment at the hands of white southerners, but activists like Moses persevered because of their love for their people. Another student named Gene notes that the SNCC staffers were "more free, certainly, than the Southern white imprisoned in his hatred for the Negro."[21] Before they came to Mississippi, these volunteers espoused integrationist viewpoints and nonracist attitudes, but those viewpoints were built on an insubstantial platform of classroom learning and secondhand news reports. The respect they felt for the African Americans they encountered, however, substantiated these fledgling views. Volunteers could now personalize the struggle for civil rights because they knew the leaders of the effort.

In contrast to the welcome the teachers met with at the hands of African American leaders, they also encountered racial hostility from enemies of the civil rights movement. Jackson mayor Allen Thompson provided a clear example of this by equipping his city with tanks and riot squads to meet the volunteers.[22] During an orientation session meant to inform the Freedom School teachers of their new surroundings, the volunteers were warned about safety issues and the explosive issue of interracial sex. Although many of them had already heard the national uproar over the Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman murders at the beginning of the summer, training provided them with

a basic knowledge base of actual occurrences. As the black organizers told of their personal beatings and jail time, the volunteers knew they were not being asked to do things their leaders would not, or had not, already done themselves.[23] One volunteer wrote to his family, addressing his letter to "People at home in the Safe, Safe North," to describe the bullet wounds in one black organizer's neck.[24] Racism was no longer an abstract term; rather, it was identified with specific names and faces, and evidence of its effects was a very present reality.

While violence in the South defined the African American situation from one angle, the time the volunteers spent in the homes of Delta residents allowed them to experience the richness of black culture. Sandra Adickes recalled her arrival in Hattiesburg with relish: "We . . . ate catfish deep-fried in large dome bottomed iron pots, watched and listened as Mr. Dahmer showed us his cotton plants, rode on a tractor-drawn flatbed, and sang freedom songs."[25] The volunteers lived in the homes of black families and observed their daily routines, growing to know them as individuals and families. One white teacher wrote home about the warm welcome he and his friends received: "The other night a woman who has 17 children invited 20 of us over for dinner. It was a good dinner, too."[26] Even after poor treatment at the hands of whites for centuries, African Americans treated the volunteers as if there was no racial distinction.

The direct exposure to black leadership, racial violence, and personal hospitality served to instill in the young white teachers a dynamic view of African Americans. No longer were they simply the oppressed, downtrodden, victimized, emasculated poor in need of civil rights. The Freedom Schools experience allowed the volunteers to see the everyday struggles of the Delta residents and the strength it took to survive in the face of racism. A teacher named Ellen told her parents that "I've been finding that people everywhere have more in common that [sic.] I once thought: humanity is so much more basic than education or intellectual achievement."[27]

These personal revelations, however, had little tangible effect on COFO's goal to move holistic change through the Freedom Schools. The establishment of racial pride and black identity occurred on an individual basis. Volunteers sent letters home to the North to share their experiences, but how many people read them? The students were empowered by mock protests, class discussions, and African American history, but how often did they act on these new perspectives and

skills? Only anecdotal evidence is available. One child was asked how he imagined himself being at age 21, and he replied that he would be a lawyer with a good job and respectful life.[28] John Dittmer cites a group of Freedom School students who formed the Mississippi Student Union and boycotted segregated schools in several Delta counties, but this is the exception, not the rule.[29] In relation to Tyson's two characteristics of successful civil rights efforts, the Freedom Schools contributed to the creation of a cohesive group identity, but they did not engender concerted resistance to white authority. Despite these efforts at reform, the schools in Mississippi remained segregated and African Americans still struggled economically. Other black activists like Fannie Lou Hamer began to seek out alternatives to these grassroots efforts.[30] In the fall of 1964, Hamer and her recently formed Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) held primaries and lobbied for seating at the Democratic National Convention so that the issues facing her home state could be taken from the personal letters of volunteers and Freedom School newspapers and broadcast to the nation.[31] The Freedom Schools primed the population and generated interest in civil rights, but it was not until Hamer combined the black identity they created with a push for political enfranchisement that change could take place in the Delta.

The Freedom Schools served as a catalyst for transforming the self-identity of the black students in the Delta; they entered as neglected pupils but left as proud and well-informed members of the black community. They were also a catalyst for changing the perspectives of northern white volunteers on the racial divide in the United States, as the schools personalized the movement for African American civil rights. This emphasis on racial identity marked a shift in the civil rights movement away from nonviolent direct action and towards black nationalism.

NOTES

[1] Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie,* 29.
[2] Moye, *Let the People Decide*, 33.
[3] "The Klan Ledger," quoted in Bond and Lewis, eds., *Gonna Sit at the Welcome Table*, 711.
[4] Thomspon, *Black Life in Mississippi,* 220.
[5] Moye, *Let the People Decide*, 32.

[6] Lee, *For Freedom's Sake,* 6.
[7] Cobb, "Prospectus for a Summer Freedom School Program in Mississippi."
[8] Dittmer, *Local People*, 252.
[9] Fusco, "Freedom Schools in Mississippi, 1964."
[10] Adickes, *Legacy of a Freedom School*, 66.
[11] Ibid., 68.
[12] "Citizenship Curriculum."
[13] Adickes, *Legacy of a Freedom School*, 128.
[14] Sutherland, *Letters from Mississippi*, 15.
[15] "The Darkness of Negro Students."
[16] "I Am A Negro."
[17] Dittmer, *Local People*, 259.
[18] Ibid., 244.
[19] Ibid., 245.
[20] Sutherland, *Letters from Mississippi*, 15.
[21] Ibid., 17.
[22] Ibid., 1.
[23] Ibid., 6.
[24] Ibid., 7.
[25] Adickes, *Legacy of a Freedom School*, 55.
[26] Sutherland, *Letters from Mississippi*, 43.
[27] Ibid., 46.
[28] "How I See Myself at '21' or Over."
[29] Dittmer, *Local People*, 260.
[30] Moye, *Let the People Decide*, 35.
[31] Lee, *For Freedom's Sake*, 85.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

PAUL BAUMGARDNER is a junior University Scholar from Louisburg, Kansas. Through the University Scholars program, he is fulfilling concentrations in philosophy and political science, academic pursuits which will hopefully lead him to a career in constitutional law. First, though, Paul would like to work with Teach for America. After this, he plans to attend law school, at which point he would love to either teach constitutional law at a law school or become a federal judge. Paul is very involved on Baylor's campus. He is currently a member of Student Foundation, serves as the Finance Chair in Student Government, sits on both the BU Honor Council and the BU Academic Advisory Board, and plays intramural sports. When he isn't busy with school and activities, Paul enjoys watching classic cinema, reading, and spending time with friends and family.

LINDSAY SMITH is a Baylor senior from Vicksburg, Mississippi, majoring in history with a creative writing minor. Her love for history manifests itself in a variety of ways, including her membership in the history honor society Phi Alpha Theta and her summer job as a guide for the Vicksburg National Military Park. Lindsay is also in the Honors Program; she hopes to attend graduate school to pursue a PhD in Southern studies, with a potential focus on the history of medicine. When she is not studying or participating in Sing Alliance, Lindsay also enjoys photography and playing the flute.

ANDREW STIEFEL is a senior music major at Baylor University. After graduation, he plans to attend graduate school to study composition and conducting. Outside of class, Andrew teaches private violin and viola lessons and participates in Alpha Phi Omega, a service fraternity active on campus and in the community. This past summer Andrew studied composition and conducting in Berlin, Germany, with Juilliard professor Dr. Samuel Adler and Dr. Emily Freeman Brown. He also had the honor of conducting the Baylor Symphony for its November concert.

ABBY WORLAND is a 2010 graduate of Baylor University, where she received her Bachelor of Arts degree in history with honors. She is currently teaching kindergarten in the Mississippi Delta as a Teach for America corps member, a position that prompted the topic for this paper. After reading countless books and tying a near infinite number of shoestrings, she has come to many of the same conclusions as the volunteers in 1964. The achievement gap that existed in the Delta half a century ago can still be found today, but it has taken on the very personal shape of 18 little five-year-olds in green polos and khakis with bright minds that deserve to be recognized and taught.