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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITOR’S NOTE.....v

EDITORIAL STAFF vi

ABSTRACTS

[The following abstracts appear in the journal in lieu of the entire articles in order to avoid possible copyright conflicts with the professional journals in which they are being published.]

IDENTIFYING ANTIAPOPTOTIC HIF-1 TARGET GENES IN RAT TESTIS (BIOLOGY)

Anoop Shah.....1

ALTERED RESPONSE TO CELLULAR STRESS UPON CONTACT INHIBITION (BIOLOGY)

Marian Gaballah3

THESES

COVERING SETS OF CONGRUENCE

Leanne Clarke8

THEIR BELOVED BANJAR
WEST AFRICA’S FORGOTTEN CONTRIBUTION TO AN AMERICAN
MUSICAL TRADITION

Quinn Gilly40

NARRATIVE CIRCULARITY IN CHARLOTTE BRONTË'S WORK

Katelyn Mirabelli 107

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ROAD TO ANTI-SEMITISM: A
CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY FROM THE CRUSADES TO THE
HOLOCAUST

Nicole Stevens.....128

INTERPRETING FORGOTTEN COLONIAL MATERIAL AT THE
SALISBURY SITE

Kerri Sansevere.....177

EDITOR'S NOTE

Crossroads is an interdisciplinary, undergraduate research journal published by the Monmouth University Honors School. The contributors are Senior Honors Thesis students whose work has been chosen by the Honors Council as representing the most original, thoroughly researched, and effectively argued theses in their fields.

Crossroads is made possible through the support of Monmouth University and the generosity of our benefactor Ms. Jane Freed, class of '81. The five articles in this volume include work in the fields of: Political Science, Mathematics, English Literature, and Psychology. Deep gratitude is also due to the selfless dedication of faculty fulfilling the roles of Chief Advisor and Second Reader in the various disciplines of this year's contributors. They spend untold hours mentoring the students through their yearlong process of research, writing, and oral defense, especially: Dr. Kevin Dooley (Political Science) for Lindsay Savage, Dr. Joseph Coyle (Mathematics) for Samantha Bourque-Trieff, Dr. Janice Stapley (Psychology) for Helene Mizrahi, and Dr. Prescott Evarts (English) for Raymond O'Meara and Karen Mintz,

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Thesis Abstract**Identifying Antiapoptotic HIF-1 Target Genes in Rat Testis****Anoop Shah**

Oxygen balance of the reproductive tract is essential to the health and well-being of an individual. Testicular torsion, a condition that creates oxygen imbalance in male reproductive tissues, occurs from a twisting of the spermatic cord resulting in testis ischemia (I), or a reduction in blood flow to the testis. Prolonged ischemia typically leads to hypoxia, where there is a severe deficiency in the amount of oxygen reaching the tissue. Major cellular damage occurs after reperfusion (R), or the return of blood flow to the organ, where the tissue is deemed to have undergone oxygen shock. Subsequent alterations in protein expression profiles can lead to germ cell-specific apoptosis, or the programmed cell death of sperm-producing cells. However, germ cell-nurturing Sertoli cells and sex steroid-producing Leydig cells are protected against torsion-induced apoptosis. Hypoxia-Inducible Factor-1 (HIF-1), commonly known as the master regulator of oxygen homeostasis, is a transcription factor stabilized by hypoxic conditions. Composed of an α and β subunit, HIF-1 α is degraded under normoxic conditions, where there is no deficiency in oxygen levels. Under hypoxic conditions, the α and β subunits may join together to activate HIF-1. Active HIF-1 may bind to a hypoxia response element (HRE; 5'-RCGTG-3') found in the promoter region of a target gene to initiate transcription of that gene. Potential targets of HIF-1 include genes involved in glucose metabolism, angiogenesis, cell survival, and cell death. Focusing on cell survival, we hypothesized that HIF-1 plays an important role in the protection of Leydig cells following I and I/R by activating antiapoptotic target genes in the testis. A Genomatix MatInspector search identified induced myeloid cell differentiation-1 (*Mcl-1*), a known antiapoptotic gene, as a potential HIF-1 target gene containing the hypoxia response element in its promoter region. Unilateral testicular torsion (720°) was surgically induced in adult, retired-breeder male Sprague-Dawley rats for periods ranging from one to six hours, immediately followed by a reperfusion period of up to four hours. Cytoplasmic and nuclear extracts were isolated from sham and torted testes for further analysis. Results of an Active-Motif TransAM™ enzyme-linked immunosorbent assay (ELISA) quantitated HIF-1 binding to a consensus binding site from the human erythropoietin (*EPO*) gene promoter and demonstrated testicular HIF-1 DNA-binding activity in both sham and ischemic extracts. Immunoblotting indicated Mcl-1 presence

in rat testes and unaffected steady-state levels of Mcl-1 following I and I/R (ANOVA, $p < 0.05$). Immunohistochemical (IHC) analysis of normoxic testis tissue identified localization of Mcl-1 in rat Leydig cells. A second immunoblot of Leydig cell extracts cultured at 5% and 21% O₂ respectively detected Mcl-1 in Leydig cells under hypoxic conditions and confirmed Mcl-1 presence in Leydig cells under normoxic conditions. Patterns of Mcl-1 expression were consistent with previously obtained data of HIF-1 expression in the testis. Preliminary chromatin immunoprecipitation (ChIP) analysis demonstrated HIF-1 binding to the *Mcl-1* promoter in vivo. Overall, these results supported our hypothesis that *Mcl-1* is a HIF-1 target gene that may play a key role in the protection of Leydig cells following testicular torsion.

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Abstract**Altered Response to Cellular Stress Upon Contact Inhibition****Marian Gaballah**

Cells in different stages of proliferation demonstrate changing levels of mitogen-activated protein (MAP) kinase pathway proteins, which may affect the response of cells in culture to oxidative stress. Previous results indicate increased MAP kinase phosphatase (MKP) levels upon contact inhibition in healthy fibroblasts, corresponding with decreased levels of phosphorylated extracellular signal-regulated kinase (ERK) and p38. Cancerous fibrosarcoma cells do not exhibit contact inhibition, and no change in active kinase or MKP levels was seen. Western blot analysis and chemiluminescence were used to obtain relative MKP-1, JNK, p-JNK, and cleaved PARP levels in subconfluent and confluent fibroblast and fibrosarcoma cell cultures following oxidative stress by H₂O₂. A relationship between culture density and a response to stress as indicated by MAP kinase and phosphatase activity was seen. JNK-1, a MAP kinase, remained inactive in cells during all stages of proliferation. However, following induced oxidative stress by, cleaved PARP as well as higher phosphorylated JNK (p-JNK) levels were detected in subconfluent cells in relation to confluent cells, indicating the early stages of apoptosis. Based on these results, a correlation can be established between confluency of the cell culture and the response to oxidative stress, as determined by varying levels of protein expression and activity within the cells.

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Leanne Clarke

Abstract

A collection of congruence's with distinct modulo, each greater than 1, such that each integer satisfies at least one of the congruences, is said to be a covering system. In 1950 the famous mathematician Paul Erdős conjectured that "for each number N , one can cover the integers with finitely many congruences with distinct modulo all greater than N ." While Erdős' problem remains unsolved, a mathematician by the name of Nielsen has created a covering system with the smallest modulus of 36. In my thesis I have worked to create my own covering systems of congruences, and a computer program in Maple to check if a set of given modulo do indeed cover all integers. Furthermore, I have determined the upper and lower bounds on the number of modulo necessary to create a covering system with the smallest modulus equal to 2.

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II. Introduction and Background

My thesis will explore a conjecture of Paul Erdős. Erdős was a famous Hungarian mathematician who initiated many fields in mathematics and computer science as well as working in many established fields such as number theory, graph theory, and set theory. Impressively, Erdős completed his undergraduate degree and his Ph.D simultaneously, and in 1991 received the prestigious Cambridge Honorary Doctorate award. To Erdős, “mathematics is the key to a transcendental truth underlying all reality” (Csicsery, 1993). In Erdős’s view solving a problem was a triumph over the unknown, and accordingly he was more likely to solve problems rather than formulate theories. The brilliant proofs he created led to many famous mathematical conjectures.

As one of the most prolific mathematicians in history, Erdős composed 1500 papers in collaboration with numerous mathematicians. He quickly became highly regarded by fellow mathematicians who honored him by creating the “Erdős number” system. This system is based on the idea that any individual who published a paper with Erdős is said to have a number of one, and those who published with an individual who worked with Erdős is said to have an Erdős number of two, and so on in increasing number (Guy,

1994). Erdős defined the popular image of mathematics and inspired students and colleagues with his singular take on the world (Csicsery, 1993).

The conjecture of Erdős that I am exploring is that of the covering systems of congruences. The definition of congruence in the field of number theory states that if a , b , and n are integers and $n > 0$, then we say a and b are *congruent modulo n* if and only if the difference of a and b is divisible by n . This relationship is denoted as

$$a \equiv b \pmod{n},$$

; we read these symbols as “ a is congruent to b modulo n .” The concept of congruences is analogous to clock arithmetic. For example, on a clock, 14:00 is the same time as 2:00, as it is reduced by 12. This idea of reducing is consistent with congruences. For example, 14 is congruent to 2 modulo 12 because $14 - 2 = 12$, which is clearly divisible by 12. This is written as $14 \equiv 2 \pmod{12}$.

A covering system of congruences is a collection of a finite set of congruences with distinct modulo, each greater than 1, such that each integer satisfies at least one of the congruences. An example of a covering system of congruences is $n \equiv 0 \pmod{2}$ and $n \equiv 1 \pmod{2}$. All even integers are covered by $n \equiv 0 \pmod{2}$ because the difference between any even integer and 0 is divisible by 2. The congruence $n \equiv 1 \pmod{2}$ covers all odd

integers because the difference between any odd integer and 1 is divisible by 2. However, this example is not a covering system of congruences because the modulo in this case are not distinct. Henceforth we will consider the modulo to be distinct when referring to covering systems of congruences.

In 1950 Erdős posited the following famous conjecture: For each number N , one can cover the integers, \mathbb{Z} , with finitely many congruences with distinct modulo all greater than N ; and when revising it in 1995, Erdős stated that ‘This is perhaps my favorite problem’ and accordingly, this problem became famous (Babai, Pomerance, & Vertesi, 1998). Erdős had often offered money for solutions to problems, and therefore it was not strange when he offered \$500 to the person who could create a proof or disproof of this conjecture (Guy, 1994). Erdős’s problem remains unsolved today and the mathematician Nielsen has taken the lead in establishing a proof by creating a covering system with the smallest modulus of 36. Yet developing a solution to this conjecture has proved to be challenging and elusive (Pomerance).

III. Origins of the Problem

A natural number $p > 1$ is prime if and only if p is not the product of natural numbers less than p . This definition means that a prime has only two natural number divisors, 1 and itself (Marshall, Odell, & Starbird, 2007). Prime numbers are fascinating because they are difficult to work with since patterns do not exist for determining their placement amongst integers. Therefore, mathematicians such as Fermat and Mersenne have attempted to create formulas to aid in the pursuit of knowledge of prime numbers.

The early origins of covering congruences began with the question: “Are there infinitely many primes of the form $2^n + 1$.” Fermat, a mathematician who studied the field of number theory, conjectured that if n is a power of 2, then $2^n + 1$ is prime. Therefore, $2^k + 1$ should all be prime. Forexample

$2^1 + 1 = 3$, $2^2 + 1 = 5$, $2^4 + 1 = 17$, where for example $n = 1$ comes from $2^0 = 1$.

It soon became known that $2^{2^k} + 1$ is composite for $k = 5, 6, \dots, 32$ (Babai, Pomerance, & Vertesi, 1998). There are only a small number of examples of Fermat primes; it is still unknown whether or not there are an infinite number of Fermat primes.

Mersenne primes are prime numbers of the form $2^n - 1$. As of 2008 there are only 46 known primes of this form. The largest known Mersenne prime is $2^{37,156,667} - 1$. It was discovered by a German named Hans-Michael Elvenich. In order for the Mersenne number to be prime, n itself must be prime. This is true because if n were composite then it would have two factors, a and b , so $n = ab$. Thus, $2^n - 1$ could be written as $2^{ab} - 1$, which would always have a factor of $2^a - 1$, thus making it composite. It is also an open question whether or not there are an infinite number of Mersenne primes ("August/September 2008: 45th," 1996).

Even though primes of the form $2^n \pm k$ have proved mysterious and challenging, de Polignac, a French mathematician, went on to study primes of the form $2^n + k$, where k can be any odd number. In 1849, de Polignac conjectured, "For each odd number k , there is at least one prime of the form $2^n + k$." When working with this conjecture, it is useful to know when $2^n + k$ is composite. We will determine when $2^n + k \equiv 0 \pmod{r}$, where r is an integer. This implies that $r | 2^n + k$. Based on Carl Pomerance's research, we will consider the example when $k = 61$ so $2^n + 61$. We want to find an n such that $2^n + 61 \equiv 0 \pmod{3}$.

In Modulo 3, the powers of 2 have a period of 2. They repeat every two numbers.

2^0	2^1	2^2	$2^3...$
1	2	1	2

If n is odd, then $2^n + 61 \equiv 2 + 1 \pmod{3} \equiv 0 \pmod{3}$. Thus, if $n \equiv 1 \pmod{2}$ then $2^n + k$ is composite. Now look at $2^n + k \pmod{7}$. We have chosen the modulo based on the factors of $2 + 61 = 63$. Both 3 and 7 are factors of 63. We know $61 \equiv 5 \pmod{7}$. So we need, $2^n \equiv 2 \pmod{7}$ in order for $2^n + 61 \equiv 2 + 5 \pmod{7} \equiv 0 \pmod{7}$ (Pomerance).

In Modulo 7, we can see the powers of 2 repeat every three numbers (1,2,4,1,...) and therefore have a period of 3.

2^0	2^1	2^2	$2^3...$
1	2	4	1

Since $2^n \equiv 2 \pmod{7}$ when $n \equiv 1 \pmod{3}$, another condition is added to n .

Therefore, $2^n + 61$ is composite when $n \equiv 1 \pmod{2}$ and $n \equiv 1 \pmod{3}$.

Now we look at $61 + 2^2 = 65$. We will use the modulo 5 and 13 as they are factors of 65. We know $61 \equiv 1 \pmod{5}$, so $2^n \equiv 4 \pmod{5}$ would make $2^n + 61 \equiv 0 \pmod{5}$. When we look at the powers of 2 modulo 5, we obtain a pattern of 1,2,4,3,... which repeats every four numbers. Therefore, when $n \equiv 2 \pmod{4}$, $2^n + 61 \equiv 0 \pmod{5}$.

From the above work, we now have three conditions that if $k = 61$ and n meets any of the following conditions:

$$n \equiv 1 \pmod{2}$$

$$n \equiv 1 \pmod{3}$$

$$n \equiv 2 \pmod{4}$$

then $2^n + k$ is composite. From these three congruences, 8 is the only integer up to 10 that is not covered. Therefore, let $n = 8$ and we obtain $2^8 + 61 = 317$, which conveniently is a prime number. If $k = 61$ and $n = 8$ then $P = 317 = 2^8 + 61$. Since we have found a prime, we will not need to use the modulo 13. This is evidence suggesting de Polignac's conjecture is indeed true. However, if this set of congruences was a covering system then we would have proved de Polignac's conjecture false (Pomerance).

In 1934, this problem was revisited when a mathematician by the name of Romanoff tried to make a contribution. He wrote a letter to Erdős asking "whether every large odd number is of the form $2^k + p$?" (Erdos, 1981, p.72). Erdős soon disproved this as he found an infinite arithmetic progression of odd numbers where none of the terms is of the form $2^k + p$. This question presented by Romanoff led Erdős to the discovery of covering congruences. In 1950, with the use of these covering congruences,

Erdős was able to prove de Polignac’s conjecture false (Erdos, 1981, p. 71-4)

He used the covering system:

$$\begin{aligned} &1(\bmod 2), \quad 2(\bmod 4) \\ &1(\bmod 3), \quad 8(\bmod 12) \\ &4(\bmod 8), \quad 0(\bmod 24). \end{aligned}$$

The three conditions that, if $k = 61$, and n meets any of those conditions, then we can give a congruence that $2^n + k$ must satisfy in order for it to be composite. For example, consider the powers of 2 modulo 3:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} 2 & 2^2 & 2^3 & 2^4 \\ 2 & 1 & 2 & 1 \end{array} \pmod{3}$$

if $n \equiv 1(\bmod 2)$ then $2^n \equiv 2(\bmod 3)$. Similarly, for each congruence for n ,

we can find a congruence for 2^n :

$$\begin{aligned} n \equiv 1(\bmod 2) &\rightarrow 2^n \equiv 2^1(\bmod 3) \\ n \equiv 2(\bmod 4) &\rightarrow 2^n \equiv 2^2(\bmod 5) \\ n \equiv 1(\bmod 3) &\rightarrow 2^n \equiv 2^1(\bmod 5) \\ n \equiv 8(\bmod 12) &\rightarrow 2^n \equiv 2^8(\bmod 13) \\ n \equiv 4(\bmod 8) &\rightarrow 2^n \equiv 2^4(\bmod 17) \\ n \equiv 0(\bmod 24) &\rightarrow 2^n \equiv 2^0(\bmod 241) \end{aligned}$$

From these congruences, we can create a k for which $2^n + k$ is always composite. We want the following:

$$k \equiv -2^1 \pmod{3}, \quad k \equiv -2^2 \pmod{5}$$

$$k \equiv -2^1 \pmod{7}, \quad k \equiv -2^8 \pmod{13}$$

$$k \equiv -2^4 \pmod{17}, \quad k \equiv -2^0 \pmod{241}$$

For example, in modulo 3, we want $2^n + k \equiv 0 \pmod{3}$. Therefore using $k \equiv -2 \pmod{3}$, we have $2^n + k \equiv 2 - 2 \equiv 0 \pmod{3}$. In particular, by the Chinese Remainder Theorem, $k \equiv 9262111$ satisfies all congruences, and thus $2^n + 9262111$ is always composite because if $n \equiv 1 \pmod{2}$ then $2^n + 9262111 \equiv 2 - 2 \equiv 0 \pmod{3}$. So, $2^n + 9262111$ is divisible by 3. Since, every integer n satisfies one of the congruences, $2^n + k$ is therefore always composite. Erdős found this specific problem, and, more importantly, the general problem of covering congruences, to be greatly interesting, and thus decided to forget about powers of 2 and focus on congruences that cover \mathbb{Z} (Filaseta, Ford, Konyagin, Pomerance, & Yu, 2007).

IV. Tools

Lemma 1: Suppose we are given a system of congruences with distinct modulo. If all integers less than or equal to the least common multiple of the modulo are covered by the given congruences, then the system of congruences covers all integers (Malm, D, 1993).

Proof of Lemma 1:

If we have a number, a , greater than the least common multiple (lcm), then it must be congruent modulo the lcm to a number, b , less than the lcm. To prove the lemma, we will prove that a is covered by the same congruence that covers b . Let n denote the lcm. Thus, $a \equiv b \pmod{n}$ and suppose $b \equiv c \pmod{m}$, where $c \pmod{m}$ is one of the congruences in the covering system. We want to show that $a \equiv c \pmod{m}$. This would show that a is covered by something in the covering system. We also know that $m \mid n$ since n is the lcm. By the definition of congruence we know, $n \mid a - b$ and $m \mid b - c$.

$$a - c = a - b + b - c$$

$$\text{So, } n \mid a - b \text{ and } m \mid b - c.$$

$$\text{Therefore, } m \mid a - b \text{ since } m \mid n.$$

$$\text{So, } m \mid a - c.$$

An example to illustrate this proof:

Given the covering system

$n \equiv 0 \pmod{2}$, $n \equiv 0 \pmod{3}$, $n \equiv 3 \pmod{4}$, $n \equiv 5 \pmod{6}$, and $n \equiv 1 \pmod{12}$ we know $11 \equiv 3 \pmod{4}$ and $23 \equiv 11 \pmod{12}$. Here 23 is a number larger than the least common multiple, which is 12 in this example. In following with the above proof, let $a = 23$, $b = 1$, $c = 3$, $n = 12$, and $m = 4$. Based on these two congruence statements, we then know $23 \equiv$

$3(\text{mod } 4)$ which means $4|23 - 3$. From this, we get $4|20$ which we know is true. Let us look at a second example. Let $a = 65$. We know $65 \equiv 5(\text{mod } 12)$ and $5 \equiv 5(\text{mod } 6)$. So from these two congruences we can say $65 \equiv 5(\text{mod } 6)$ which means $6|65 - 5$, which we know to be true.

In order for a set of congruences to have a chance to be a covering system, it needs to satisfy particular conditions. One of these conditions is that the sum of the reciprocals of the modulo must be greater than 1. A congruence with a modulus of 2 covers half of the integers (either the even or the odd numbers), whereas a modulus of 3 only covers a third of the integers.

Since $1/2 + 1/3 = 5/6$ this would mean at most $\frac{5}{6}$ of the integers are covered.

However, less than $\frac{5}{6}$ would actually be covered since some numbers are

covered twice. For example, 6 is covered by both $n \equiv 0(\text{mod } 2)$ and $n \equiv 0(\text{mod } 3)$. Also, the closer to 1 the sum of the reciprocals is, the less likely it

is to double and triple cover integers. For example, $\frac{13}{12}$ double covers only

once as 13 out of 12 integers are covered (Filaseta, Ford, Konyagin,

Pomerance, & Yu, 2007). Therefore, checking the sum of the reciprocals of

the modulo has become another technique to aid in the construction of

covering systems of congruences since in order to be a covering system, the

sum needs to be greater than 1 (Malm, 1993). In this case,

$$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{12} > 1.$$

Lemma 2: If a system of congruences is a system of covering congruences, then the sum of the reciprocals of the modulo are ≥ 1 .

Proof of Lemma 2: Let $\{a_n(\text{mod}n_i): i = 1, \dots k\}$ be a covering system. Let $L = \text{lcm of the moduli}$. For all i , $a_i(\text{mod}n_i)$ covers $\frac{1}{n_i}L$, which is an integer. We know that if the system covers all of the integers, then it will cover the integers from 1 to the lcm, since this number is less than infinity.

So, $\sum_{i=1}^k \frac{1}{n_i}L \geq L$. The sum of the reciprocals of the modulo times the lcm will be greater than L because congruences could double and triple cover

some integers. By dividing both sides by L , we obtain $\sum_{i=1}^k \frac{1}{n_i} \geq 1$.

If the sum of the reciprocals is less than 1, then all of the integers cannot be covered. If the sum is greater than 1, then every integer can be covered as long as the system of congruences is indeed a covering system. As a result of my research we can postulate that if the sum of the reciprocals is equal to 1, then it cannot be a covering system. Hitherto we do not have a proof of this, but it has been convincingly referenced in relevant literature.

Using Lemma 1, one of the ways to check whether a given system of congruences is a covering system is to determine whether the numbers from 1 to the least common multiple of the modulo satisfy the set of congruences. This can become quite tedious, especially as the modulo become larger numbers. Therefore, I have created a computer program in Maple to check whether a given set of modulo do indeed cover all integers. The modulo and the remainders will be the input value for the procedure, and the output will either produce the phrase “covering system”, or a list of the numbers that are not covered by the given modulo. The least common multiple of the given modulo is included inside the procedure and thus a “for” loop is used in order to check the numbers from 1 to the lcm.

Maple program with a working example:

> *with(numtheory) :*

>

```

Ch := proc (a, b, c, d, e, j, k, l, o, p)
local m, i, n;
m := 0;
n := lcm(j, k, l, o, p);
for i from 1 to n do
if evalb(i mod j = a) then m := m + 1;
else evalb(i mod k = b);
if evalb(i mod k = b) then m := m + 1;
else evalb(i mod l = c);
if evalb(i mod l = c) then m := m + 1;
else evalb(i mod o = d);
if evalb(i mod o = d) then m := m + 1;
else evalb(i mod p = e);
if evalb(i mod p = e) then m := m + 1;
else print(i);
fi;fi;fi;fi;fi;
od;
if m = 0 then print i;
else print("covering system");
fi;
end;

```

For the example $0(\text{mod}2), 0(\text{mod}3), 3(\text{mod}4), 5(\text{mod}6)$ and $1(\text{mod}12)$,

the procedure works as follows:

> *Ch*(0, 0, 3, 5, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 12);

"covering system"

The output of the procedure is telling me that all of the integers are covered.

Maple program with an example that does not work:

> *with*(*numtheory*) :

>

```

Ch := proc (a, b, c, d, e, j, k, l, o, p)
local m, i, n;
m := 0;
n := lcm(j, k, l, o, p);
for i from 1 to n do
  if evalb(i mod j = a) then m := m + 1;
else evalb(i mod k = b);
  if evalb(i mod k = b) then m := m + 1;
else evalb(i mod l = c);
if evalb(i mod l = c) then m := m + 1;
else evalb(i mod o = d);
if evalb(i mod o = d) then m := m + 1;
else evalb(i mod p = e);
if evalb(i mod p = e) then m := m + 1;
else print(i);
  fi;fi;fi;fi;fi;
od;
if m = 0 then print i;
else print("covering system");
fi;
end:

```

For the example $0(mod2), 0(mod3), 2(mod4), 1(mod6)$ and $1(mod12)$

the procedure works as follows:

> $Ch(0, 0, 2, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 12);$

5

7

11

The program output is telling me that 5, 7, and 11 are not covered in this particular covering system.

V. Results

Conjecture (Erdős, 1950): For each number N , one can cover the integers, \mathbb{Z} , with finitely many congruences with distinct modulo all greater than N .

Our goal is to create an example with the largest N which gives evidence to this conjecture. One of the most well-known covering systems is

$n \equiv 0 \pmod{2}$, $n \equiv 0 \pmod{3}$, $n \equiv 1 \pmod{4}$, $n \equiv 1 \pmod{6}$,
and $n \equiv 11 \pmod{12}$.

Theorem: The following five congruences are a covering system where

$N = 2$:

$n \equiv 0 \pmod{2}$, $n \equiv 0 \pmod{3}$, $n \equiv 3 \pmod{4}$, $n \equiv 5 \pmod{6}$,
and $n \equiv 1 \pmod{12}$

cover all integers. This means that if x is an integer then x satisfies one of these congruences. Thus, I have created a new theorem. All even integers are satisfied with the congruence $n \equiv 0 \pmod{2}$. Since every even integer is divisible by 2, the remainder when divided by 2 will always be 0. With the next congruence, $n \equiv 0 \pmod{3}$, all integers divisible by 3 will be covered since the remainder of a multiple of 3 when divided by 3 will always be 0. The third congruence, $n \equiv 3 \pmod{4}$, will satisfy every fourth integer beginning at 3. Every sixth integer starting at 5 will be covered by $n \equiv 5 \pmod{6}$. The final congruence $n \equiv 1 \pmod{12}$ satisfies every twelfth integer beginning at 1.

Explanation of the Creation of Theorem:

In order to find a covering system that satisfied all the integers, I covered all even numbers with the congruence $n \equiv 0(\text{mod } 2)$ and then chose to cover all of the multiples of 3 with the congruence $n \equiv 0(\text{mod } 3)$. To find the next congruence statement, I used what I had discovered from the previous two congruences. Modulo m , n can only be congruent to $0, 1, \dots, m - 1$. Modulo 2, n can only be congruent to 0 or 1 and modulo 3, n can only be congruent to 0, 1, or 2. Thus,

$$\begin{aligned}n &\equiv 0(\text{mod } 2) \text{ or } 1(\text{mod } 2). \\n &\equiv 0(\text{mod } 3) \text{ or } 1(\text{mod } 3) \text{ or } 2(\text{mod } 3).\end{aligned}$$

However, I already know that $n \equiv 0(\text{mod } 2)$ and $n \equiv 0(\text{mod } 3)$ are covered by the first two congruences. Therefore, I considered the case

$$n \equiv 1(\text{mod } 2) \text{ and } n \equiv 1(\text{mod } 3).$$

Using the Chinese remainder theorem, I could find a single congruence statement that satisfies both congruences. The result was

$$n \equiv 5(\text{mod } 6).$$

I then considered the other case: $n \equiv 1(\text{mod } 2)$ and $n \equiv 2(\text{mod } 3)$. There exists a single congruence statement that satisfies both these congruences

$$n \equiv 1(\text{mod } 6).$$

Using these new congruences, I determined that both $n \equiv 5 \pmod{6}$ and $n \equiv 1 \pmod{6}$ both could be used to create a covering system. However, I chose to use $n \equiv 5 \pmod{6}$. I then used my knowledge of congruences and acquired techniques to guess and check the remaining options in order to find the last two congruences that would create a covering system. The last congruence needed in order to cover is $n \equiv 1 \pmod{12}$. This congruence satisfies the integers in the congruence $n \equiv 1 \pmod{6}$, which can be demonstrated quite easily: By the definition of congruence, $12|n - 1$. By the definition of divides, $12k = n - 1$. Factor out a 6 from $12k$ to obtain $6(2k) = n - 1$. Therefore, $6|n - 1$ which means $n \equiv 1 \pmod{6}$.

From Donald Malm's journal article "A Graph of Primes," I learned that one only needs to check the numbers up to the least common multiple (lcm) of the modulo. One way to find the least common multiple is to write the modulo in the form of prime factorizations. Given a positive integer, n , greater than 2, the prime factorization is written as

$$n = p_1^{a_1} p_2^{a_2} \dots p_s^{a_s}$$

where the p_i are the prime factors of n (Malm, 1993). For my example, the prime factorizations of each of the modulo in the covering system are the following respectively:

$$2:2^1, 3:3^1, 4:2^2, 6:2^1 * 3^1, 12:2^2 * 3^1.$$

The least common multiple is found by the prime factors of each modulo raised to the highest exponent in each prime factorization. We are taking the largest power of the prime that occurs in any of the modulo, but not any additional powers. So we only use 2 once. Therefore, the lcm of this covering system is $lcm = 2^2 * 3^1 = 12$. Thus, this number 12 means only integers 1 to 12 need to be checked, and if these 12 numbers are all covered by one of the five congruence statements, then the set of congruences is indeed a covering set of congruences.

Minimal Covering Systems

Billik and Edgar's journal article "Covering Sets of Congruences" discusses a more specific covering system known as a minimal covering set of congruences. By definition, a minimal covering set of congruences is one in which if one congruence statement is removed, then the remaining set of congruences would no longer cover all integers. In a minimal covering set, each modulus must divide the least common multiple (lcm) of the other $(k - 1)$ moduli modulo. Thus, if $n_1 \nmid lcm(n_2, n_3, \dots, n_k)$ - this notation symbolizing that the first modulus does not divide the least common multiple of the remaining numbers - then it cannot be a minimal covering system (Billik & Edgar, 1973). The example I proposed is a minimal covering

system because if I remove any one of the congruences, at least one integer is no longer covered. The table below shows the 12 integers that need to be checked:

1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12

Each one of the five congruence statements is necessary. For example, 1 is only covered by $1 \pmod{12}$; 2 is covered only by $0 \pmod{2}$; 5 is covered only by $5 \pmod{6}$; 7 is covered only by $3 \pmod{4}$; and 9 is covered only by $0 \pmod{3}$. Therefore, this is a minimal covering system of congruences.

Since the first example I created is a minimal covering system, it will be interesting to discover whether the other systems I construct will also qualify.

Theorem:

A minimal covering system requires the use of five modulo.

It is not difficult to see why the minimal bound for a covering system is not three. We know that there are only two combinations of three numbers whose reciprocals add up to greater than 1. The two possibilities are: modulo 2, 3, and 4, and modulo 2, 3, and 5. There are 24 different combinations when using modulo 2, 3, and 4 and 30 combinations when using modulo 2, 3, and 5. I checked all 54 combinations and discovered that none of them work. We know the least common multiple (lcm) of 2, 3, and 4

is 12, and thus in order for a system of congruences to be a covering system the first 12 numbers must be satisfied by at least one congruence statement.

$0 \pmod{2}$ covers the even integers and thus 6 integers are satisfied.

$1 \pmod{3}$ covers 4 integers; however, 4 and 10 are double covered and thus this congruence only eliminates two integers bringing the total thus far to 8.

$3 \pmod{4}$ covers 3 integers; however, one of the integers is then double covered so technically this congruence only eliminates 2 integers. Therefore, because of overlapping, of all 24 different possibilities, the most numbers covered at one time is 10, not 12, which is what we need. This topic of minimal bounds will be of importance throughout the remainder of the paper and the proof will be revisited when we consider what happens to modulo 2, 3, and 5.

Bounds

Lemma 3: As N grows, the number of modulo needed to cover will grow.

Using the smallest modulus, 2, five congruences are sufficient in order to cover all the integers. However, this may not be the least number of congruences needed. Therefore, the example that I created would be considered an upper bound if less than five modulo were needed in order to cover. We know that the lower bound must be greater than two modulo as

$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} = \frac{5}{6}$ which is less than 1, so the number of modulo must be greater than

2. Since $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4} = \frac{13}{12} > 1$, this means $3 \leq \text{the number of moduli} \leq 5$.

Thus, my goal is to determine whether it is possible to use only three or four different congruences to cover all integers when $N = 2$. Accordingly, the larger the smallest modulus, the less numbers are covered by each congruence and, therefore, there needs to be more congruences in order to account for this.

My goal was to determine the upper and lower bounds on the number of modulo necessary to create a covering system with the smallest modulus equal to N . From my research, I have learned that the larger the starting modulus, the more congruences are required. This is because the greater the modulus, the fewer numbers are being covered. For example, a modulus of 2 covers half of the integers (the even numbers), whereas a modulus of 3 only covers a third of the integers. Therefore, when two is not part of the covering system, additional modulo are necessary (Filaseta, Ford, Konyagin, Pomerance, & Yu, 2007).

Observations Regarding Bounds

<i>Mod 2, 3, 4</i>	Leftovers
0, 0, 0	1, 5, 7, 11

0, 0, 1	7, 11
0, 0, 2	1, 5, 7, 11
0, 0, 3	1, 5
0, 1, 0	3, 5, 9, 11
0, 1, 1	3, 11
0, 1, 2	3, 5, 9, 11
0, 1, 3	5, 9
0, 2, 0	1, 3, 7, 9
0, 2, 1	3, 7
0, 2, 2	1, 3, 7, 9
0, 2, 3	1, 9
1, 0, 0	2, 10
1, 0, 1	2, 4, 8, 10
1, 0, 2	4, 8
1, 0, 3	2, 4, 8, 10
1, 1, 0	2, 6
1, 1, 1	2, 6, 8, 12
1, 1, 2	8, 12
1, 1, 3	2, 6, 8, 12

1, 2, 0	6, 10
1, 2, 1	4, 6, 10, 12
1, 2, 2	4, 12
1, 2, 3	4, 6, 10, 12

From the observations I made, based on my Maple program, I discovered it is impossible for the bounds of a covering set with $N = 2$ to be 4. The multiple cases where the gaps between the leftover integers are 4 or less cannot work because we are already using *mod 2, 3, and 4* and we cannot use those modulo again and a larger modulus will not cover. There are 4 instances where the gap between 2 leftover integers is 8. Therefore, I reconsidered these cases and realized that using a modulus of 8 will not cover all of the integers either. Thus, the minimal bound for a covering system of congruences with $N = 2$ is not 4.

<i>Mod 2, 3, 5</i>	Leftovers
0, 0, 0	1, 7, 11, 13, 17, 19, 23, 29
0, 0, 1	5, 7, 13, 17, 19, 23, 25, 29
0, 0, 2	1, 5, 11, 13, 19, 23, 25, 29
0, 0, 3	1, 5, 7, 11, 17, 19, 25, 29

0, 0, 4	1,5,7,11,13,17,23,25
0, 1, 0	3, 9, 11,17,21,23,27,29
0, 1, 1	3,5,9,15,17,23,27,29,11
0, 1, 2	3, 5, 9, 11,15,21,23,29
0, 1, 3	5, 9,11,15,17,21,27,29
0, 1, 4	3,5,11,15,17,21,23,27
0, 2, 0	1, 3, 7, 9,13,19,21,27
0, 2, 1	3, 7,9,13,15,19,25,27
0, 2, 2	1, 3, 9,13,15,19,21,25
0, 2, 3	1, 7,9,15,19,21,25,27
0, 2, 4	1, 3,7,13,15,21,25,27
1, 0, 0	2,4,8,14,16,22,26,28
1, 0, 1	2,4,8,10,14,20,22,28
1, 0, 2	4,8,10,14,16,20,26,28
1, 0, 3	2,4,10,14,16,20,22,26
1, 0, 4	2,8,10,16,20,22,26,28
1, 1, 0	2, 6,8,12,14,18,24,26
1, 1, 1	2, 8, 12,14,18,20,24,30
1, 1, 2	6,8, 14,18,20,24,26,30

1, 1, 3	2, 6,12,14,20,24,26,30
1, 1, 4	2, 6,8,12,18,20,26,30
1, 2, 0	4,6,12,16,18,22,24,28
1, 2, 1	4, 10,12,18,22,24,28,30
1, 2, 2	4,6,10,16,18,24,28,30
1, 2, 3	4, 6,10,12,16,22,24,30
1, 2, 4	6,10,12,16,18,22,28,30

I discovered a pattern from these observations with the assistance of my Maple program. For all 30 cases *mod 2, 3, and 5*, the number of integers leftover was always 8. Therefore, only 22 integers are covered. In addition to the Maple computations, a second tool that is helpful in finding the leftovers is checking the overlaps. We know that the modulus 2 will cover $\frac{1}{2}$ of the integers (the even numbers), which is 15. We know the modulus 3 should cover a maximum of 10; however, only 5 are really covered due to double covering. The modulus 5 should cover a maximum of 6 integers, but only 2 are actually covered as *mod 2 and 5* overlap 3 times. Using the Chinese remainder theorem, there is one unique solution: *mod 10*. So, *mod30* would be three solutions, which equates to 3 overlaps. Since 2,3, and 5 are relatively prime, there is one overlap *mod 30*. Therefore in

total only 22 integers out of 30 are covered. I will now consider the possible modulo we can add to cover the 8 missing integers. If we add $\text{mod}4$ or $\text{mod}6$, we can get at most 7 and 5 new coverings respectively. However, this does not account for any overlaps and is therefore not possible.

Additional possibilities for modulo will not cover either because the larger the modulus the fewer numbers that will be covered. Therefore, based on my observations with $\text{mod}2, 3, \text{and} 4$ and $\text{mod}2, 3, \text{and} 5$, I can conclude that the bounds for a covering system when $N = 2$ is 5. Accordingly, the smallest covering system will need a minimum of five congruences in order to cover all the integers.

In conclusion, my research was based on a conjecture by Paul Erdős in 1950, which according to him, was one of his favorite problems. With the use of 3 lemmas and a computer program in Maple as tools, I successfully created a covering system of congruences where $N = 2$. The next step was to create a system using $N = 3$. I have yet to find one as it became greatly complicated by the fact that more congruences were needed to account for the loss of half the integers in which modulus 2 covered. With the addition of more modulo, the least common multiple continued to grow and thus more numbers needed to be checked. A large amount of my research focused on the bounds for the covering system and thus I was able to formulate a theorem based on my observations.

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**Their Beloved Banjar
West Africa's Forgotten Contribution to an American Musical Tradition**

Quinn Gilly

Abstract

The twang of the banjo is instantly recognizable to almost every American. Popular culture teaches us that this distinct instrument is an artifact of white Southern Americana, the product of some remote folk residing in the backwoods of Appalachia. Most Americans carry this understanding of the banjo's roots, rarely giving it a second thought. This popular understanding is unaware of the instrument's true origins, however. The story of the banjo actually begins in West Africa, where several peoples maintain a folk lute tradition that was transported to the Americas through the transatlantic slave trade.

Analyses of West African folk lutes, the plucked string instruments produced by African and African American slaves, and early American banjos will reveal a continuity of the West African folk lute tradition as it was transferred between regions and cultures. Establishing this continuation of tradition will disprove the long-held contention that a white man, Joel Walker Sweeney, invented the modern banjo without the influence of African American banjo predecessors. Though Sweeney has always held prowess as the man who introduced the banjo to white culture through the intensely popular minstrel theater of the 1840s and 1850s, the form of his banjo is drawn heavily from African American instruments. Discussion will offer several explanations of how the banjo's invention was instead attributed to Joel Walker Sweeney, and how it became generally disassociated with African American folk culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of sources deserve acknowledgement, as each had a hand in the formulation and writing of this project. It will be noticed that two authors were cited frequently throughout this work, and this is due to their unique and highly influential contributions to the study of the banjo. First, Cecelia Conway's book *African Banjo Echoes in Appalachia: A Study of Folk Traditions* deserves special credit, as it remains one of the few sources that place the banjo in context to folk traditions. Also, this source inspired the use of "The Old Plantation," a watercolor painting, in crediting a defining characteristic of the modern banjo to African American tradition. Secondly, Bob Carlin's book *The Birth of the Banjo: Joel Walker Sweeney and Early Minstrelsy* was critical to this work, as it is the only source which has compiled contemporary accounts and factual information on Joel Walker Sweeney.

Though not directly mentioned in the project, Timothy Twiss' website "The Banjo Clubhouse" serves as an invaluable source to early American banjo researchers. It provides information on the history of the banjo and minstrel music, as well as PDF files of banjo instructors published between 1855 and 1883. Coupled with sound files in which tunes from these instructors are performed on period instruments, Timothy Twiss' website is an essential destination for anyone interested in the history of or learning how to play the early American banjo. Dr. Robert B. Winans deserves credit in any and all projects concerning the early American banjo and the early minstrel style. He is a pioneer in this field, having analyzed the early minstrel style in the 1970s when few others gave it much interest or attention. Finally, the late Scott Didlake, another pioneer in early banjo research, single-handedly inspired this work. His statement that a gourd-bodied banjo's sound chamber was like "a well of souls" was so profoundly beautiful as to inspire a *need* to learn more on the subject.

Final thanks are due to Professor Maureen C. Dorment and Dr. Richard Veit, whose interest and guidance aided the conception of this project. Their outstanding support drove this project and allowed it to take on the dual role of a study in folklore and interpretation of the historical record. The author is personally indebted.

THE BANJO
1840s -1850s

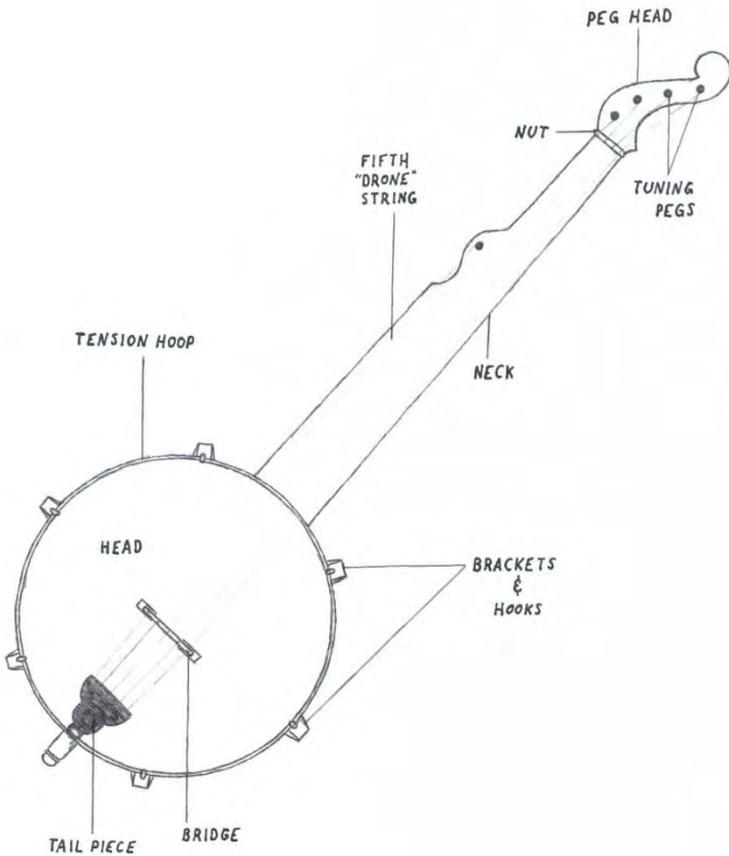


Figure 1. Diagram of an early American banjo. Modeled on those of William E. Boucher, Jr., of Baltimore, Maryland.

At first mention, the banjo evokes the same passions and stereotypes amongst most Americans. Modern culture depicts the instrument as a hokey artifact of Southern Americana, created and played by white back-woods hillbillies. After all, it seems that nothing could possibly be more redneck-ish than a hoop covered with an animal skin and steel-wire strings stretched over it. This stereotype is seen all over American popular culture today, surfacing in such places as the famed “Dueling Banjos” scene in the film “Deliverance” and Earl Scruggs’ “Ballad of Jed Clampett,” the opening theme to the television series “The Beverly Hillbillies.” An association with such elements in popular culture has done much to promote the banjo as a musical form of Southern white creation.

Historians studying the history of the banjo in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries painted a slightly more complex story, but generally agreed with the popular belief that the banjo is ultimately a Southern white invention. Alan Lomax suggests that the banjo is actually “related on its mother’s side to certain primitive West African stringed instruments.” However, these West African forms were “primitive,” and the modern banjo did not exist until it was “polished and given its fifth string by one Joel Sweeney of North Carolina....”¹ Arthur Woodward agrees, claiming that “about the year of 1831 he [Sweeney] added a fifth or thumb string to this new invention, thus producing the first of a long line of banjos.”² These gentlemen are basically asserting that the banjo, even though it may be rooted in West African tradition, did not exist until Joel Walker Sweeney made it his own and added its characteristic fifth, or drone string. Such a suggestion begs an altogether new question in the story of the banjo: were the characteristics and ideas behind the modern banjo unique to Joel Walker Sweeney, its accepted inventor?

Woodward and Lomax, while including nuggets of truth in their suppositions, could not possibly be more wrong in crediting Joel Walker Sweeney with the invention of the banjo. To suggest this as historical truth is to accept a myth as fact. The banjo’s nineteenth century form, music, and method, coupled with historical accounts of its early form, indicate that the defining characteristics of the banjo are not unique to Sweeney, but instead derived from the very West African folk lute tradition that Mr. Lomax labeled as “primitive.” West African folk lute forms were actually

¹ Gene Bluestein, “America’s Folk Instrument: Notes on the Five-String Banjo,” *Western Folklore* 23 (October 1964): 243.

² *Ibid.*

commonplace throughout North America as early as the mid-seventeenth century, when the transatlantic slave trade was transplanting both African captives and their folk traditions. As the folk lute tradition continued in its new environment, a new common lute form emerged as the tradition flourished among slave communities. This common folk lute was discovered by several enterprising white men in the early nineteenth century, foremost Joel Walker Sweeney, who in turn introduced the folk lute to a new popular tradition. The folk lute, by this time known as the banjo, soared to new heights as it was thrust onto the intensely popular minstrel stage of the 1840s and 1850s. Sadly, minstrelsy would initiate the process by which the African American folk banjo tradition would end by the turn of the century. The folk tradition gave way to several forces, but predominately to the African-American community's humiliation over the minstrel caricature and a late-century movement to "elevate" the banjo above minstrelsy and its West African origins. Both of these forces eventually removed the banjo from its African American inheritors, leaving part of their heritage and their unique contribution to American musical culture in the hands of white men.

Folk and Tradition

The banjo as it is known today, whether it be played on the back stoop by a lone musician after a hard day of work or on a stage with a bluegrass band, is often categorized as a folk instrument due to its connection to the folk genre of music. Yet, the "folk" nature of the instrument transcends such a simplistic categorization as musical genre. Banjos have always been and continue to be connected to their root in folk culture. They are produced by certain persons who know how to make them and have been making them for some time. Each and every banjo made, either in a factory or by an individual, is generally similar to one another. To state it bluntly, banjos everywhere are constructed in a like fashion and look the same. A *folk tradition* seems to be at root here.

But what does it mean for a thing to be the product of "folk"? In terms of objects, an item is only considered folk if it has been produced by a folk society. Folklorist Henry Glassie defines a folk society as "a homogenous, sacred, self-perpetuating, largely self-sufficient group isolated by any of many means, such as language or topography, from the larger

society with which it moderately interacts.”³ Region is one factor that Glassie specifically mentions as creating homogenous groups. The great problem of defining homogenous groups in the United States is the larger national identity, which is a conglomeration of many peoples and life ways. Also, there are far more than just one folk group living within the United States. Many folk groups exist as part of the larger popular (national) culture.⁴ Therefore, folk groups can be better distinguished according to specific regions in which the material culture is distinct, but comparable to “material found throughout the whole.”⁵

Every object produced by a folk culture comprises its material culture – simply the objects that its members make. Material culture can be classified by a number of characteristics, but predominantly by their form, construction, and use. Form, contends Glassie, is the most important aspect to consider when classifying an object as folk. He says:

The typology and cross-cultural classification of material culture must be based on form only....Any object’s form can be separated into primary characteristics (those used to define the type into which the example fits), and secondary characteristics (other attributes of the form which...are not of use in the definition of the type).⁶

Glassie holds form as the main identifier of object types. This is of critical importance when classifying items as material folk culture. Unlike popular culture, which is constantly changing (just about anyone can think of a fad of ten years ago that is no longer the social norm), folk culture is largely traditional. Its values are kept separate from the popular norms that are subject to the expectations and ideas of countless groups. The more heterogeneous folk culture relies more upon its own standards, defined by region. As a result, a material folk culture tends to yield common forms in its object types.

It is necessary to illustrate this point with an example. Take for instance the very appropriate example of the banjo building tradition in

³ Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 3.

⁴ John Michael Vlach, “American Folk Art: Questions and Quandaries,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 4 (Winter 1980): 355.

⁵ Glassie, *Pattern*, 34.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.



Southern Appalachia. In figures 2.1 and 2.2 are two instruments commonly typed as the Appalachian mountain style folk banjo.

Figure 2.1. Appalachian mountain style banjo, circa 1880-1910. The maker and provenance of this instrument are unknown. *Source:* Philip F. Gura and James F. Bollman, *America's Instrument: The Banjo in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), plate 5-1.

At first glance, these banjos are easily told apart from one another. Each has its own distinct characteristics, but these are simply the individual expressions of the makers. These characteristics are secondary to their most important feature: their form. On closer inspection, the forms of these banjos are very similar. They have a small skin head, which is held taught by an internal tensioning system. Both are fretless, and use hand-carved tuning pegs as opposed to mechanical tuners. Also, both of these banjos are easily associated with, but clearly different from the more common manufactured banjos. It is obvious that they were made according to the same folk standards – they were produced apart from the popular expectation of what a banjo should look like, and they share a common form.

These banjos are also traditional. Considering one was produced near the turn of the century and the other about sixty years later, it is interesting that there are no drastic changes reflected in the later example. No frets were added, the more common exterior flesh hoop and bracket tensioning system did not replace the old method, and mechanical tuners were not used. According to Glassie, this speaks to the continuity of the form and construction method employed in these folk products. The form was not only shared by different makers, but also handed down from one generation to the next. This places the folk banjos in a temporal context: there is no change “so complete that the new cannot be read as an innovative adaptation

of the old.”⁷ In fact, there were practically no form changes in these items of material folk culture over time. The sharing of this common form between generations thus makes it traditional.

When an item of material folk culture is traditional (and some argue that anything folk is inherently traditional – but this is an argument best reserved for another day), it is not likely to change over time. This, of course, is reflected in the case of the two Appalachian mountain style banjos. Yet, variations in material folk culture do occur. Henry Glassie sets material folk culture aside from the popular culture, which does change over time, explaining that it will vary by region.⁸ In other words, the transmission of a folk object from one region to another can cause variations in the form or construction of the object. In a new region, a folk object can be exposed to new expectations or construction methods dictating its production. For example, a region different from that of the object’s origin might lack some of the materials traditionally used in the object’s construction process. Local materials may thus be incorporated to supplant the unavailable traditional materials. A regional transfer would then yield a variation of the original folk object, being highly similar in form but perhaps different in how and with what it was constructed.

Despite such variation, the folk object would remain folk after its transfer. To refer to Glassie’s statement mentioned above, the “innovative adaptation of the old” is not so overbearing as to create a distinctly new object type. “Variation” does not require a change in the object’s form – the primary characteristic used to type objects. Therefore, the object is still associated with the folk culture that originally produced it. Coupling this with the fact that material folk culture is shared between generations, a theme of continuity is established. An object type determined to be part of a material folk culture and possessing a common form shared between generations and regions is inherently continuous, and thus traditional. The object possessing these qualities may then be described as the product of a folk tradition: it is both folk, even if modified after regional transfer, and shared in the spirit of tradition. Having the ability to classify an object as the product of a folk tradition will prove its worth in tracing the roots of the banjo. Folk tradition is a major element in the story of the banjo, and must be especially considered in its early form. Without such consideration, the

⁷ Henry Glassie, “Tradition,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 430 (Autumn, 1995): 395-399.

⁸ Glassie, *Pattern*, 33.

instrument's lineage is less clear and obscured by the stereotypes of the popular conception.

The West African Folk Lute Tradition

In order to dispel the myth of Joel Walker Sweeney as the true inventor of the banjo, the story of the banjo must be traced back to its folk roots in West Africa, the very same so readily dismissed by Lomax and Woodward. Africa holds a strong folk lute tradition which extends far into antiquity. About the 7th century AD, it is believed, Arab groups began bringing onto the continent long-necked plucked lutes called *tanbur*.⁹ Though there exists little information documenting the dispersion of these lutes among the peoples of the continent, oral tradition traces its spread to the Senegambian region of West Africa by the 13th century.¹⁰ Here, the plucked lute was adopted by a number of peoples and continued in the spirit of tradition. The many peoples of the Senegambia region thus engaged in a common lute tradition. The lutes produced by each of these groups did obtain certain unique characteristics, as each group made the instrument its own, but ultimately, all of these instruments came to comprise a common, well-developed West African tradition. Two products of this tradition, the Wolof *xalam* and the Jola *akonting*, are likely candidates for the "primitive" West African stringed instruments which Arthur Lomax claims were brought to the New World.

The Wolof people, among the first peoples to have been transported to the Americas through the transatlantic slave trade, produce one of these traditional lutes. Their *xalam* (pronounced kalam) is a form of folk lute, constructed by a special class of musicians, called *xalamkats*, from specific local materials.¹¹ In constructing a *xalam*, *xalamkats* conform to a set

⁹ Michael Theodore Coolen, "Senegambian Archetypes for the American Folk Banjo," *Western Folklore* 43 (April 1984): 120.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Coolen, "Senegambian Archetypes," 124-125.



Figure 3. The Wolof xalam. *Source:* Gura and Bollman, *America's Instrument*, plate 1-1.

of materials and construction features when producing their instruments. No matter the maker, every xalam will display the following characteristics. The xalam has an elongated sound chamber, called the *kook*, carved from a piece of hollowed-out hardwood (a hollowed gourd or calabash is sometimes substituted for this feature). Stretched over the *kook* is the *pawd* or *porr*, a skin usually taken from the chest of a cow and tacked in place with metal nails. A number of openings are cut into the *pawd* to suit several purposes. First, a sound hole is cut into it just below the bridge, and this is referred to as the *bakani xalam*, or, literally, the “nose of the xalam.”¹² Second, two other slits are cut into the *pawd* above the *bakani xalam*, and it is through these slits and a hole drilled through the *kook* that the neck, or *banti xalam*, is passed through and fixed to the instrument. A wooden bridge attached to the bottom of the *banti xalam* raises the *bumi*, horsehair strings typically five in number, over the *pawd*. *Kachiri*, long leather straps wrapped around the *banti xalam* four or five times, are used to tune the *bumi*. The *bumi* are

¹² Coolen, “Senegambian Archetypes,” 125.

attached to the *kachiri*, which then hold the strings in place through the tension caused by tightening those strings.¹³

There are two more interesting aspects of the Wolof xalam that deserve mention. First, xalamkats use a unique playing method which involves a combination of striking down upon the strings and plucking them. Typically, the index finger strikes down upon one of the noting strings with the back of the fingernail while the thumb and middle finger pluck the strings.¹⁴ The thumb specifically plucks the second important aspect of the xalam: the drone strings. A traditional xalam has several drone strings in addition to two or more noting strings, and these strings are sounded with the thumb.¹⁵ This method of playing is reflected in the names given to the Wolof xalam and similar folk lutes by other West African peoples. The Manding *nkoni*, a lute almost identical to the xalam, is described as being played by “beating” or “knocking” on the strings, a movement characteristic with the down-stroking of the fist toward the *pawd*. Several names for the xalam are found in the Fulbé language, but *hoDu*, literally meaning to beat or knock upon a door, is commonly used.¹⁶ This again demonstrates the down-stroking movement of the playing hand. The use of drone strings and down-stroking help characterize the xalam as a unique folk lute form, and these aspects will be of great importance in subsequent discussion on the history of the banjo.

Primary historical accounts documenting the production and use of the xalam and xalam-like lutes during the transatlantic slave trade period are few and far between. Most of what scholars know about these folk lutes is derived from centuries of oral tradition and contemporary instruments made according to the folk tradition. Fortunately, one account was uncovered by ethnomusicologist Michael Theodore Coolen in his research on possible banjo predecessors. Coolen offers an account tendered by Rene Caillié, a gentleman who spent a year of his life with the Hassaniya people of Mauretania (located just north of the Wolof people’s home in Senegambia). Writing in August of 1824, Caillié describes a small lute used in royal entourages:

¹³ Ibid, 126.

¹⁴ Cecelia Conway, *African Banjo Echoes in Appalachia: A Study of Folk Traditions* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 222.

¹⁵ Bob Carlin, *The Birth of the Banjo: Joel Walker Sweeney and Early Minstrelsy* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2007), 128.

¹⁶ Coolen, “Senegambian Archetypes,” 123-124.

One, made in the form of a guitar, is nothing other than a small oval calabash, covered with the well-cured hide of a sheep, with a neck about one foot long, which serves to hold the strings of the instrument, which are five in number and made of several strands of twisted horsehair. When it is played, this instrument makes very agreeable sounds.¹⁷

Caillié's account is important as it documents a shared West African folk lute tradition in the early nineteenth century. The instrument described here clearly indicates a xalam-like instrument in use by a people located just north of the Wolof. A calabash is known to be used as a variant in place of a hardwood *kook*, and the sheep hide is used as the *pawd*. The twisted horsehair strings are an obvious reference to the *bumi* and the foot-long neck matches the xalam's *banti xalam*. Lastly, the instrument described here has five strings, a standard number found on the xalam. In addition to documenting a shared folk tradition, Caillié's account provides another interesting piece of information. It provides a *terminus ante quem* for the xalam-type folk tradition in West Africa; in other words, it dates the shared folk lute tradition to 1824. This folk lute tradition must therefore have predated, or been in existence prior to that date. Caillié's account might now be viewed as historical evidence of an established xalam-type folk tradition in the Senegambia region of West Africa by the early nineteenth century.

Xalam-like instruments are not the only traditional folk lutes to be found in West Africa. Another possible West African ancestor of the banjo is found among the Jola folk group who reside in southern Senegal, Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau.¹⁸ The Jola share a common folk lute tradition with a number of other local peoples, but their form, called the *akonting*, is known

¹⁷ Coolen, "Senegambian Archetypes," 122.

¹⁸ "The Akonting & Other Folk Lutes of West Africa's 'Rice Coast,'" *Shlomoe Pestcoe*, 2005



Figure 4. Daniel Jatta plays his akonting. *Source:* “The Akonting & Other Folk Lutes of West Africa’s ‘Rice Coast,’” *Shlomoe Pestcoe*, 2005, http://www.shlomomusic.com/banjoancestors_akonting.htm.

most widely. Tradition surrounding this lute differs in several ways from the Wolof xalam and related instruments. In Jola culture, there is no special class of musicians, and so anyone is capable of learning to produce and play these instruments from akonting musicians. In terms of form, the akonting is very different in appearance from the xalam, yet a number of its characteristics are similar. The sound chamber of the akonting is made from half a large gourd, and over this is tacked an animal skin, often from a goat. Unlike the xalam, no sound holes are cut into this surface; sound holes are cut into the gourd shell. A very long, round wooden neck penetrates the full diameter of the sound chamber, making what ethnomusicologists have referred to as a full-spike lute.¹⁹ There are no frets upon the neck, but leather strips identical to *kachiri* which are used to tune three gut strings. The top string is a chanterelle, or short drone string tuned to a pitch higher than the middle string, also the longest string.²⁰ One major difference between the akonting and xalam is the manner by which the strings are raised over the

¹⁹ “The Akonting,” http://www.shlomomusic.com/banjoancestors_akonting.htm.

²⁰ Nick Bamber, “Two Gourd Lutes from the Bijago Islands of Guinea Bissau” *Shlomoe Pestcoe*, 2006.

skin head. On the akonting, a wooden bridge rests upon the surface of the skin head and is held in place only by the tension of the strings. The strings pass over the bridge and are tied off to the protruding portion of the neck at the bottom of the instrument. This feature is identical to that used on the American banjo, which raises its five strings by a wooden bridge placed at the center of the head.

Akonting players use a playing method very similar to that used by xalamkats. It is called *o'teck*, which means "to stroke." In *o'teck*, the nail of one finger, either the index or middle, strikes down upon one of the individual melody strings. Immediately following this motion is the thumb's upward-picking of the drone string.²¹ This style of playing compliments the type of music traditionally played on the akonting. Daniel Jatta, an akonting musician and scholar of African folk lute traditions, describes the music of akonting as "short sustained notes that are played over and over again." "The mechanics in playing the akonting," he continues, "is the regular sounding of the short string (drone string) when playing any melody....All the noting is done on the long string." Resulting are repetitive melodies with a drone that creates a back-beat. Often used in accompaniment of other instruments, the *o'teck* method yields a percussive style of music that Jatta claims "is rhythmic enough to enable one to dance."²²

The Jola share their akonting with other neighboring peoples as part of a broader folk lute tradition in the region. A folk lute practically identical to the akonting is produced by the Manjak people of Guinea-Bissau. Their version, called the *bunchundo*, is also a full-spike lute that employs a long neck, gourd body, tacked head, and bridge resting upon the skin head.²³ The Bujogo people, also inhabitants of Guinea-Bissau, produce a version of folk lute called *ngopata*. This full-spike lute also uses a gourd sound chamber, long neck, bridge resting upon the skin head, and three strings. On the *ngopata*, the top string is a chanterelle tuned a perfect fifth above the middle (longest) string. It is played in the exact same style as the akonting, the middle finger striking down upon the noting strings and the thumb plucking up on the chanterelle.²⁴ The Balanta people, neighbors of the Jola and

²¹ "The Akonting

²² "The Akonting

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Bamber, "Gourd Lutes,"

Bujogo in Guinea-Bissau, produce another full-spike version of folk lute which they call *kusunde*. Once again, the *kusunde* is identical to the akonting in construction and form. However, there are two small exceptions. First, the short drone string is located on the bottom of the neck. Secondly, the playing method is different. As opposed to the down-stroking of o'teck, the Balanta pick the noting strings in an upward motion with the thumb while up-picking the drone string with the first and middle finger.²⁵ While the *kusunde* displays these differences from the akonting and its relatives, they are in reality two isolated variations from the larger folk tradition exemplified by the Jola akonting.

The akonting, xalam, and other similar lutes conforming to the West African folk tradition were well-established by the seventeenth century. Sadly, Africa and its many peoples were heading toward dark times as the transatlantic slave trade began in earnest during this period. Between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, millions upon millions of Africans were torn away from their homes, stolen away and sold as chattel. As they arrived in the Americas, they suddenly became the subjects of a dominant, oppressive class of men which sought to conquer mind as well as body. An incredible amount of African cultural heritage was thus lost as European masters asserted their dominance. The West African folk lute tradition was no exception: it too fell under the threat of slavery, and its survival would depend upon the determination of its West African keepers.

Kidnapping More Than Bodies: The Banjo Comes to America

As the transatlantic slave trade experienced a dramatic increase in the seventeenth century, more than just slaves were being transported across the Atlantic. The cultures of the enslaved Africans were in no way nullified by the middle passage. In fact, their minds retained their cultural heritage, which many of them were determined to keep to as they began their harsh new existence in the Americas. Among these cultural survivals were the folk lute traditions of West Africa. Not only did artifacts of these folk traditions survive, but they were deposited in the Americas. Elements of the tradition surfaced in New World artifacts as they were produced by African slaves. As the Europeans became closer to these African slaves between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, more and more written accounts attesting to the

ngopata.htm.

²⁵ Ibid.

survival of the shared folk lute tradition appeared. By the early nineteenth century, the establishment of the shared West African folk lute tradition in America and its subsequent production of “primitive” banjo predecessors would be well documented.

Before any African-inspired lutes could be found in the Americas, those persons who were familiar with the lute traditions had to be transported to the New World. An account detailing such transportation is recorded by George Pinckard. Writing from Carlisle Bay, Jamaica, in February of 1796, Pinckard describes a fascinating, albeit sullen scene:

A slave-ship, belonging to North America, and bound to Savannah in Georgia, had arrived from the coast of Guinea...and was lying very near to us, with a cargo of negroes on board...[We] took off a boat...and went to visit the Guineaman....In the daytime they were not allowed to remain in the place where they had slept, but were kept mostly upon the open deck, where they were made to exercise, and encouraged, by the music of their beloved banjar, to dancing and cheerfulness.²⁶

Unfortunately, for the purpose at hand, Pinckard does not explain what a “banjar” is. Yet, a brief definition of this instrument is gleaned from an unexpected source writing only several years prior: Thomas Jefferson. In his 1781 *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson acknowledges the banjar as an instrument “brought hither from Africa,” being “the original of the guitar, its chords being precisely the four lower chords of the guitar.”²⁷ The banjar Jefferson is describing is obviously a stringed instrument, possibly a form of lute, arranged somewhat like a guitar. This being established, Pinckard’s account suddenly becomes credible: an African lute has been transported across the Atlantic along with the slaves. To top this, the instrument here is being played. This clearly shows that African lute musicians were among those captured and sold into slavery, and, in this case, were forced to bring

²⁶ Dena J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 10.

²⁷ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 288.

their instruments and play them aboard ship.²⁸

If lute musicians were among the America-bound slaves, then certainly the *knowledge* of the tradition which produced that lute must also have been included. Archaeologist James Deetz describes such knowledge in terms of a *vernacular tradition*. In his own studies of vernacular housing among early European settlers in North America, Deetz found that house types would often be erected according to folk traditions without the “benefit of formal plans.”²⁹ Without plans, producers would be forced to rely on an internal knowledge and a set of social expectations when creating cultural forms. Deetz contends that these persons would thus have in their minds “ideas of what is or is not suitable to them,” and produce cultural objects that conform to these ideas.³⁰ Applying this concept to George Pinckard’s account, lute musicians would inherently be carrying with them an intimate knowledge of their instruments and the tradition out of which it was produced. Aware of the construction and playing methods involved, musicians would undoubtedly have brought that knowledge with them to the Americas as a vernacular tradition.

Seventeenth and eighteenth century accounts reporting the application of this knowledge provide strong historical evidence of the West African folk lute traditions’ appearance as a vernacular tradition in America. After their arrival in the Americas, African and early African Americans began constructing folk lutes with characteristics and playing methods similar to their West African predecessors. Jonathan Boucher describes such an instrument, whose name is intriguingly similar to the banjar mentioned by Pinckard and Jefferson. While staying in Maryland and Virginia in the years before 1775, he observed an instrument “much used by Negroes” called a “Bandore.” Boucher specifies that the slaves pronounced this term “banjer.” “Its body was a large hollow gourd,” he explains, “with a long handle attached to it, strung with catgut, and played on the fingers....”³¹ The instrument Boucher is describing sounds quite similar to an akonting, being constructed of both a large gourd and a long neck (he calls this a “handle”).

²⁸ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, 7; It was common practice aboard slave ships to force the captives to dance while on deck. It was believed that this would reduce susceptibility to disease, depression, and atrophy.

²⁹ James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1996), 126.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, 126.

Also, the strings are cat gut, relating closely to the use of gut strings on akontings. It seems likely, then, that this bandore was derived from the West African folk lute traditions.

An earlier account describing a similar instrument is provided by Jean Baptiste Labat, a French monk performing missionary work in Martinique. In 1694, Labat witnessed slaves playing what he termed “une espèce de guitarre,” a stringed instrument made from a skin-covered calabash. He explains that the instrument had “four strings...raised on a bridge above the skin” and was played by “plucking and beating on the strings.”³² This instrument, though not named, is so similar to Boucher’s bandore that it must of the same type. It is also highly characteristic of West African folk tradition. Skin heads and calabash sound chambers are found in both xalam and akonting-type folk lutes, and a bridge resting above the skin head is particularly reflective of that used on the akonting. What is most interesting, however, is Labat’s description of the playing method: plucking and beating on the strings. While this is open to interpretation, the term “beating” does suggest the presence of o’teck, or the West African manner of striking the noting strings with the back of the fingernail while “plucking” the drones with the thumb.³³ A beating motion resembles the down-striking motion of the hand in o’teck, and it is very unlikely that such a word would be used to denote a style in which the strings were only plucked. The connection of the o’teck playing style to this instrument solidly demonstrates the transfer of West African folk lute elements to the Americas.

A later account, published in 1810 as part of an attack on the “barbarism” of the slaves in the French American colonies, provides yet another testimony to the presence of West African traditions in these early banjars (or bandores). Discussing in detail stringed instruments comprised of local materials, the account states:

As to guitars, which the Negroes call *banza*, see what they consist of: they cut lengthwise through the middle of a calabash....This fruit is sometimes eight inches and more in diameter. They stretch upon it the skin of a goat which they adjust around the edges with little nails; they make two holes in this surface; then a piece of lath or flat wood makes the handle of the guitar; they then stretch these cords

³² Conway, *African Banjo*, 163.

³³ “The Akonting”

of *pitre* (a kind of hemp taken from the *agave* plant, vulgarly called *pitre*), and the instrument is finished.³⁴

Not only is this “banza” similar to the lutes described by Jonathan Boucher and Jean Baptiste Labat, but it too reflects West African folk tradition. Aspects closely associated with both xalam and akonting-type instruments seem to have been combined in this banza. Half a calabash, a type of gourd, was used as the sound chamber, on the akonting as well as the Labat example. Likewise, a skin head was stretched over the open half of the calabash and tacked in place, a feature seen in both the xalam and akonting. Interestingly, two holes were made in the surface of the skin head. Recall the *bakani xalam* on the xalam: a hole was cut in the skin head (*pawd* or *porr*) to allow sound to escape from the sound chamber. The two holes mentioned in this account may very well be a xalam-inspired contribution to this instrument, as their purpose undoubtedly fulfilled the same function. A myriad of similarities drawn between this banza, Labat’s example, Boucher’s banjer, and the West African xalam and akonting are too uncanny to be coincidental. They must be related; the banjer-type instrument has been shown to be highly reflective of traditional West African folk lutes, in both construction and playing method. It seems that the West African folk lute traditions were alive and well in the form of these early banjars.

While Boucher, Labat, and the 1810 account have provided thorough historical documentation of the West African folk lute traditions’ transfer to the Americas, there is one feature that has not been specifically addressed. In West Africa, smaller folk lutes were traditionally kept in tune by the use of *kachiri* in adding or detracting string tension. None of the aforementioned accounts describe any type of tuning component on these instruments. If thinking along the Alan Lomax train of thought, some might argue that these instruments were rude products and bore no tuning mechanisms worth noting. Yet, considering the West African predecessors of these instruments were capable of being retuned, it is highly unlikely that the folk lutes made in the Americas would have included every other element of the same folk tradition beside a means for adjusting its tuning. So how were these instruments able to be retuned? If no *kachiri*-like aspect was documented, then what mechanism took its place?

Several surviving primary sources, all dating to the eighteenth century, clearly show a new, non-traditional means of retuning the strings

³⁴ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, 38.

incorporated into banjar-like instruments. “The Old Plantation,” an anonymous watercolor circa 1777 to 1794, permits an idea of this new method through the depiction of an early African or African American banjar.



Figure 5. “The Old Plantation.” *Source:* The Abbey Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum.

Seen at the lower right-hand corner of the image are two musicians, the one on the left playing a banjar. Four pegs can be seen on the instrument, three located at the top of the neck and one about half-way between the musician’s hand and the gourd sound chamber. Notice that the strings end at each peg. Each of these pegs is likely a tuning peg, like those found on the European fiddle, which is turned to either increase or decrease the tension put on each string (thus adjusting the string’s pitch).

One could claim that this is an extreme assertion to make, particularly in the sense that the clarity of the image is not enough to allow a positive identification. Perhaps there is merit to this point, but bear this detail in mind when considering one of the few surviving artifacts of the West African folk lute traditions’ transfer to the New World. Located in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde of Leiden, Holland, is a “Creole-bania” collected by John Gabriel Stedman from Dutch Guyana (present-day

Surinam) before 1772.³⁵ Not only is this instrument uncannily similar to the



Figure 6. Stedman's "Creole-bania."
Source: Webb, *Ring the Banjar!*, plate 22.

Jola akonting, but it also matches closely the instruments described in the Boucher, Labat, and 1810 accounts. There is no mistaking the mechanisms used to tune the strings: the protrusion on the side of the peg head is clearly a tuning peg, almost identical to those used on the European fiddle. The peg head itself, located at the top of the neck, even resembles the carved-out peg heads seen on violins and similar European instruments of that family. This observation now lends credence to the assertion that the pegs seen on "The Old Plantation" example might also be fiddle style tuning pegs. Stedman's "Creole-bania" and the banjar depicted in "The Old Plantation" have fiddle-style tuning pegs incorporated into their otherwise traditional forms. While this answers the original question of how were these New World folk lutes kept in tune, it begs an altogether new question. How did tuning pegs come to supplant *kachiri*-like tuners on these instruments so strongly connected to West African folk tradition?

³⁵ Conway, *African Banjo*, 163.

This question of tuning pegs might seem to be trifling, but the use of such tuning mechanisms on early banjars is actually of profound importance. Examples like the Stedman bania and “The Old Plantation” banjar provide evidence of *creolization* in these American descendants of the West African folk lute traditions. Creolization refers to a process in which elements of two or several cultures are melded into a new, unique product reflecting the various cultural influences. In terms of material culture, as in the above examples, an object is said to be *creolized* if its form has been inspired by several contributing cultures, or if it has incorporated certain elements found in a culture other than the one which produced it. Mechal Sobel provides a useful elaboration in her book *The World They Made Together*, in which she speaks of the relationships between whites and blacks in eighteenth century Virginia. She claims that the white culture was not entirely dominant over that of the African Americans. “On the contrary,” Sobel asserts, “the social-cultural interplay was such that both blacks and whites were crucially influenced by the traditions of the ‘other.’” A sort of trading thus occurred between these two cultures, bringing into existence a “mix of both African and English values.”³⁶

Sobel’s observation could very well be at the root of the appearance of tuning pegs on instruments so heavily steeped in West African tradition. African slaves brought to the Americas during the transatlantic slave trade era had in fact been exposed to the European fiddle as their contact with whites increased. Not only were they exposed to the fiddle, but they had also become very familiar with it by the late eighteenth century. West Africans, who were already familiar with a one-stringed bowed lute produced in the region, were quick to adopt the European fiddle after arrival in America.³⁷ Nicholas Cresswell, describing a barbecue along the St. Mary’s River near the Georgia-Florida border in 1774, records this familiarity. He mentions a gathering with “a fiddle and banjo played by two [N]egroes...which both men and women seem to be very fond of.”³⁸ This brief statement carries heavy implications. First, an African or African American person is *playing* a fiddle, an act that demonstrates an acquaintance with the instrument. Second, they are playing it alongside a banjo (and in this account, the instrument is referred to by its modern name: banjo). The

³⁶ Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, 213-214.

³⁷ Cecelia Conway, “Black Banjo Songsters in Appalachia,” *Black Music Research Journal* 23 (Spring-Autumn, 2003), 152.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

closeness of the banjo and fiddle suggested by Cresswell's account makes the possibility of creolization in early banjars plausible. It is not unlikely that West African folk lute producers, as they came to know the fiddle, saw its tuning pegs as an improvement or as a useful method in tuning the strings. As a result, they incorporated tuning pegs into their instruments. Hence the appearance of fiddle-style tuning pegs in the Stedman bania and "The Old Plantation" banjar.

Much can be said about the folk lutes being produced by African slaves in the Americas between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Examples like those reported by Jonathan Boucher and Jean Baptist Labat show a clear relation to the folk lutes of West Africa. Elements from both xalam and akonting-type instruments surfaced in these New World offspring. Yet, the banjars, banias, and banjers of the Americas were not identical to the folk traditions out of which they were produced. A new environment yielded different production materials, and thus the producers had to incorporate new materials, using them according to the expectations of a strong vernacular tradition. Also, the slaves' new environment exposed them to the products of other cultures. They became acquainted with countless European life ways and customs, one of which was the fiddle. As the Stedman bania and "The Old Plantation" banjar demonstrate, producers of the West African folk tradition may very well have incorporated European-inspired elements into their instruments, resulting in creolized forms. In general, the West African folk lute tradition had clearly been established in the Americas by the nineteenth century. However, this folk tradition did not remain static after its arrival in the new land. The banjars and similar instruments were incorporating non-traditional aspects into their form, resulting in New World creations that were characteristic of, but distinct from, their predecessors. By the nineteenth century, the folk lute tradition was no longer purely West African; it was now African American.

The Nineteenth Century

As the early nineteenth century progressed toward mid-century, the banjars created by African and African American slaves flourished among those populations in North America. The popularity of these instruments among the slaves is thought to be related to slaveholders' suppression of percussion music. Since the seventeenth century, slaves in the Americas were discouraged from having or playing upon drums. White slaveholders often feared that drums could be used for signaling purposes in the

fomentation of revolt.³⁹ This worry is reflected in contemporary legislation. In 1740, following the Stono insurrection, the South Carolina legislature included in its Slave Act a prohibition of slaves “using or keeping drums...or other loud instruments” which could be used to send signals from one plantation to another. The North Carolina legislature passed similar legislation in 1794 in response to gruesome insurrections currently occurring in the Caribbean.⁴⁰ As a result of this widespread banning of loud percussive instruments, the slaves were forced to reduce their musical traditions to instruments with gentler tones. Traditional stringed instruments had this softer tone, and thus likely came to the forefront of African American music in replacement of drums.⁴¹

Continuing a musical heritage was of the utmost importance to the African American slaves. Practically every form of expression was denied them through the cruel practices of slavery, and any slave caught talking back to their master or demonstrating their displeasure fell immediately under threat of the whip. Often, music became the only medium through which these people could escape, even if momentarily, from this degraded state. Vinnie Brunson, speaking as a former slave in the 1930s, recounts the importance of music to himself and other slaves. “De nigger used to sing to nearly everything he did,” says Brunson, adding, “hit wuz jes’ de way he ‘spressed his feelin’s, and hit made him relieved.”⁴² According to Brunson, music had a cathartic effect on the slaves, providing them a way to release their frustrations and longings. In a world that had stripped them of everything, even from owning their own bodies, music was one of the last things they had left. A need to adopt new forms of making music and accompanying their song thus becomes all the more understandable. The banjars being built by slaves in North America fulfilled this role by providing

³⁹ Dena J. Epstein, “The Folk Banjo: A Documentary History,” *Ethnomusicology* 19 (September 1975): 351.

⁴⁰ Conway, *African Banjo*, 71-72; On September 9, 1739, a small band of slaves “at a place called Stonehow” initiated a revolt against their captors in what came to be known as the Stono insurrection. The band grew in size to a reported hundreds, sending waves of fear through South Carolina’s white population. Despite a considerable path of destruction, the insurrection was quickly subdued; Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, 39.

⁴¹ Epstein, “The Folk Banjo,” 351.

⁴² James Mellon, ed., *Bullwhip Days: The Slaves Remember* (New York: Grove Press, 1988), 144.

the slaves with a traditional instrument that was soft enough to be found acceptable by slave owners.⁴³ As a result, the banjar experienced a wave of popularity amongst African American slaves in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Minstrel Show and the Emergence of Joel Walker Sweeney

As the 1800s approached mid-century, a new banjo tradition was emerging alongside the African American banjars. Sometime in the late 1830s, a Virginian hailing from Appomattox County⁴⁴ began appearing in small performances near his home. Joel Walker Sweeney (1810-1860) would perform in blackface and sing in “negro dialect,” attempting to provide his audience with a realistic depiction of African American plantation music. The musical Sweeney could play a small variety of instruments, but his performances displayed a new instrument that was both peculiar and unfamiliar to white society: the banjo. Public adoration of both Sweeney and his banjo grew as he traveled, fueling not only charged audiences but also a new American tradition. Joel Walker Sweeney’s performances thus inspired new generation of banjoists, some of whom sought Sweeney’s tutelage. These disciples followed Sweeney’s lead and accelerated the popularity of his music, creating with it the intensely popular minstrel show.

It seems that the banjo was first widely noticed by white audiences in the winter of 1839 when Sweeney performed as an attraction with traveling circuses. The public’s curiosity toward this peculiar contraption peaked after his February performances in Charleston, South Carolina, and so Sweeney chose to follow the circus to New York City the following April.⁴⁵ Hoping to find new opportunities and larger audiences, Sweeney was not disappointed by New York. In fact, he aroused quite an excitement among a Northern population that was not familiar with African American music. Sweeney took his act to a number of theaters in the city, and “gave general satisfaction”⁴⁶ everywhere he went. By fall, Sweeney began performing

⁴³ Epstein, “The Folk Banjo,” 351.

⁴⁴ Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 19.

⁴⁵ Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 21.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 22; here, the *New York Herald* could hardly contain its excitement over the banjo, which it considered “the great feature” of this performance including Sweeney.

alongside other blackface performers at high-end theaters, providing accompaniment for dancers and singers. His popularity skyrocketed as audiences became more familiar with and intrigued by his music. The *Rochester Advertiser*, reporting on his tour through New York between September 3 and 5, 1840, noted that “this young man’s execution on an Instrument of his own manufacture, convulses the heavens with laughter,” much to the glee of “an enlightened and discriminating audience.”⁴⁷ And so Sweeney captured the accolades of the “discriminating” audiences of the North. Shortly after his arrival in New York, new minstrel troupes began to form. They hoped to capitalize on the intense fervor initiated by Joel Walker Sweeney and his banjo.

Sweeney’s fame was not restricted to the New York area. He went on tour through Great Britain and Ireland between 1842 and 1845, arousing just as much excitement in those lands as in America. Perhaps the best recollection of such intrigue over Sweeney and his banjo is that of Joseph Cave, a gentleman who was so inspired by Sweeney that he would become a renowned British minstrel banjoist. Cave discusses how Sweeney’s performance had captured him, saying:

I shall never forget how my ears tingled and my mouth watered when I heard the tum, tum, tum of that blessed banjo. I thought to myself, if I could get one, there would be nothing between me and absolute affluence but – the learning how to play it. I knew it was hopeless to think of getting a banjo in England – I might as well have cried for the moon. I fancied it would be equally impossible to obtain one in America, as I had heard Mr. Sweeney had the only example in existence, which he had made himself....⁴⁸

Cave’s yearning is palpable, and he makes no attempt to hide it. Not only is Cave demonstrating the degree to which Sweeney’s banjo performances inspired, but he mentions another very important sentiment. He was informed that a banjo would be difficult to obtain as Sweeney had the “the only example in existence,” which he had made himself. Cave was not alone in this belief, as the aforementioned ad also mentions that Sweeney’s banjo was “an Instrument of his own manufacture.” This demonstrates a rumor that Sweeney’s banjo was the only such instrument. As a result, a great deal of

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 26.

⁴⁸ Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 145.

attention from aspiring minstrel banjoists focused on Sweeney. Anxious to learn about his banjo and how to play it, many sought the tutelage of Sweeney.

Several of America's highly celebrated minstrels got their start with Sweeney. One of the more notable minstrel banjoists, Mr. William "Billy" Whitlock (b. 1813), was first exposed to the banjo through Sweeney's early performances. Whitlock had been on tour with Waring & Raymond's Circus in 1837 when it passed through Lynchburg, Virginia, where supposedly he became acquainted with Sweeney. Whitlock reported that during his stay in Lynchburg, Sweeney taught him how to play the banjo and even "had one made for him."⁴⁹ Taking this new knowledge with him back to his home in New York City, Whitlock went on to become a founding member of the renowned "Virginia Minstrels" in 1843.⁵⁰ Through this venue, Whitlock quickly became one of the greatest minstrel banjoists of his era. By 1842, Whitlock and his troupe had gained such popularity that the *New York Herald* reported that "Whitlock is quite equal if not superior to Sweeney."⁵¹ Though this statement is not exactly flattering toward Sweeney, it does go to show how his early performances on the banjo took off in the hands of his successors.

Another famed minstrel banjoist to have been tutored by Joel Walker Sweeney was the young George Swaine Buckley (1829-1879). George S. Buckley had come to the United States with his father, James Buckley, from Manchester, England, in 1839. James Buckley chose to cash-in on the minstrel craze sweeping the nation in the 1840s, putting to work his musically talented family. He formed his own minstrel troupe, with each of his sons performing on a specific instrument. His son George learned to play the banjo after crossing paths with Sweeney in Boston sometime in 1841, where Sweeney was enjoying a successful tour at Harrington's Museum.⁵² James Buckley wasted no time capitalizing on Sweeney's success, and convinced him to tutor George.⁵³ James Buckley was an intelligent man: he

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 139; Whitlock's account is taken from parts of his unpublished autobiography, paraphrased in a March 29, 1878, issue of the *New York Clipper* magazine.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁵² Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 29; Harrington's Museum was a sort of museum housing articles of oddity and curiosity.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 142.

knew the opportunities involved with young George learning banjo directly from Sweeney. Not only did George become a first-rate banjo player, but his father began billing him as “G. Sweeney” on banjo in an obvious effort to capitalize on the connection to Sweeney.⁵⁴ In this instance it was not so much Sweeney’s banjo itself that inspired the Buckleys, but rather his unprecedented success. Once again, Sweeney had passed on the banjo to the next generation of minstrels.

In addition to a few persons’ explicit fascination with the banjo, the minstrel show became so widely popular that by mid-century it had created a minstrel craze that swept the entire nation. Contemporary newspaper reports demonstrate the extent to which minstrel performances had achieved popularity. A report offered by an October 30, 1846, issue of the *Milwaukee Sentinel And Gazette* praises the banjoist of The Sable Melodists. The gentleman’s performance had been “beyond anyone we ever heard on it,” and so a building curiosity forced the report to beg the question “what shall we say of the ‘banjo?’...It is worth the admission price to hear that instrument alone.”⁵⁵ It seems that The Sable Melodists were able to emulate and carry-on Sweeney’s banjo performances and arouse the same excitement as he did. Another minstrel troupe, the famed E.P. Christy’s Minstrels, experienced almost unparalleled fame. An October 23, 1847, issue of *The Spirit of the Times*, a New York paper, describes the scene at the Minstrels’ performances the previous week. “Their popularity is most certainly on the increase,” claims the article, “and we feel confident that if the room was larger, it would be as full nightly as Mechanic’s Hall has been during this week.” The article elaborates on how full the theater was during the Minstrels’ performances, saying the house was so crowded that there were “four or five men perched on top of the door frame” of the entrance.⁵⁶ Getting five men atop the door frame is impressive in itself, but the E.P. Christy’s Minstrels’ ability to fill a theater to that capacity is all the more impressive in its display of sheer popularity.

A full decade later, these minstrels were still as popular as they had been in their early careers. *The Racine Advocate* of Racine, Wisconsin,

⁵⁴ “Concert,” *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, 6 November 1844, p. 2.

⁵⁵ “The Sable Melodists,” *Milwaukee Sentinel And Gazette*, 30 October 1846, p. 4.

⁵⁶ “Christy’s Minstrels,” *The Spirit of the Times*, 23 October 1847, <http://www.iath.virginia.edu/utc/minstrel/miar45bt.html> (accessed September 20, 2008).

reports in a June 11, 1856, issue that “their performance in this city on Wednesday evening of last week was the best we ever witnessed.”⁵⁷ Likewise, in 1857, New York newspapers had come to consider E.P. Christy’s Minstrels as “an established institution.”⁵⁸ These “celebrated delineators of negro character” had earned their place in the hearts of white Americans, and thus in American popular culture. In many ways, so too had Joel Walker Sweeney. The incalculable success of the early minstrel theater was due almost entirely to Sweeney. He had first introduced the public at large and many of the early minstrels to the type of music that they would become known for performing.

At the center of this new musical venue was the banjo – a central feature that sent so many clamoring to the minstrel show. Sweeney directly influenced many of the more notable banjoists of the day. Joseph Cave had been moved on a deep level by the “tum, tum, tum of that blessed banjo.” James Buckley had been so impressed by Sweeney’s popularity that he opportunistically billed his own son as George Sweeney. Entire minstrel troupes owed their success to Sweeney as well. What would the Virginia Minstrels, one of the most hailed troupes of its day, have been without Sweeney’s star pupil William “Billy” Whitlock on banjo? “What shall we say of the ‘banjo’” if Sweeney had not introduced it to the stage? In this sense, Joel Walker Sweeney is often referred to as one of the patriarchs of minstrelsy. He took the banjo to the stage, and thus accelerated this new popular tradition by providing it with a distinct type of music.

An element in the story of Joel Walker Sweeney was mentioned earlier, however, that deserves revisiting. The contemporary belief in the early 1840s, as expressed by Joseph Cave, was that Sweeney’s banjo had been made by his own hand. Did Sweeney in fact make his own banjo? What form did his early banjo take, and from where had he derived the idea? Alan Lomax insists that Sweeney’s banjo was “related...to certain primitive West African instruments,” but was “polished” to create the modern form of the banjo. Arthur Woodward further suggests that the banjo was invented about the year 1831, raised up from African American gourd instruments. Had Sweeney in fact based his banjo on either West African or African American instruments? If the instrument is found to have such influences in its form, what implications might this have for the assertion that Sweeney invented the banjo?

⁵⁷ “Christy’s Minstrels,” *The Racine Advocate*, 11 June 1856, p. 2.

⁵⁸ “Christy’s Minstrels,” *Syracuse Daily Courier*, 4 May 1857, p. 3.

Sweeney's Banjo: The Invention Myth is Dispelled

A thorough examination of Joel Walker Sweeney's early banjos will help to reveal its underlying influences. Unfortunately, it seems that descriptions of Sweeney's first banjo are quite vague. Nevertheless, several sources provide an insight into Sweeney's early banjos. A couple of valuable sources are two sheet music covers by D'Almaine & Co. of London, both depicting Sweeney as he appeared in minstrel costume during his London performances in 1843. These identical depictions of the banjo Sweeney took with him to London reveal much about his instrument. Immediately noticeable is a form that closely resembles the modern five-string banjo. This instrument is five-stringed; four tuning pegs can be seen on the unusual scroll-shaped peg head and a fifth peg further down the neck. Pay special attention to the fifth peg on the "Jenny Get Your Hocake Done" cover. It is positioned at the top of the fretless swell-shaped neck and much closer to the sound chamber than the rest. This position of the tuning peg denotes a drone string, its shortness suggesting that it is tuned to a higher pitch than the four lower strings. Seen on the "Where Did You Come From" cover is a tailpiece over the head, holding the strings in place. To the right of the tailpiece is a bridge, raising the strings over the head. No brackets are visible on what are most likely round wooden rims, which could be due to one of two possibilities: either the artist simply did not include them in the depiction, or the heads were tacked in place.

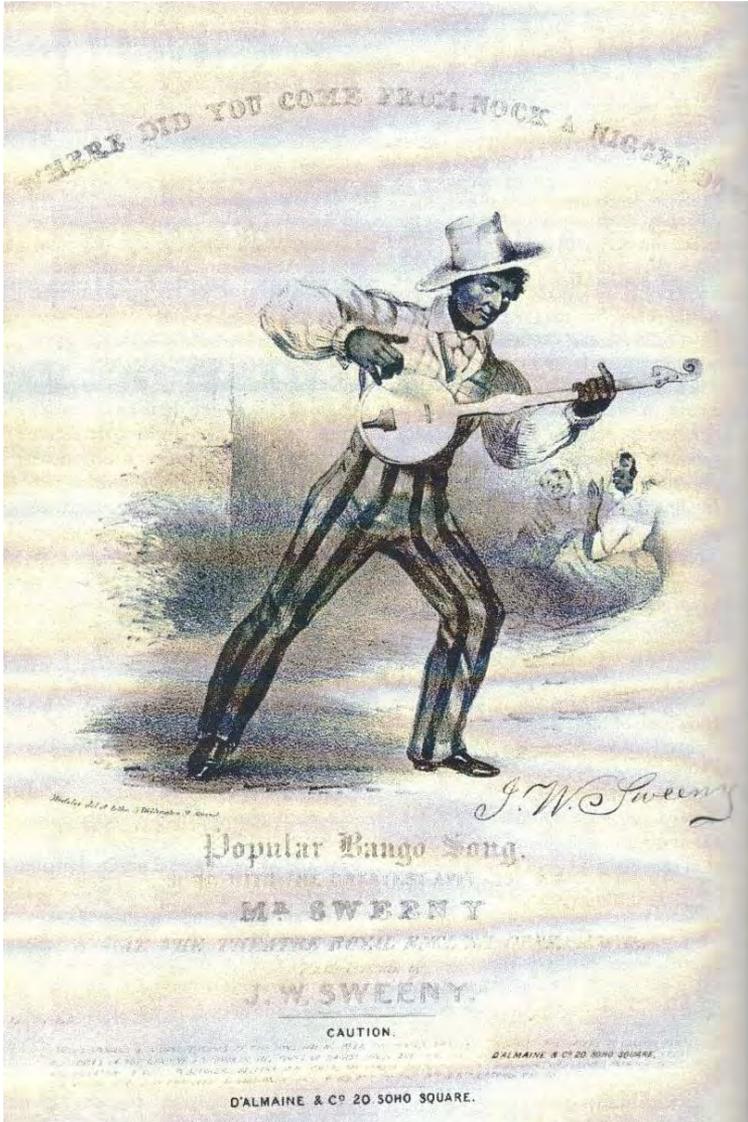


Figure 7.1. 1843 “Where Did You Come From, Knock A Nigger Down” sheet music cover. Source: Bob Carlin, *The Birth of the Banjo: Joel Walker Sweeney and Early Minstrelsy* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2007), 40.



Figure 7.2. 1843 “Jenny Get Your Hocake Done” sheet music cover. Source: Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 117.

Another oft referred to source is a banjo attributed to Sweeney that still exists. Located in the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, California,⁵⁹ this instrument has been directly connected to Sweeney and provides a little closer insight to the form of his earliest banjos. This left-handed banjo, supposedly made by Sweeney for his cousin Polly Ann Sweeney Patterson,⁶⁰ is not unlike modern banjos. Said by some twentieth

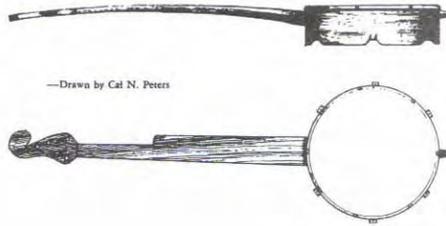


Figure 8. Illustration of Joel Walker Sweeney banjo. *Source:* Pete Seeger, *How to Play the 5-String Banjo*, 3rd ed. (Beacon, NY: Published by the author, 1961), 69.

century historians to have been Sweeney's first banjo, the frame is entirely wooden and the rim made from a wooden peck measure between 1831 and 1833.⁶¹ After recent analysis, however, the rim is actually thought to have been taken from another banjo. Bob Carlin found in his study of the instrument that the rim was likely produced by Baltimore banjo manufacturer William E. Boucher, Jr. This, Carlin claims, would establish a construction date for this instrument no sooner than 1845.⁶² Though the rim might have been made by Boucher, the hand-carved fretless neck is most likely homemade. It is affixed to the rim by means of a dowel stick, or spike, passed horizontally through the center of the wooden rim. Natural gut strings

⁵⁹ Robert Lloyd Webb, *Ring the Banjar!: The Banjo in America from Folklore to Factory* (Anaheim Hills, CA: Centerstream Publishing, 1984), 9.

⁶⁰ Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 131.

⁶¹ Jay Bailey, "Historical Origin and Stylistic Developments of the Five-String Banjo," *The Journal of American Folklore* 85 (January-March 1972): 61.

⁶² Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 132.

were originally used on the instrument, and raised over the skin head by a wooden bridge. Six bracket holders positioned about the circumference of the rim suggest that a metal skin-tensioning system was originally used.⁶³ The head is presently tacked to the rim. While it is certain that this banjo was not the first used by Sweeney, it does show the form of the banjos he was used to working with. In essence, this is an example of a common form of banjo used by Sweeney and others during the minstrelsy era.

Each of the above examples displays a very important feature: a fifth drone string, or chanterelle, added to the four noting strings. Sweeney is often credited with the invention of the fifth string, as both Alan Lomax and Arthur Woodward have demonstrated. Judge Robert Bolling Pore, a childhood friend of Sweeney, reports the same. He claims that Sweeney had taken the idea of the slaves' four-stringed gourd instruments, which he was "proficient" on, and "added the 5th or thumb string," thus creating the true form of the banjo.⁶⁴ Essentially, the common belief demonstrated here is that though the ideas behind the banjo existed among African American instruments, Joel Walker Sweeney's contributions made his banjo a unique invention, a musical form different from that created by the slaves.

These claims of Sweeney being the soul inventor of and having built the very first banjos are utterly ridiculous. Through simple analysis of the folk banjos and banjars being built by African American slaves, many of the claims surrounding the myth of Sweeney's invention of the banjo can be disproved. Sweeney was not the only person building banjos in the 1830s and 1840s. African American banjo builders were still engaged in the folk tradition descended from their banjars of West African heritage. Several accounts dating to mid-century will demonstrate that these African American banjos were highly similar in form to Sweeney's, and, importantly, were not inspired by it. The belief that Sweeney's banjo was the first to display a wooden rim, a defining characteristic of his instrument, is contradicted by all of these accounts. P.C. Sutphin, a gentleman who grew up very near Sweeney in Lynchburg, Virginia, recounts the banjo building practices of some local African American slaves. He states that on occasion, a "rim would be made of maple, or the rim of a sugar box, would be used" in place

⁶³ A skin head tensioning system, invented by early manufacturers of the banjo, consists of a metal hoop which slides over the edges of the rim. As the hoop is pulled down by hooks connected to the rim by brackets, the skin head is tightened.

⁶⁴ Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 127.

of a gourd sound chamber.⁶⁵ This banjo, he continues, “was quite common with the negro...before Mr. Sweeney was known as a performer on it...”⁶⁶ Interesting: a white American, who lived in the same time and area as Sweeney, is reporting that wooden rims were being used on African American-made banjos before Sweeney was well-known. Also, Sutphin is basically suggesting that the *idea* of using a wooden rim originated with these African American builders. If these people had come up with the idea to use a wooden rim before Joel Walker Sweeney, the gentleman with whom white American society credited the original idea, then it is possible that this fundamental characteristic of the banjo was first implemented by African Americans.

Another account is provided by an unnamed gentleman who was raised along the Alabama-Tennessee border. In 1856, this gentleman, then a boy, constructed a banjo under the supervision of slaves. The slave banjo makers assisting him put him on to the idea of using a round wooden rim. Now speaking as an older gentleman in the late nineteenth century, he mentions that:

The rim was made from the circle of a cheese-box. A calf-skin soaked in lime solution, which removed the hair, was tacked while wet over one surface of this, while the stem was carved from a suitable piece of soft poplar. I was extravagant enough to import four catgut strings and a wire bass, which excited no little curiosity, as they *were the first* ever seen by our [N]egroes.⁶⁷

As this account was written in 1856, years after Sweeney introduced the banjo to American popular culture, many have claimed that this banjo was a replication of the manufactured banjos in use by minstrel performers. Cecelia Conway, noted for her research on the banjo's origins, contends that this is not the case. She points out that the African Americans in this example were unfamiliar with the imported strings, which were used on manufactured banjos. This suggests that these African Americans had not been exposed to a manufactured banjo, and hence were instructing the boy in accordance with their banjo-building folk tradition.⁶⁸ With this established,

⁶⁵ Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 130.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Conway, *African Banjo*, 177.

⁶⁸ Conway, *African Banjo*, 177.

the boy's account may be analyzed with validity.

This account details the same feature mentioned by Sutphin: a wooden rim is used in place of a gourd. Once again, this use of a round wooden rim suggests that African Americans were familiar with this practice, and had purposefully added it to their repertoire of banjo construction methods *without* the proposal by whites. Granted, this notion might seem to come out of the clear blue. It has thus far been heavily established that traditional African American banjos used gourd sound chambers, and a sudden shift between the traditional gourd and the non-traditional round wooden rim can be perplexing. There is a concept offered by archaeologist Laurie A. Wilkie in his work *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana 1840-1950* that makes clearer sense of this shift. Wilkie contends that *recontextualization* was often at the root of changes in the material culture of African American tradition. Through this process, European and white American-produced items came to be used by slaves in context to an African "grammar." In other words, slaves might have begun using the wares of white society, "but the African grammar dictating their manner of use remained the same."⁶⁹

This concept reveals itself in a variety of ways as it pertains to eighteenth and nineteenth century African American material culture. African Americans often incorporated European wares into their traditional practices: iron pots replaced handmade earthenware bowls produced by African and African American slaves over open hearths (these wares are referred to as *Colono Ware*, a creolized type of earthenware that was locally made according to African tradition, meanwhile incorporating both European and Native American aspects into their forms).⁷⁰ European grindstones replaced traditional wooden mortars and pestles in grain grinding, not because it was new concept, but because it was a more efficient method to an already existent cultural practice. Likewise, and very interestingly, wooden buckets replaced gourds as they were found to be more efficient in the transportation of water.⁷¹ Considering this point, which in the previous

⁶⁹ Laurie A. Wilkie, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana 1840-1950* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 119.

⁷⁰ Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology of Early African America, 1650-1800* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1992), 102.

⁷¹ Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 99.

examples seems to be a matter of efficiency, it is not too much to suggest that African American banjo makers might have recontextualized round wooden rims that they found, using them in place of a gourd. This may very well have been the case in the 1856 account, where the rim of a cheese box was used in the absence of, or possibly preference over a gourd (the same gentleman who wrote that account later mentioned that his African American overseers were still making sound chambers from calabashes at the time his was made).

The prospect of recontextualization opens a new question: did African American banjo makers come to prefer wooden rims to gourds? This is a difficult question to answer as such a preference would have varied from maker to maker. Fortunately, this question is addressed by former slave Betty Curlett, who describes African American banjo construction to a Works Progress Administration interviewer in the 1930s. She says that “the only musical instrument we had was a banjo,” and these were made by using “a bucket or pan” made from “a long strip of wood.”⁷² Ms. Curlett appears to be describing the process of creating a bentwood rim, in which a round rim, much like the round rim of a bucket or pan, is created by steaming a long strip of wood and bending it around a mold. This evidence shows that African American banjo makers may have been *making* bentwood rims, and did not only use round rims when they happened to chance upon one. If makers were going to the trouble of making bentwood rims, then it is suggestible that some African American makers preferred to use wooden rims in their instruments. Hence it is clear that some African American banjo makers may have been predisposed to using round wooden rims. Between P.C. Sutphin’s testimony, the 1856 account, and Ms. Curlett’s interesting mention, it is clear that neither Sweeney’s early banjos nor the banjos of the minstrelsy era inspired the African American use of round wooden rims. The incorporation of such a feature into their traditional instruments was a conscious act, a choice to use a non-traditional form in a recontextualized manner. It is therefore likely that Sweeney was not explicitly the first to incorporate round wooden rims into a banjo.

Attention may now focus on the other unique characteristic of Sweeney’s early banjos: the fifth drone string. This fundamental characteristic of the modern banjo, often credited to Sweeney’s genius, is actually not related to him at all. Even contemporary reports from Sweeney’s

⁷² Betty Curlett, WPA Slave Narratives Project, vol.2 part 2 (1936-1938)

associates raise doubt over the fifth string's association with him. One of Sweeney's pupils, a Judge Farrar of Virginia, was quoted as saying "I am confident that Sweeney added the base string" to the African American gourd instruments.⁷³ In other words, assuming Judge Farrar's assertion is correct, if Sweeney had added a string to the banjo, then he added the fourth base string and not the fifth drone. Yet, even setting this period observation aside, the simple fact of the matter is that the banjo's drone string is directly descended from West African folk tradition. Drones are common features on xalam- and akonting-type lutes, the xalam sometimes having several drones pitched higher than the noting strings and sounded by the thumb.⁷⁴ Many of these instruments' characteristics having been documented in early banjars, it is not at all a reach to suggest that drone strings were present on these banjo predecessors.

Drone strings might even be found in examples of the banjars and related instruments produced by African and African American slaves. Look once again to the anonymous eighteenth century watercolor "The Old Plantation." The gourd banjar in this image is only four-stringed, but pay special attention to the short string running along the top of the neck. It runs only about halfway up the neck before it ends at the tuning peg. This denotes two things. First, the shortness of this string requires that it be tuned to a higher pitch than the three longer noting strings. Secondly, its position on the neck makes it unlikely that it was intended to be stopped by the left hand.



Figure 9. Musician and his banjar.

⁷³ Conway, *African Banjo*, 187.

⁷⁴ Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 128.

This means that the string must always be played open, which is a defining characteristic of a drone.⁷⁵ Also, the musician in this example is sounding the string with his thumb (hence the term “thumb string”), just as a xalamkat or musician using the o’teck style sounds the drone. The fact that a drone string is clearly visible on an eighteenth century depiction of a banjar completely contradicts the notion that Joel Walker Sweeney invented it. “The Old Plantation” is thus strong evidence of the drone string’s West African provenance. It would seem that Woodward’s and Lomax’s assertions on the fifth string are entirely reversed: it serves less as evidence of Sweeney’s hand in the creation of the modern banjo and more as a distinctive trait of the West African folk lute tradition out of which it was produced.

Another aspect thought to be peculiar to the early banjo is the style of playing the instrument. While there exist no accounts that specifically detail the playing method employed by Sweeney, there are several items of interest that may shed light on his technique. Two of these items are the earliest published banjo instructors, both dating to the late 1850s, that describe the minstrel style used by Sweeney’s contemporaries. Thomas F. Briggs was the first minstrel banjoist to compile a comprehensive banjo tutor, the *Briggs’ Banjo Instructor*, published shortly after his death in 1855. Briggs’ method generally involves the use of two fingers of the right hand, the index (first) finger and the thumb. He explains that “the 5th string is touched by the thumb only” and is “always played *open*.” Meanwhile, “the first finger should strike the strings with the *back* of the *nail* and then slide to...”⁷⁶ Briggs is essentially describing a method by which the fifth, or drone string is played by the thumb and the noting strings are struck by the index finger. His specification of “the *back* of the *nail*” suggests a down-striking movement of the hand as it sounds the strings.

The very same method of playing is described more thoroughly by Philip Rice in his *Correct Method for the Banjo: With or Without a Master*, published 1858. Rice explains the movement of the hand when executing a “single-strike”:

⁷⁵ Conway, *African Banjo*, 188-189.

⁷⁶ Thomas F. Briggs, *Briggs’ Banjo Instructor* (1855; online edition, Banjofactory.com, 2008), <http://banjofactory.com/Brigg's%20Banjo%20Instructor.htm>; page 8 of instructor.

The hand should be bent so that the end of the first finger should point to the ball of the thumb....the first finger and thumb should come down at the same time on the first and thumb string; sound the note on the first string by letting the finger nail slide off, then sound the thumb string immediately after with the thumb.⁷⁷

The hand movement described here denotes a downward movement of the entire hand. Not only does the nail of the first finger strike down upon the noting string, but the whole hand moves downward. This makes it so the noting string is sounded first, followed by the plucking motion of the thumb on the drone string. Rice later describes a more complex variant of this simple movement, called a “double-strike,” in which the first string is sounded “with the first finger, and thumb string with the thumb, as in the [single] strike; then touch the first string again with the first finger and the second string immediately after with the thumb....”⁷⁸ Modern banjoists might recognize this as the “drop-thumb” technique, by which the thumb is brought down from the drone string and used to pluck one of the noting strings. The result is an ability to play more complex music and a quicker, smoother execution.

Briggs’ and Rice’s common method, only briefly described above, was referred to as the “stroke style” by minstrel banjoists. Though the name is new, does this method of playing not sound familiar? Thinking back to the West African folk lute traditions, the term *o’teck* seems quite applicable to the stroke style. In fact, it is practically the same method. Both methods require a down-stroking movement of the hand as the back of the fingernail strikes one of the noting strings. The thumb follows, plucking the drone string as the hand moves downward. In addition to this, the “single-strike” and “double-strike” movements described by Rice create a pattern of short sustained notes like those mentioned by Daniel Jatta, the akonting musician. They also require continuous sounding of the drone string, another aspect of akonting music mentioned by Jatta. In fact, the minstrel stroke style is more closely related to the *o’teck* style of akonting music than one might initially realize. Refer to figure 10, an excerpt from *Briggs’ Banjo Instructor*:

⁷⁷ Robert B. Winans, “The Folk, the Stage, and the Five-String Banjo in the Nineteenth Century,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 354 (Oct.-Dec. 1976): 409.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 409-410.

The image shows a musical score for the tune "Yankee Doodle." It is divided into two sections: "YOUNG AMERICA." and "YANKEE DOODLE." The notation includes a standard musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). Below the staff is a banjo tablature with four lines representing the strings: 1st String, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th (Drone). The tablature uses numbers 0, 1, and 2 to indicate fretting, and circles to indicate open strings. A legend below the tablature explains the symbols: O = STRING PLAYED OPEN, 1 = STOPPED AT FIRST FRET, and 2 = STOPPED AT SECOND FRET. The score also includes a "FX" marking at the end of the "YANKEE DOODLE." section.

Figure 10. Sources: Page 29 of Thomas F. Briggs, *Briggs' Banjo Instructor* (1855; online edition, Banjofactory.com, 2008), tablature transcribed by the author.

In this selection from the tune “Yankee Doodle,” the drone string is regularly sounded after the noting string has been struck. As the melody is played on the noting strings, the regular sounding of the drone string thus creates a backbeat to the melody. This is the very same concept as the o’teck method, in which the drone accomplishes the same backbeat. Possibly with the exception of the drop-thumb technique, the minstrel stroke style and the o’teck style used in association with akonting-type instruments is one in the same. Much like the banjo itself, it appears that the minstrels’ playing technique was also derived from West African folk tradition.

Now turning back to the original question, how did Joel Walker Sweeney play his banjo? What little evidence there is suggests his use of the minstrel stroke style. The research of Dr. Robert B. Winans, a man whose pioneering research on this topic has influenced many minstrel banjo scholars, makes a strong case for Sweeney’s use of the stroke style. Drawing from, believe it or not, Arthur Woodward’s 1949 article “Joel Walker Sweeney and the First Banjo,” Dr. Winans fell across a curious statement. Referring to Fred Mather, a minstrel banjoist who was taught to play by Sweeney, Woodward states:

Mr. Fred Mather, a younger contemporary of Sweeney, who later became a minstrel banjoist, writing in December, 1897: "I knew 'Old Joe Sweeney' about 1846 or '48 when I was a boy of thirteen to fifteen....He taught me how to 'bring down my thumb' and play 'Grape Vine Twist.'"⁷⁹

Dr. Winans sees an interesting insight in this statement. He claims that Mather's "bring down my thumb" is a reference to the drop-thumb technique. The thumb was brought down "from its normal position for striking the short thumb string to be able to strike the second (or third or fourth) string, as in executing a double strike...." Due to Mather's attribution of this technique to Sweeney, Dr. Winans concludes that Sweeney may have "played in the style described by Rice."⁸⁰ This inference carries incredible implications. If Sweeney did play in the stroke style described by Philip Rice, then there would be a clear connection between Sweeney's playing method (which, bear in mind, predates Rice's 1858 tutor) and the o'teck style of the akonting-type folk lutes.

Another contemporary source bolsters the assertion of Dr. Winans. The 1843 "Jenny Get Your Hocake Done" sheet music cover offers an additional insight to its depiction of Sweeney's banjo. Note the position of Sweeney's right hand in figure 11, particularly how he holds it over the strings.



Figure 11.

His hand is held in a fashion similar to that described by Rice, with the index

⁷⁹ Winans, "Five-String Banjo," 412.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

finger curved under the hand and pointing toward the thumb. Meanwhile the thumb is held in a position where it is ready to sound the drone as the hand moves downward. This image, made in a London studio in 1843, is likely to be an accurate depiction of Sweeney's playing style. The sheet music cover predates the earliest tutors, by Thomas Briggs and Phil Rice, which explain the stroke style. Also, the fact that this image was produced in London in the earliest days of minstrelsy, when the American banjo was a new curiosity, further suggests an authentic depiction of Sweeney's playing method. Therefore, assuming the image is accurate, it is very clear that Sweeney did use the stroke style. Furthermore, the connection between Sweeney's playing method and the o'teck style of West African folk tradition is stronger.

Almost every last aspect of Joel Walker Sweeney's banjo, from its drone string down to the method he used to sound the strings, has been attributed to persons other than him. Sweeney appears to have been the bearer of an instrument that was not uniquely his, but rather the product of another people's tradition. It has been shown that his banjo is more reflective of a pre-existing folk tradition that had been transplanted from West Africa and developed by the African American descendants of the first slaves. How could this be? How could Joel Walker Sweeney, a member of white society, have become so intimately acquainted with the banjo to have been able to make one and teach others to play it? As it turns out, Sweeney had learned everything directly from African American banjo makers.

Sweeney had actually become acquainted with the gourd banjos and banjars of African Americans while he was still a child. Testimonies from his friends and neighbors suggest that he was taught to play those instruments by slaves on plantations near his home. Asked about Sweeney as a youth, one former neighbor of his recalled that Sweeney "would hang around the negroes at all times learning some of their rude songs and playing an accompaniment on a gourd banjo."⁸¹ This helps verify Judge Robert Bolling Pore's claim that Sweeney "became when still a boy of 12 years old quite a proficient" on the slaves' banjar.⁸² Imagine Joel Walker Sweeney while a boy, years prior to his alleged construction of the first banjo in the 1830s, spending time with African American banjar musicians and familiarizing himself with their instrument. Consider Sweeney, the boy, learning from the

⁸¹ Philip F. Gura and James F. Bollman, *America's Instrument: The Banjo in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 25.

⁸² Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 127.

slaves how to play this banjar, documented as commonly having such West African characteristics as a tacked skin head, gourd sound chamber, fretless neck, and, among all things, a short drone string! Combine with this the young Sweeney learning to use his hand in the o'teck tradition, striking down on the strings with the back of his nail and sounding the drone with his thumb. If Sweeney spent a great deal of time with African American banjar musicians, learning their music and instrument, is it any great wonder, then, that Joel Walker Sweeney gleaned the features of his banjos from these instruments of West African folk heritage?

Mrs. William Pitzer Gills, the great grand niece of Joel Walker Sweeney, answers this question. Interviewed in the 1940s, Ms. Gills repeats a story handed down to her, one which brings to light Joel Walker Sweeney's first attempts at making banjos. She recounts:

As a child Sweeney wanted to express his soul in music in some sort of fashion and as he had no instrument he made one. The two Sweeney house cats – one black and the other white – were victims to this urge for expression. They mysteriously departed from this earth and only when the hide of the black cat appeared stretched over an old gourd frame...did the gruesome truth come out.⁸³

A humorous tale, no doubt; but the main feature in this story is the suggestion that Sweeney first attempted to construct a banjo in much the same fashion as African Americans. The gourd “frame” in this account seems to be a missing link, one of the steps between Sweeney learning the slave banjars as a child and his first performances upon a modern five-string banjo.

The connection between Sweeney's banjos and its African American predecessors was already clear, but now it has been shown, by one of Sweeney's descendants no less, that Sweeney's first banjos were drawn from African American instruments. The gourd sound chamber, skin head, bridge, gut strings, and fretless neck have all been documented in sources predating his birth in 1810. Even the tuning pegs and round wooden rim are more easily attributed to African American innovation. The wooden rim was likely incorporated through the African Americans' recontextualization of

⁸³ Carlin, *Birth of the Banjo*, 130.

cheese boxes and similar forms. Use of wooden rims was not inspired by the minstrels' banjos, and hence it could not have been a white (let alone just Sweeney's) unique contribution. Extant eighteenth century examples show that the fiddle-style tuning pegs were already incorporated into the banjo's form by the nineteenth century. They were probably added by African or African American banjar producers who saw it on European instruments, thus adding to a distinct, creolized African American form. The minstrel stroke style, too, was not Sweeney's or any other white man's contribution to the banjo. An identical method has been shown to have been used by African and early African American folk lute musicians (recall Jean Baptiste Labat's description of "beating" on the strings). Considering that both Sweeney and, as it turns out, Thomas F. Briggs were taught to play the banjo by slaves, it is no great wonder that the stroke style employed by these men so closely resembles o'teck.⁸⁴

If any fact has been established, it is that the banjo and playing method used by Joel Walker Sweeney was gleaned almost entirely from the African American folk banjo tradition. The only exception to this would be the head tensioning system developed by the white minstrels, but otherwise the banjo's form was drawn directly out of the West African folk lute tradition as modified by African American producers. Arthur Woodward and Alan Lomax's original suggestion, that Sweeney had somehow made several contributions so unique to the banjo that it was made completely distinct from its "primitive" West African predecessors, has been proven inaccurate in every sense. If any "polishing" of the slaves' banjar-type instruments had occurred, then it was by the hands of African Americans and not Sweeney. By suggesting the opposite, Lomax and Woodward are giving credence to a mere myth. The fact that they did this in this face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary is perplexing. Why would these two gentlemen so readily supplant historical truth with myth? An interesting question to consider at this point does not concern whether these gentlemen should be blamed for reporting a gross inaccuracy, but whether Lomax and Woodward *were aware* that this was nothing more than myth. If they were not, then where did the myth that Joel Walker Sweeney invented the banjo originate?

⁸⁴ Gura and Bollman, *America's Instrument*, 25.

Africa Fades Away: Discussion on the Origins of a Myth

Banjo scholars often find themselves coming back to this question, of how Joel Walker Sweeney became credited with the invention of the banjo, and why this was reported as fact. Writing near the mid-twentieth century, some have hypothesized that men like Arthur Woodward and Alan Lomax embraced this version of the banjo's history due to an unconscious ethnocentrism. By the twentieth century, the banjo was largely seen as an instrument played by whites, and to suggest that an element of white culture had been invented by African Americans might have been considered "unbecoming" with racial divides being as strong as they were. This would be an unfair assumption to make, however. Alan Lomax devoted most of his life to studying African American folk song and recording them for the Library of Congress. Recall that he even found it necessary to point out the banjo's relation to "primitive West African instruments," which were then "raised up by Negro slaves." It is thus unlikely that Lomax was afflicted by an inherent ethnocentrism. This makes it all the more unlikely that he, or even Woodward, who was writing about the same time as Lomax, propagated the myth. So with whom did the myth originate? To answer this question, discussion must focus on a particular quandary: how did African Americans become disassociated with the banjo? The following discussion will attempt to offer several factors leading to this disassociation. Historical evidence will show that a shift was occurring by the latter half of the nineteenth century, one that resulted in the transfer of the banjo tradition from African American folk culture to the popular culture. This transmission between cultures ultimately led to new banjo traditions in which white musicians were predominate, and black folk musicians obscure.

Perhaps the greatest inspiration behind this shift was the minstrel theater. Though intensely popular, the minstrel show did conjure ill will among certain members of America's nineteenth century population. Much of it was related to the minstrel caricature, which was meant to depict, however inaccurately, plantation slaves. The negative stereotypes perpetuated by minstrel performers are considered despicable by modern standards, but at the time they were very much thought to be accurate portrayals. Minstrel performers incorporated a number of elements into their depictions, including ridiculous stage costumes. Tattered clothing, often with bizarre patterns would be worn to give the appearance of a ragged plantation slave, and minstrels would blacken their faces by using a mixture of burnt

cork and pork fat as make-up.⁸⁵ Topping this off was usually a black wig, styled in an unkempt fashion.



Figure 12. Banjoist E.H. Pierce as he appears on an 1858 lithograph. *Source: Gura and Bollman, America's Instrument, 33.*

Another essential element of the minstrel caricature is what was often referred to as the “negro dialect.” A manner of speaking and pronunciation that basically highlighted the slaves’ lack of English instruction (through no fault of their own, of course), this dialect resulted in

⁸⁵ Karen Linn, *That Half-Barbaric Twang: The Banjo in American Popular Culture* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 9.

the appearance of stupidity.⁸⁶ The lyrics of minstrel songs built upon this. For example, take this phrase from the tune “Keemo Kimo,” written in 1854:

Milk in de dairy nine days old, Sing
song Kitty cant you Ki'me oh!
Frogs and de skeeters getting mighty bold,
Sing song Kitty cant you Ki'me oh!
Dey try for to sleep but it ain't no use,
Sing song Kitty cant you Ki'me oh!
Dere legs hang out for de chickens to roost,
Sing song Kitty cant you Ki'me oh!⁸⁷

Intentionally or not, the combination of dialect and lyrics makes this tune seem childlike. This is fitting in regards to the minstrel depiction of African Americans, whose antics often made them look like children. They stole from their masters, snuck out at night without permission, and got themselves into a whole host of troubles that yielded humorous results. Some characters were also quite sly, using trickery and deceit to bend an unsuspecting master to their ways.⁸⁸ At the center of this entire production was the music of minstrelsy, which, as presented earlier, caught the hearts of many patrons. The banjo and fiddle were predominate, typically supported by a tambourine, triangle, the bones (castanet-like clappers of either wood or bone), or a jawbone (running a stick up and down the teeth created a washboard effect, and hitting it caused the teeth to rattle). As a result, the minstrel caricature of African Americans became inexorably linked to the music, which was defined by the banjo.

The popular phenomenon of the minstrel caricature resulted in the worst kind of humiliation for African Americans. In the face of such embarrassment, many prominent African Americans began to call for a disassociation of their culture from the popular portrayal. That disassociation came on many levels, but particularly in a rejection of the music. Of course, this included the banjo. Being a central element of minstrel music, the banjo

⁸⁶ Robert Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 71.

⁸⁷ Daniel Partner, “A Song Sampler & Set List,” *American Music: 1830-1865* (accessed April 10, 2009).

⁸⁸ Toll, *Blacking Up*, 74.

was highly associated with the minstrel caricature. Any African American person seen playing a banjo might then be connecting themselves to the caricature, giving credence to the stereotypes in the eyes of whites. In order to prevent this negative association, some African Americans proposed the abandonment of the banjo tradition.

Some were particularly harsh in this view. One critical voice was none other than Frederick Douglass. By the 1840s, the banjo had become wedded to the horrendous stereotypes of the minstrel caricature, and Douglass knew it. Two examples drawn from his abolitionist newspaper *The North Star* are enlightening of his opinion. In an October 27, 1848, issue of his paper, Douglass identifies the Virginia Minstrels and Christy's Minstrels as "the filthy scum of white society, who have stolen...a complexion denied to them by nature..." He rails against their popularity and their music's ability to awaken in an audience "a rapture only equaled by that celestial transport which thrills his noble heart on witnessing a TREMENDOUS SQUASH!"⁸⁹ It is all too likely that Douglass is referring to the banjo in this statement, the "tremendous squash" probably reflective of his familiarity with the African American gourd-bodied banjo. He is clearly upset by the minstrels' use of his "complexion" in their shameful manner of portraying African American culture, the banjo in this instance being symbolic of it.

Douglass is not alone in his degradation of the banjo. John Dixon Long, an escaped slave, also sees the banjo as symbolic in his 1857 narrative *Pictures of Slavery in Church and State*. Long addresses the slaves' banjos directly, considering them "of all instruments the best adapted to the lowest class of slaves." He takes this position because he feels that the banjo "is the very symbol of their savage degradation."⁹⁰ Rather than being considered a symbol of a proud folk tradition, Long has come to see the banjo as a symbol of "savage degradation," denoting barbarity and lack of culture. Though he does not mention the minstrel show, it remains possible that his criticism of the banjo was inspired in the same manner as Douglass'.

⁸⁹ Frederick Douglass, "The Hutchinson Family.-Hunkerism," *The North Star*, 27 October 1847 (accessed September 20, 2008).

⁹⁰ John Dixon Long, *Pictures of Slavery in Church and State; Including Personal Reminiscences, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, Etc. Etc.* (1857; online edition, University of North Carolina, 2008), accessed September 19, 2008.

In a June 29, 1849, issue of *The North Star*, Douglass' tone becomes very vitriolic. He admonishes performances by the "Gavitt's Original Ethiopian Serenaders," an African American troupe of minstrels. Douglass points out that their musical performance (and the fact that these men were actually African Americans) was helping to solidify the minstrel caricature as an accurate representation of African Americans. He wished that they would "strive to conform" to society, "rather than to cater to the lower elements of a baser sort..."⁹¹ According to Douglass, if these musicians could only learn to abandon such performances, then "they may do much to elevate themselves and their race in popular estimation."⁹² Douglass is alluding to something critical here. He is essentially asking these black minstrels to quit their performances so that they may foster a better image "in popular estimation." Douglass is asking them to consider the views of the popular culture and to base their actions on what will yield the best depiction in that culture. Simply put, he wants them to act in accordance with the expectations of popular culture. That, of course, means that the folk ways of plantation slaves (with which the banjo was heavily associated) were to be considered low and primitive – much like the slave of minstrel caricature.

The views expressed by Long and Douglass were not universal, however. There remained many African Americans who refused to abandon the music of minstrelsy. Surprisingly, minstrel troupes comprised of African American performers began forming by the mid 1850s.⁹³ The culmination of the Civil War in 1865 added to the number, throwing more African American banjoists into the minstrel mix. They toured extensively across the country – even throughout the South. Public reaction to these troupes was actually quite receptive, but unfortunately for adverse reasons. White audiences came to appreciate African American troupes because it was believed that they were more authentic than white performers. To the public, the minstrel show was supposed to allow them to experience the culture of plantation slaves. What better way to do this than by observing actual African Americans? The public found African American troupes to be an authentic experience because the music they made came through "natural impulses" to them, and not

⁹¹ Frederick Douglass, "Gavitt's Original Ethiopian Serenaders," *The North Star* 29 June 1849, <http://www.iath.virginia.edu/utc/minstrel/miar03at.html> (accessed September 20, 2008).

⁹² Douglass, "Ethiopian Serenaders."

⁹³ Toll, *Blacking Up*, 198.

emulations.⁹⁴ The black minstrels' performances did exactly what Douglass had feared: they strengthened the public's association of African American culture with minstrel stereotypes. As one *Clipper* article so bluntly put it, the African American troupes went "to disprove the saying that a negro cannot act the nigger."⁹⁵

Robert Toll, who has undertaken extensive research on the subject of minstrelsy, explains the effect these troupes had on the African American community. On one hand, minstrelsy provided African Americans with an opportunity that they found nowhere else. Toll describes this as their "in" to white society. Minstrelsy offered them the opportunity to partake in the popular culture and even find success there. Few other prospects would allow them to participate on such an equal level with whites. Yet, the consequences were grave. Toll explains that the African American troupes gave credence to the stereotypes "by making it seem that Negroes actually behaved like minstrelsy's black caricatures."⁹⁶ The association of African Americans with the minstrel show was thus strengthened. Minstrel music, the banjo included, continued to be viewed by popular culture as the product of African American culture. By the latter half of century, then, the association of banjo with African Americans was probably just as strong as it had been since the early days of minstrelsy.

Views of the minstrel caricature were just as varied among whites as they were among African Americans. Though the minstrel show was very popular, it seems that certain whites might also have found it unappealing. In light of an 1853 broadside, found within the collections of the Library of Congress, at least a small number of whites must have opposed the minstrel caricature. Entitled "An Evening with the Christy Minstrels," the broadside promises a night's entertainment at Washington, D.C.'s Odd-Fellows Hall "dispensing with the use of burnt cork, and the vulgar burlesque of Ethiopian character (which many suppose render the music effective!)." Without the stage costumes and antics of the minstrel theater, the performance would be "in a style unobjectionable and pleasing to all."⁹⁷ This evidences a clear

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 230; from the *St. Joseph, MO Gazette*, quoted in a "Mara's Georgia Minstrel" ad in *Clipper*, November 20, 1875.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 202; article dated September 14, 1872.

⁹⁶ Toll, *Blacking Up*, 196.

⁹⁷ "An Evening With the Christy Minstrels" (1853), Library of Congress American Memory Database, Digital ID rbpe 20100500, (accessed November 10, 2008).

rejection of the popular minstrel caricature. However, one must bear in mind that this may not necessarily be a rejection of stereotypes. It must be reiterated that the minstrel caricature was highly associated with African Americans (regardless of its falsities), and a white audience, especially of higher society, might not express an interest in what they perceived to be the low nature of African American culture. Such a view of African American culture by high society brings the discussion to a likely culprit in the banjo's disassociation with African Americans.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a movement occurred which sought to appeal to those discriminating white audiences suggested by the aforementioned document. The minstrel show received most of its patrons from the middle and lower classes, being among the most popular entertainment venues. As far as the upper classes were concerned, however, the minstrels' depictions of African American culture were to be looked down upon. Due to its association with African Americans, it was seen as simple and uncultured. The banjo suffered from its association with both the minstrels and African Americans, likewise being considered as little more than a barbaric plantation instrument. This troubled a select group of banjoists and manufacturers, who wanted their instruments to appeal to high society as well. To use the words of Karen Linn, an authority on the late-nineteenth century banjo, it thus became the objective of this movement to raise the banjo above the status of the minstrel theater and bring it into the "official Victorian culture."⁹⁸ In essence, advocates for the "elevation" of the banjo wanted to have their instruments accepted as high art, as an item that the higher classes would see as a work of art (as opposed to a slave instrument).

Through its attempt to turn the banjo into a piece of high art, the elevation movement began adding a number of characteristics to the banjo that separated it from its minstrel counterparts. Banjos of this style began to display features that truly made them works of craft and skill. Manufacturers opened shops and factories in which they employed highly skilled craftsmen to produce top-quality instruments. The relatively plain necks of earlier banjos were replaced with fine-carved necks exhibiting the greatest detail. Silver and mother of pearl inlays created intricate designs on the neck and peg head. An important feature that was made common by these instruments was the addition of frets. First appearing on banjos in the 1860s and 1870s, frets were intended to make the banjo a little more versatile, relating it to

⁹⁸ Linn, *Half-Barbaric Twang*, 8.

other instruments like the guitar that could easily be played up the scale of the neck. Frets also allowed prospective banjoists to learn to play more quickly, as it would be less difficult to find the correct note than on a fretless instrument.⁹⁹

More hooks and brackets were added to the head tensioning system, sometimes so many as to be superfluous. Outer coatings were often added to rims, spun from German silver, an alloy called “bell metal,” and nickel, all of which were supposed to improve the tonal quality of the instrument.¹⁰⁰ Some rims were even made entirely from metal, negating wood altogether. Though continued to be strung with gut strings, banjos were also tuned to higher pitches as the century progressed. For example, while Thomas Briggs called for a low open tuning of dGDF#A, a later tutor by Frank B. Converse uses the tuning eAEG#B.¹⁰¹ Coupled with the over-spun rims and other various features, these banjos achieved a sound very different from the deep, ringing banjos of the 1840s through ‘60s.



Figure 13.1. Banjo manufactured by S.S. Stewart of Philadelphia, c. 1898. Note the inlays and over-spun rim. *Source:* Gura and Bollman, *America's Instrument*, plate 3-2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 10-12.

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Frank B. Converse, *Frank Converse's Analytical Banjo Method* (1886; online edition, Milfordmusic.com, 2009) from page 5 of the book. The order of that tuning reads as 5th string, followed by 4th, 3rd, 2nd, and 1st strings.



Figure 13.2. Detail of carving on heel.

Figure 13.3. Detail of carving on peg head and elaborate tuning pegs.

In addition to such drastic changes in appearance and sound, a new playing style also came onto the scene following the Civil War. Termed “guitar style,” the new method was exactly that: the same, or at least very like manner of playing the guitar. Frank Converse is credited with being the first banjoist to publish a tutor describing guitar style in 1865. He describes the very same method in his later 1886 *Analytical Banjo Method*. While the forearm rests on the rim and extends only far enough for the fingers to sit over the strings,

The fingers should be held partly curved and separated....The fingers in action are drawn in a natural manner toward the palm of the hand: the strings should not be lifted or pulled up, but drawn obliquely; the thumb is extended, and should not pass under or within the forefinger.¹⁰²

Converse is describing a style entirely different than the stroke style. Here, the fingers (three fingers – thumb, index, and middle) are used to pluck the strings rather than strike down on them. Guitar style was introduced in tutors alongside stroke style instruction, but by the 1880s it had become the predominant style.¹⁰³ The shift to guitar style coincides with a change in late nineteenth century published banjo music. Music was becoming more complex, due in large part to the elevation movement. Waltzes, mazurkas, schottisches, polkas, and marches were appearing in greater numbers than the

¹⁰² Converse, *Analytical Banjo Method*; found on page 14.

¹⁰³ Winans, “Five-String Banjo,” 429.

jigs, reels, walkarounds, and plantation melodies common to the minstrel repertoire. A keen observation by Dr. Robert Winans links the growing popularity of guitar style to this music. Speaking of two tunes published in the 1880s, both of which were intended to be played in the guitar style, he claims that they “probably were not even playable in stroke style.”¹⁰⁴ Being a banjoist himself, and able to play in the stroke style, one can be certain that Winans knows that of which he speaks. Indeed, it is very difficult (barring some phenomenal talent) to play late century music in the stroke style. For example, the music published by this period did not rely on the rhythmic backbeat created by the drone string. Rather, the drone was only sounded when required by the melody or harmony.¹⁰⁵ Executions like the single-strike and double-strike described by Phil Rice were thus outmoded. The emergence of chords in late century music also negated such hand movements. When playing chords, up-picking is a more practical method, as the down-striking of the fingernail in stroke style does not permit a banjoist to sound more than one noting string simultaneously. Guitar style thus became the preferred method, largely replacing stroke style by the end of the century.

The new style of banjo becoming popular in the latter half of the nineteenth century was clearly distinct from its early minstrel counterparts. In terms of form, the manufactured banjos of late century were not too far removed from their predecessors. All of the changes, from the frets to the spun-over metal rims, are simply secondary characteristics – unaffecting the same basic form that had defined the banjo since its beginnings in this country. Yet, all of these changes signal a popularization of the instrument. These features and the guitar style were intended to appeal to the popular sense of high art. The movement to elevate the banjo was certainly moving it in this direction, forming a new, popular banjo style that was separate from minstrelsy.

Yet, the public’s association of the banjo with African Americans (via the minstrel theater) continued throughout the century. Likewise, certain proponents of the elevation of the banjo continued to be frustrated by this association. One of, if not the most outspoken of these individuals is Samuel Swain Stewart (1855-1898), the famed banjo manufacturer of Philadelphia. Stewart, who had been playing the banjo since his youth, was a vicious advocate of elevating the banjo into high art. A prolific writer, Stewart

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Linn, *Half-Barbaric Twang*, 17.

published many works on the subject, including his *Banjo and Guitar Journal*, a periodical circulated between 1882 and 1898,¹⁰⁶ *The Banjo Philosophically* (1886) and *The Banjo! A Dissertation* (1888). These were employed in arguing the necessity of bringing the banjo into higher social circles and making it a thing of art and culture. The minstrel theater proved to be an impediment to this, however. Minstrelsy's allegedly authentic depictions of plantation slaves strengthened the banjo's association with African American culture. While this did not affect the instrument's popularity among the masses, manufacturers looking to make the banjo appealing to the "cultivated" classes viewed the association as problematic. One must remember that African American culture was widely considered primitive in this era, and these "degraded origins" threatened its inclusion in the popular conception of high art.¹⁰⁷ To resolve what he acknowledged as an obstruction on the path to elevation, Stewart undertook a campaign to separate the banjo from African American culture.

Stewart took a particular set against the minstrels, who he saw as popularizing the banjo as an instrument of plantation slaves. His attacks on minstrelsy were many, and often assumed a condescending tone:

Our constant allusions to the 'ham' has been purely a humanitarian act. We saw, long ago, that unless something was done to save the banjo from the 'ham,' that the 'ham fever' would become contagious, and the rise of the banjo impeded for another generation....¹⁰⁸

By "ham," Stewart is referring to the minstrels (ham alluding to the burnt cork and pork fat blackface). He speaks about minstrelsy almost as though it were a disease, characterizing its intense popularity as "ham fever." As per the case of any malady, Stewart sought a cure. He focused his efforts on making the banjo distinct from its use in the minstrel shows. By typing the early minstrel banjo as just one style in which the instrument was used, he hoped to lead it away from its close associations with minstrelsy. Evidence of this is found in an advertisement from a December 1893 issue of *Stewart's Banjo and Guitar Journal*. Featuring the image of a minstrel banjoist in

¹⁰⁶ Gura and Bollman, *America's Instrument*, 144.

¹⁰⁷ Linn, *Half-Barbaric Twang*, 9.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*; from "How We Can Do It," an article by S.S. Stewart in *Stewart's Banjo and Guitar Journal*, October-November 1886 issue.

stage costume, an excerpt from the ad reads:

The banjo was once monopolized by the Negro minstrel performers, and hence it became associated with the black face, and was sometimes called the 'Negro instrument.' The banjo of today is altogether another instrument.¹⁰⁹

Stewart is making a concerted effort to identify the banjo as an entity separate from minstrelsy. He claims that the banjo was "monopolized" by minstrels rather than used only in that context (which it was between the 1840s and 1860s). It was because of this domination, Stewart suggests, that the banjo was ever associated with that venue. Stewart's words are fairly crafty here; he makes decent work of drawing a distinction between the banjo and the minstrel theater. Moreover, he hints at the idea that the public's association of the banjo with African American culture is inaccurate.

While Stewart attempted to separate the banjo from minstrelsy, he also took a more direct approach in breaking the public's association of the banjo with African Americans. He tried to deny the African American's production of the first banjos by offering an alternative history. On occasion, Stewart would claim that the banjo was "not of negro origin." First, he suggested that the banjo had not come from Africa at all. Instead, he explained that the instrument's peculiar name had been derived from a Spanish lute called a bandore, and was of European provenance.¹¹⁰ The public must not have bought in to this new interpretation of the banjo's history because Stewart later changed his story. Succumbing to the popular association, he finally acknowledged that the banjo was African in origin, but he alleged that Joel Walker Sweeney was "said to have added" two strings to the three-stringed gourd lutes produced by African and African American slaves.¹¹¹ The myth has come full circle: Samuel Swain Stewart is here suggesting that Joel Walker Sweeney was behind the invention of the American banjo, making an essential addition without which the instrument could not be a modern five-stringed banjo. The implications of this statement are best described by Philip F. Gura and James F. Bollman. They conclude that Stewart's mention of such an "improvement" to a traditional African form "buttressed his claims that that the instrument's significant development

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 21.

¹¹⁰ Gura and Bollman, *America's Instrument*, 160.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

came at the hands of whites.”¹¹² In other words, Stewart’s assertion better attributes the banjo’s invention to whites. He thus takes the African American banjo tradition out of the picture: the banjo was not the product of African American folk culture – it was invented by a white man of the name Joel Walker Sweeney.

Final Remarks

It would be incredible to be able to state that Samuel Swain Stewart was in fact the progenitor of the Sweeney invention myth. Unfortunately, it is difficult to know exactly how much influence Stewart had in regards to establishing a new history of the banjo, and whether the public at large accepted him as an authority on the subject. His publications were widely circulated across the country, steadily increasing as the nineteenth century approached its end. Estimates proffered by Gura and Bollman’s book place the circulation of Stewart’s *Banjo and Guitar Journal* at high numbers shortly after it began publication. By 1884, Stewart was already claiming that his *Journal* was reaching a circulation of 3000 to 11,000 copies per issue.¹¹³ His claims only increased from this point. Stewart was bound to have some impact on the populace, even if only among his loyal readers.

Nevertheless, historians today know that Stewart’s preaching was not completely accepted by his contemporaries. Writing in the 1880s, the same period as Stewart, the renowned banjo tutor George C. Dobson offered an entirely different take on the banjo’s origins. According to Dobson, “the natives of Africa have musical instruments which, though differing in minor particulars, possess essentially the same basic peculiarities as the banjo.” He continues by naming several of these instruments, including the “*nanaa*” of East Africa, “a five-stringed instrument with head of wood and skin.” Of greater importance, however, is this statement: one could find “in Senegambia the *bania*, which it is sometimes claimed was imported to the United States by the negro slaves, and became the banjo.”¹¹⁴ It appears that Dobson was far better versed in the banjo’s history and uninterested in masking it. He is crediting the banjo to “negro slaves,” suggesting that the instruments of their African forbearers had “peculiarities” so similar to the banjo that they must have been of influence. Dobson even addresses the

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Gura and Bollman, *America’s Instrument*, 148.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

bania directly, an instrument that has been documented in this country prior to the nineteenth century. Such clear attribution of the banjo to African producers and a correct analysis of its origins show that Dobson's opinion was not drawn from the public's comprehension of the instrument as the simple creation of plantation slaves (drawn from the banjo-minstrel association). His statement is actually quite enlightened, and it displays a true understanding of the banjo's African nature. Furthermore, it proves beyond a doubt that Stewart's claims did not hold a consensus in the late nineteenth century.

Stewart could not have single-handedly influenced the disassociation of the banjo from African American folk culture. In all probability, the public's eventual disassociation of the banjo from African American folk tradition was the result of both an African American abandonment of the instrument and the white's "elevation" of the banjo. Yet one must not exclude the influence of another powerful force in the establishment of the banjo in American popular culture: Joel Walker Sweeney himself. Sweeney carried, and still carries a powerful legacy as one of the patriarchs of American minstrelsy. It is important to note that he was among the very first, if not the first to introduce the banjo to the stage. A great deal of the evidence presented in this analysis has been aimed at dissolving historians' and contemporaries' claims that Sweeney invented the banjo, and to that end, the evidence is overwhelming. However, considering that Sweeney was the first man to widely perform a banjo before white audiences, it is not impossible to understand why Sweeney received credit for its *invention*. The banjo must have been a peculiar sight for Northern audiences unaffiliated with African American customs, and certainly few must have seen anything like it until Sweeney brought it to New York City in 1839. Sweeney's reputation as the "the Original Banjo Player"¹¹⁵ and ads claiming that he played "an Instrument of his own manufacture" likely accelerated the belief that he had invented the banjo. Recall the English banjoist Joseph Cave, who had heard by word of mouth that "Mr. Sweeney had the only example in existence, which he had made himself." These beliefs were in broad circulation at the time, and as far as the historical record is concerned, Sweeney never denied that he had invented the banjo. As a result, the seeds for the banjo's disassociation from African Americans may already have been sown in the early days of minstrelsy.

¹¹⁵ Gura and Bollman, *America's Instrument*, Plate 1-4; this is taken from an 1840s broadside for the Theatre Royal in Dublin, Ireland.

Breaking from the above discussion, a final remark need be mentioned concerning racism. It is very easy for the modern reader to attribute early minstrelsy or the elevation movement to racism, and understandably so. But one must take care to avoid a conclusion which appears self-evident. Consider for a moment a statement by Robert Winans:

It is important here to draw a distinction between very early minstrel performers and later ones. The very early performers, by and large, *did* study their originals; the later performers probably did not. The characters, the structure, the instrumental, singing, and dancing techniques, the kinds of songs and stage patter...very rapidly became stage conventions, and all that was required of the performer was mastery of these conventions, not a study of the originals.¹¹⁶

By "originals," Winans is referring to African Americans. Remember that early minstrelsy was intended to be an emulation of plantation music, and so many of the first minstrels, banjoists especially, observed and learned from African Americans. Early minstrels then took what they had learned and translated it to stage performances. This is exactly what Joel Walker Sweeney did. Contemporary accounts from neighbors and Judge Robert Bolling Pore suggest that a young Sweeney spent much of his time with the slaves, watching them make music and learning how to play their banjo. This is not evidence of racism, but rather of a genuine fascination with African American music which he later shared with audiences when he performed on stage. Perhaps even his use of blackface was not so much intended to lampoon African Americans as it was a costume to provide the audience with an authentic experience. Once in perspective, it becomes difficult to characterize Sweeney as an out-and-out racist. The overt racism of minstrelsy came later in the decades following, when new minstrels learned from the theater and not African American custom. As Winans asserts, these gentlemen occupied themselves with the portrayal of stereotypes, not a cultural tradition they had studied.

Nor was Samuel Swain Stewart a racist. Granted, he was heavily involved in breaking the banjo from the African American folk tradition that had produced it, but he did this in order to make the banjo acceptable to

¹¹⁶ Winans, "Five-Sting Banjo," 419.

“higher” culture. His sole objective was to bring the banjo into the popular consensus of high art, and an unfortunate byproduct of this was a complete rejection of the folk tradition out of which it came. This was something Stewart was willing to sacrifice. However, he was not willing to sacrifice African American dignity. He vigorously promoted Horace Weston (1825-1890), an African American banjoist who had begun his career as a minstrel performer in the 1860s. Weston gained much adoration from white audiences, and after his death Stewart even proclaimed that he “was musically endowed to a high degree” and “attracted universal attention to this instrument.”¹¹⁷ Stewart also defended Weston on occasion. In 1883, Weston had entered a New York banjo contest and summarily lost to white banjoists. Stewart felt that Weston had been “snubbed” by the proprietors, and responded through his *Banjo and Guitar Journal*. “Was it because he was black?” asked Stewart. He concluded that Weston had been used by the proprietors “to draw money to the pockets of men who have not one grain of his talent.”¹¹⁸ Whether or not Stewart’s vicious defense was justified, it can be certain that the man was no racist. Stewart is better characterized as an opportunist – he would say what needed to be said in order to achieve his objectives. In the case of elevating the banjo, that meant denying its African American inventors of the credit they deserved. Yet, in the case of his friend Horace Weston, he would not allow what he perceived as racism to go unanswered.

A Well of Souls

Today, very few people are aware of the banjo’s West African origins. Despite a renewed interest in these lost roots that came about in the 1970s, the modern popular consensus does not acknowledge the African American folk tradition that produced it. Perhaps Stewart’s and other elevation advocates’ work succeeded: currently, the banjo has been almost completely disassociated with African Americans. It is seen mostly as the product of white Southerners, showing up every now and then in a hoedown or a bluegrass concert. The banjos seen today, especially through these venues, are very different from their originals. In the twentieth century, steel wire strings quickly replaced the gut strings used on nineteenth century banjos, and wooden resonators intensified and projected the twang-ier sound.

¹¹⁷ Gura and Bollman, *America’s Instrument*, 153.

¹¹⁸ Gura and Bollman, *America’s Instrument*, 154-157.

Bluegrass banjoists have developed a unique finger-picking technique, using metal picks on their finger tips to strengthen the instrument's volume. While many enjoy the modern banjo, many also abhor it. Often, popular culture portrays the banjo as a low-brow instrument, its sound being too twangy and obnoxious. This disapproval has resulted in such offensive slurs to banjoists as this joke: "What is the difference between a banjo and a vacuum? You have to plug in the vacuum before it sucks." Though the modern banjo is often subjected to this light-hearted humor, it is still accepted by the majority as a unique product of American culture (whether they like it or not).

The original folk tradition that produced the banjo may have been made obscure by such perceptions, but it is not lost. Up to the 1960s, the folk banjos of southern Appalachia mentioned earlier remain very close to their originals. They continued to use gut strings, fretless necks, and natural skin heads when the popularized banjo had broken from these standards. Today, these instruments are periodically made by individuals not connected to the southern Appalachian folk culture, but very interested in the unique sound of these instruments. Likewise, the 1990s saw a reemergence of the earliest style of American banjo. Beginning mostly among American Civil War reenactors who desired the authentic sound of minstrel music, the early banjos of the 1840s and 1850s have received increasing interest. Originally played by only a small circle of interested individuals, the early American banjo is racing back onto the scene through groups like the Camptown Shakers and the 2nd South Carolina String Band, whose performances offer a truly authentic experience in the music of early minstrelsy. Gourd-bodied banjos are also enjoying a renewed wave of interest. Modern banjoists have discovered the mellow, ringing tone of these instruments, and as a result have turned back to the African American folk tradition that originally produced them. Scott Didlake, a banjoist and pioneer in the study of the banjo's West African roots, spoke of these gourd banjos at the 1992 Tennessee Banjo Institute. Having discovered the beauty of these early banjos himself, Didlake characterized them and later banjos in terms of the original folk tradition. "These instruments were made to speak," Didlake says, "and to me, what you have in that sound chamber is like a well of souls – it's haunted."¹¹⁹

Didlake's ethereal statement carries a profound truth. The banjo is haunted by those unfortunate souls who first brought it to this country, and

¹¹⁹ Video of Didlake at this conference may be found online, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L4a4FxaRjQk>.

then by their fettered descendents. Though it was popularized after its discovery by white minstrels, it never ceased to be the product of the West African folk lute tradition. Granted, a modern, manufactured banjo is not to be considered folk; but the tradition out of which it was produced is. The modern banjo looks very different from the banjars of early African America, but its form is little changed. Both have long necks (which in some cases are still fretless), a short drone string, a skin head (modern banjos often use a synthetic skin, but the principle is identical), and a wooden bridge raising the strings over the head. Other items like ornamentation, the hook and bracket head tensioning system, mechanical tuners, and steel wire strings are all secondary characteristics – they are not pertinent to form. Its basic form having experienced little change, banjos produced today are just as much the product of the West African folk lute tradition that lived in the minds of the first African American banjo makers.

When Joel Walker Sweeney introduced the banjo to the stage, he was not breaking its connection to African American folk tradition. Likewise, when the movement to elevate the banjo completely popularized it, its soul did not cease to be folk. As Henry Glassie remarks, a form belonging to a material folk culture “does not lose its folk status when utilized in a nonfolk manner.”¹²⁰ This characterizes the banjo’s exchange from African American to white culture exactly. It was the product of a folk transplanted to a new world, then picked-up by a different culture and used according to its own standards. The white culture borrowed heavily from the African American folk tradition, but this is to be expected. Sweeney learned everything he knew about the banjo from African Americans, and thus was bound to exhibit the same form, construction, and playing technique as that used by them. Inspired by Sweeney, the early minstrels followed suit. It was not until the late nineteenth century that a separation from African American folk ways entered the banjo’s story, but this never changed its folk roots. In essence, it might be said that the banjo’s soul remains folk, despite its introduction to popular culture. The banjo is, and always shall be the product of those sons and daughters of West Africa. Its tradition stands in defiance of a myth: it is not “America’s only original folk instrument,”¹²¹ but the product of a long forgotten West African contribution to an American popular tradition.

¹²⁰ Glassie, *Pattern*, 11-12.

¹²¹ Bluestein, “America’s Folk Instrument,” 243; from Alan Lomax’s *Folk Song: USA*.

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Abstract

My discrete contribution to the field of Brontë studies is an analysis of how one could not only symbolically, but also textually link three of Charlotte Brontë's novels: *The Professor*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Villette*. That is, there are certain scenes and elements which seem to be the "seed" of the work that follows chronologically; I describe this quality in her work as "narrative circularity." Brontë's work has a circular feel because *The Professor*, although written first, was published last. Thus, she essentially rewrote the same novel three times in what was deemed an initial failure with *The Professor*. I also examine how these three novels reflect Brontë's overall development as an author. Brontë did not live to see her first novel published, and she was in the early stages of writing a fourth "master-pupil" novel at the time of her death. Her attempts to perfect this type of story illustrate her growth because she continually reworked similar elements in her novels throughout her life. Essentially, this project provides a new way to look at Brontë's novels by examining the close textual linkage among them. Exploring these relationships will hopefully provide readers with an increased respect for a writer who spent most of her life dedicated to perfecting this narrow type of fictional genre.

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Narrative Circularity in Charlotte Brontë's Work

"The Brontë world is strewn with the wrecks of ruined lovers men and women bereaved by separation, deserted, exploited, persecuted or killed by their mates. Realization of successful love is a notable rarity."

—Philip Momberger (363)

Charlotte Brontë is one of the most well-known and successful women writers of the nineteenth century. She was born in 1816 at Thornton, Yorkshire, and grew up in Haworth. One of six children, Brontë survived her mother and all five of her siblings, some of which died during her childhood. As an adult she worked as a teacher, a governess, and she also spent some time in Brussels studying language and teaching with her sister, Emily. Initially, Brontë published a book of poems with two of her sisters, Anne and Emily, in 1846. Subsequently, she published *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, and *Villette*. Brontë married her father's curate, Arthur B. Nicholls, in 1854, but died the following year.¹ What is interesting about Brontë's career is that she essentially rewrote the same novel three times. Her career began and ended with *The Professor*, Brontë's least popular work. The novel, although written first, was published posthumously in 1857; it was rejected nine times by various publishers during Brontë's lifetime (Smith vii). However, it appears that this initial "failure" has been rewritten in the forms of both *Jane Eyre* and then *Villette*. There are certain scenes and qualities that seem to be the "seed" of the work that follows chronologically, which contributes to what may be called narrative circularity in Brontë's novels.

The links among the three novels work on the thematic and textual levels, which suggest that there is not only an abstract connection, but also physical scenes that Brontë creates over and over again in her work. Thus, on the first level, there are similar plot elements and themes in the novels—specifically in terms of the love triangles that are central to each novel. Second, there are scenes that concretely tie one novel to the next, and provide for clear links among her novels. These recurrent themes and plot elements seem to be a symptom of Brontë's struggle to perfect what she began in *The Professor*. Thus, one could argue that Brontë's development as a writer is represented through the increasingly risky endings of each novel. These ostensible links prove a deeper meaning; that is, she was continually trying to emancipate her protagonists and herself from the oppressive environment women faced during the nineteenth century—specifically, the confinement to the domestic sphere and the limited occupational opportunities.² Essentially, Brontë spent most of her adult life rewriting the same concept

several times to compensate for what she and others viewed as an initial failure in *The Professor*. In doing so, she ultimately succeeded in creating three closely-linked texts that embody her growth as a writer.

Connecting *The Professor* to *Jane Eyre*

The Professor, which Brontë completed in 1846, contains a love triangle that became a quintessential component of her later works (Cohen 443). When William Crimsworth travels to Belgium and begins to teach at Mademoiselle Reuter's school, he thinks he falls in love with the directress. However, she has a secret romance with Monsieur Pelet behind Crimsworth's back, and she and Pelet eventually agree to marry (156). Angered by Mlle. Reuter's and M. Pelet's betrayal, Crimsworth continues teaching and becomes intrigued with a student of his—Frances Henry-- who also teaches at Mlle. Reuter's school. It is this relationship that is central to the novel and serves as the clearest model for Jane and Rochester in *Jane Eyre*.

Crimsworth is a unique character because he is Brontë's only male protagonist. However, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, authors of *The Madwoman in the Attic*, assert, "*The Professor* is as much about Frances Henri as it is about William Crimsworth. Indeed, the careers of the two are parallel, as though each were shaped to echo the other" (324-25). Arguably, Crimsworth or Frances could serve as the basis for Jane; however, it seems most appropriate to examine how the two characters blend to form the seed of Jane. In other words, Frances and William's matrimonial union at the end links their two characters into a blend of Jane in the successive novel, *Jane Eyre*.

Crimsworth, like Jane, is a foundling who is at the mercy of his relatives. His cruel brother, Edward, allows William to work for him but treats him like a slave. As William notes about the relationship with his brother, "I had long ceased to regard Mr. Crimsworth as my brother—he was a hard, grinding Master, he wished to be an inexorable tyrant—that was all" (26). Therefore, William and his brother had the lowliest relationship between humans: master and slave. Brontë seemed fixed on the division of power in her writing; therefore, it makes sense that she starts at the most unequal balance of power in her first novel and gradually balances the power in the successive relationships within her novels as a way to free her protagonist from servitude. It is also significant to note that *The Professor* was actually titled *The Master* "until late in its career" (Cohen 449).

The theme of mastery is carried over into Brontë's future novels as well; readers most noticeably observe this theme in *Jane Eyre*, the title character of which experiences similar familial turmoil as William's had. As a child, Jane lives with the Reed family, who are relatives of her deceased parents. Jane is treated poorly, especially by her cousin John. When they are arguing one day, Mrs. Reed's maid says, "What shocking conduct, Miss Eyre, to strike a young gentleman, your benefactress's son! Your young master!"

Jane replies, "Master! How is he my master? Am I a servant?" "No; you are less than a servant, for you do nothing for your keep," answers the maid (24). Clearly reminiscent of William's words, Jane is also treated poorly and as insignificantly as a slave. As Judith Mitchell, author of *The Stone and the Scorpion*, notes, "I think that in *Jane Eyre* Brontë leaves intact the basic structure of male domination and female submission—which she understands only too well, we can see from the *Professor*—but plays and explores within it..." (44). Both William and Jane are foundlings with only cruel family members left to watch after them. Ultimately, they both move away—William to Belgium and Jane to Lowood—to teach eventually. It is while both protagonists are pursuing their careers that they find love.

Frances, like William and Jane, is a foundling who only has an aunt (116). She is able to afford an education through lace-mending, which is what she teaches at Mlle. Reuter's school while also enrolled as a student. Frances serves as a model for Jane because she is not only described by Brontë as having a similar appearance, but she also falls in love with a man superior to her in age and class. Frances is described as "a model of frugal neatness" dressed in dark clothing, and without "ornaments" (144). Jane is also very plain, as she explains, "I was myself in my usual Quaker trim...all being too close and plain...to admit of disarrangement" (135). The language Brontë uses in these two scenes is very similar because she implies a certain prudence about both of them by using words such as "frugal" and "Quaker." Since these two female characters are clearly related, one could argue that Jane is a more fully developed version of Frances because Jane is the main protagonist in *Jane Eyre*, whereas Frances is secondary to William in *The Professor*.

In addition, Jane and Rochester's relationship is analogous to that of Frances and William, where the male is older and superior in terms of social status. Early in Jane and Rochester's relationship, Jane observes his "gentleman's tastes and habits" and even refers to him as a "very good master" (112). These statements echo *The Professor*, as when William refers

to himself as Frances's "master" (148). From this angle, readers get two senses: one, that Frances is a model for Jane because Jane looks like her, and two, the similarities between the men whom they marry, Rochester and William, are both older and serve as their superiors.

Jane and Rochester differ in their power relation from Frances and William; the first couple shares an employer-employee relationship rather than a teacher-pupil relationship as with the case with the second couple. In both cases though, the women are the underlings in terms of the division of power. Rochester tells Jane: "I don't wish to treat you like an inferior" (139). Also, Jane points out, "Mr. Rochester *is* peculiar—he seems to forget that he pays me £30 per annum for receiving his orders" (140). This is a significant distinction to make between the two couples because William has power over Frances because he is her teacher, while Rochester has power over Jane's livelihood. Jane's additional struggle is clearly exemplified toward the end of the novel when she leaves Rochester and starves until the Rivers family comes along to save her. However, once she is saved, she realizes that she can only come back to him on *her* terms—when they can be equals. Thus, Jane and Rochester's power struggle is a less balanced version of Frances and William's relationship, which could be symptomatic of Brontë's increased frustrations with the rejection of her first novel.

One could also examine the endings of the novels to draw a similar comparison between *The Professor* and *Jane Eyre*. In the novels, each couple marries and has a son. In the case of *The Professor*, Brontë chose to show William and Frances years after their child is born; they are happy their son is about to be sent away to school. William explains: "He must soon go to Eton, where, I suspect, his first year or two will be utter wretchedness: to leave Me, his Mother and his home will give his heart an agonized wrench.(221). Brontë's choice to include this detail shows her first attempt at showing a child going off to school. In *Jane Eyre*, she picks up this plot element with Jane, who is sent off to school as a child; however, she was not sent out of love like Victor, but because her Aunt Reed did not want her living with the family any longer. Furthermore, Brontë's description of Jane's time at Lowood is harsh. Jane describes her experience: "Our clothing was insufficient to protect us from the severe cold...the scanty supply of food was distressing..." (69). In addition, of course, is the typhus outbreak that killed several young girls, including Helen Burns, which made Lowood a particularly grim experience for Jane (85-91). Thus, one could see how Brontë becomes more of a realist in terms of her endings from *The Professor* to *Jane Eyre*.

At the end of *Jane Eyre*, Jane and Rochester also have a son; however, Brontë chooses to condense and summarize their marriage at the end of the novel, rather than give a long account of the next decade of their lives together. Jane returns to Rochester, who is blind from the fire that his first wife Bertha set at Thornfield, and they marry (437). Rochester's blindness has equalized their power struggle; therefore, Jane now feels that she can be with him because he needs her. Jane explains, "Mr. Rochester continued blind for the first two years of our union: perhaps it was that circumstance that drew us so very near...for I was then his vision, as I am still his right hand" (439). She has also inherited money from her father, as Frances earned money from repairing lace, which made her independent of her lover's economic support (160). Finally, Brontë resolves Jane's experience at Lowood with Adèle, whom Jane takes out of a harsh school similar to Lowood and places her in one that has a "more indulgent system...that could contribute to her comfort" (438). Jane explains that she planned to be her governess again, but did not have time because Rochester required all of her time. Therefore, she found a place for Adèle where she "became very happy...and made fair progress in her studies" (438). This recursive resolution shows a circular quality to Brontë's work in that she did not want to leave Victor Crimsworth's or Jane's education unresolved.

In addition to the plot echoes from *The Professor* to *Jane Eyre*, there are also textual or verbal links from one novel to the next that show a solid connection. The first example is the poem by Frances in *The Professor* about a "master and pupil" who are in love and then are tragically separated. William explains, "[it] was not exactly the writer's own experience—but a composition by portions of that experience suggested" (182). It seems that William is alluding to the idea that Frances's poem is the seed for a later, similar protagonist, "Jane," whom she directly refers to in the poem as the speaker (183-84). Furthermore, Frances writes about Jane's "master" who has "deep-set" eyes and a "mien austere," which is very likely referring to Rochester in *Jane Eyre* (184). This connection is evident because Rochester is described as having a "grim mouth, chin, and jaw" (126). Next, the poem also refers to Jane: "[during] A long and pleasant afternoon / I passed in those green bowers; / All silent, tranquil and alone / With birds and bees and flower" (183). This stanza of the poem is reminiscent of the first scene of *Jane Eyre*. In this first scene, Jane sits ensconced in a window seat with a drape isolating her from others. In addition, she is reading Bewick's "History of British Birds" (20). The links between this poem and the subsequent

relationship between Jane and Rochester in *Jane Eyre* are striking, and shows the intertextuality among Brontë's novels.

Later in the poem, the male character asks "Jane," "Why will they part us, Jane? / Were you not happy in my care? / Did I not faithful prove? / Will others to my darling bear / As true, as deep a love?" (185). These lines suggest that an outside force tears the speaker apart from her love; however, this scenario is reconciled in *Jane Eyre* in that Rochester did *not* prove faithful as he was already married to Bertha when he fell in love with Jane. The final stanza is also suggestive: "They call again; leave then my breast; / Quit thy true shelter, Jane, / But when deceived, repulsed, opprest, / Come home to me again!" (185). This scene seems like an early, idealistic sketch of Jane and Rochester because she leaves her love for ambiguous outside reasons—"They" make her do it. However, in *Jane Eyre*, readers know that Jane leaves because Rochester has a secret wife that he keeps locked in the attic. But as the poem suggests, Jane is free to "come home" again, which Jane does in *Jane Eyre*. Therefore, this poem clearly shows the "seed" for Rochester and Jane's relationship and is also reminiscent of a scene directly out *Jane Eyre*, which demonstrates the inextricable linkage between the two novels.

The final textual connection between *The Professor* and *Jane Eyre* is the careful attention paid to the calendar year and chronology. The end of *The Professor* is the summer, and *Jane Eyre* begins in the fall. What is more, however, is the attention Brontë pays to the smallest details in the first scene of *Jane Eyre* to directly connect it to *The Professor*. First, in *The Professor*, William explains the scene: "Frances approaches my library window...as the glow of the westerly sun, as the repose of the Midsummer eve are to my senses...But Hundsen comes...bending through the lattice, from which he has thrust away the woodbine with unsparing hand—disturbing two bees and a butterfly" (223). Then Hundsen invites William and Frances to tea with Victor and himself. This scene transcends the text and connects to *Jane Eyre*; thus, as the sun sets in *The Professor* with the "westerly sun," it rises the next day with *Jane Eyre* and begins a regeneration in Brontë's work. Jane explains her scene: "A small breakfast-room adjoined the drawing-room: I slipped in there. It contained a book-case: I soon possessed myself of a volume...to the left were the clear panes of glass, protecting, but not separating me from the drear November day...I returned to my books—Bewick's 'History of British Birds'" (20). Thus, we see several elements in both scenes that link up; the chronology provides for the circular flow from one novel to the next. In addition, Jane, like William, sits in a library-type

setting, near a window, and both protagonists observe nature—either through the glass or in a book. These similar settings show how Brontë had the same scene pictured in her mind for both novels, which, again, shows a literal connection. Moreover, the natural proclivities Jane and William have toward this quiet and isolated setting, where the protagonist can still experience and observe the outer world, shows another similarity in character. Brontë's protagonists are attracted to a setting in which they can explore their inner passions and fulfill their desire for knowledge.

One could create an endless list of similarities and connections between *The Professor* and *Jane Eyre*; however, it is most clear that Brontë uses William and Frances's relationship as a model for her subsequent work—especially Jane and Rochester's relationship. It is interesting that, with a few changes, *Jane Eyre* was not only published, but became widely successful, while *The Professor* was deemed “too coarse” for publication. Many critics believed that *The Professor* was too coarse because, as Catherine Malone suggests, critics were more interested in Brontë's life than her work. They “endeavor[ed] to equate the characters with those in Brontë's life... ‘We are unable to think of anything but her life’: a pattern for criticism of *The Professor* was thus established which has changed remarkably little in the twentieth century” (177). What Malone then argues, is “the failing is not that Brontë cannot convincingly create male protagonists but that a male protagonist cannot convincingly tell the type of story Brontë wanted to narrate: a history of suffering” (180). Thus, even after *Jane Eyre* was published, Brontë attempted to recreate and finally perfect the same novel a third time with *Villette*, which was published in 1853.

Connecting *Jane Eyre* to *Villette*

The romantic relationships that Jane and Lucy, the heroine of Brontë's last completed work, form are at the center of both novels, and the relationships in *Jane Eyre* have counterpoints in *Villette*. Jane's primary love interest is Rochester. They meet because he owns the estate where she works, and she tutors Adèle. He is dark and ethnic-looking; he is not portrayed as being particularly attractive. He is described as having “black hair...full nostrils...[and a] grim mouth” (126). His body is described as “broad chested and thin flanked; though neither tall nor graceful” (126). It sounds as if Rochester is disproportional and unattractive; however, Jane still falls in love with him. There is a mystery about Rochester that readers try to discover along with Jane. The discovery is, of course, that he already has a wife—Bertha, who is locked in the attic because she is “crazy” (290). Jane

runs away and ends up finding some relatives of whom she is unaware—the Rivers family. St. John, her cousin, proposes to her, and she says no because she believes they are not truly in love (379).

St. John leaves on a mission to India, and Jane returns to Thornfield with her inheritance from her father (374). Upon her arrival, she finds that Thornfield was burned down by Bertha, and Rochester—now blind—moved to Ferndean (418). Jane and Rochester marry and have a child; Rochester miraculously regains his sight. Philip Momberger, author of “Self and the World in the Works of Charlotte Brontë,” writes that Jane is able to marry Rochester at the end because he “no longer represents a threat to Jane’s identity” as he did when he was her employer (368). Jane says to Rochester, “I told you I am independent, sir, as well as rich: I am my own mistress” (423). Her newly found self-ownership enables her to love Rochester. It is also significant to note because it shows that Jane had no real identity in the beginning to “own” but is able to form one along her journey. This idea of a journey or pilgrimage is evident in “A Dialogue of Self and Soul: Plain Jane’s Progress” in which Gilbert and Gubar contend that Jane’s character, by the end of *Jane Eyre*, becomes “larger than life, the emblem of a passionate, barely disguised rebelliousness” (337).

In *Villette*, Lucy also has two significant romantic relationships that are rooted in *Jane Eyre*. Graham Bretton is the first male whom she encounters as a child; it is not clear whether she likes him or not, but it is clear that Polly, Jane’s cousin who is introduced in Part One, likes him. Later in the book, he arrives at Madame Beck’s school, where Lucy is employed, as Dr. John. It is significant to note that although Lucy eventually reveals his identity to the readers, she does not do so when she first realizes who he is (195). The Brettons moved to Labassecour, and when Lucy faints, she is brought to their house (181-86). He takes care of her, and once she returns to Madame Beck’s, he writes to her several times. She takes a secret pleasure in the letters, and it seems that she falls in love with Graham. However, she buries the letters because she realizes that she cannot be with Graham (328). There is also Monsieur Paul Emmanuel—the dark, Catholic literature teacher in whom Lucy also takes a romantic interest. He is described by Lucy as, “[a] dark little man...pungent and austere. Even to me he seemed a harsh apparition, with his...black head, his broad, sallow brow, his thin cheek, his wide and quivering nostril” (142). Brontë’s description here is clearly drawn from Rochester in *Jane Eyre* because of the dark and harsh appearance associated with both Byronic characters. Both M. Paul and Rochester are considered Byronic, of course, because of their mysterious

natures. Their strange behavior is not without good reason though; Rochester, readers learn, is hiding Bertha in the beginning, and M. Paul hides his past wife (511).

M. Paul teases Lucy at times, and he even locks her in a room early in the novel (148). This scenario echoes when Jane is locked in the Red Room by her Aunt Reed, and she suffers psychological trauma as a result (25-30). Conversely, M. Paul shares his books with her, teaches her and loves her. It is M. Paul with whom Lucy truly falls in love, and he sets up a day school for her before he goes to the West Indies (537). He says that he will return; however, the shipwreck imagery at the end leads readers to believe that he dies at sea (546). Traveling to the West Indies is reminiscent of St. John's similar travels in *Jane Eyre*, yet Jane makes clear that she does not love St. John. Brontë rearranges the love triangle in *Villette* to create a more realistic ending. That is, Jane gets to return to her true love, while St. John goes off on a mission, most likely to never return again; whereas, M. Paul, who *is* Lucy's true love, leaves her and ultimately dies. This final novel, with the complicated ending, shows Brontë's constant refiguring of nearly identical elements, which are reworked because Brontë would not be satisfied until her story was perfected. It seems that Brontë saw realism as more "perfect" than the idealistic wish fulfillment of her first two novels.

The intertwined relationships of Jane and Lucy are very similar in many ways. Rochester and M. Paul are both dark and ethnic-looking. In addition, Rochester is separated from Jane by social class, very similar to how M. Paul is separated from Lucy by religion; these separations are of thematic importance in both novels. Furthermore, Jane and Lucy are both left for a period of time when St. John and M. Paul travel—both for altruistic reasons, and readers do not know whether the men ever return. Finally, as John Kucich suggests, Rochester and M. Paul conceal their passions instead of displaying them. Kucich argues that both Jane and Lucy also "display equally histrionic masklike passions" (916-17). Jane and Lucy's relationships both illustrate the reserved passion they have for the men they love. They restrain their love because of the emotional walls they build up, and Rochester and M. Paul must break them down.

In both novels Rochester and M. Paul have broken down their respective heroine's emotional walls. As readers learn, in the end, Jane does have a husband and child and does not continue to work; however, she and Rochester are equals because he is blind and he relies on her. Conversely, Lucy is left alone because M. Paul dies. She continues work at her day school and achieves complete independence. It is interesting that Brontë

chose to have Lucy single in the end as opposed to married and with a child like Jane. The characters are so similar in their respective journeys, but they end up in completely different situations. The juxtaposed endings show how Brontë rewrote Jane as Lucy—as a more autonomous version of Jane, or possibly of the author herself because when *Villette* was published in 1853, Brontë was still unmarried.

It is through their teaching careers that Jane and Lucy find love, and, ironically, through their relationships they find independence and strength. Jane gains power when she returns to Rochester; she is in control rather than the other way around. M. Paul gives Lucy the opportunity to run her own day school, where she can be independent. When M. Paul leaves, Lucy is forced to be alone and be self-sufficient. Therefore, both Jane and Lucy's lives follow similar paths, which is remarkable considering they are characters in separate novels.

There are an endless number of parallels one can draw between Jane Eyre and Lucy Snowe. The likeness between these two heroines suggests a transcendental connection between the two novels. Jane and Lucy are fundamentally the same character, except Lucy is more complex in her unreliable narration. Paradoxically, though, the protagonists also serve as foils of one another because they both represent personal growth, and end up in opposite situations in the end. Jane, one could argue, is an underdeveloped version of Lucy in terms of complexity. Many people think *Jane Eyre* is Brontë's more popular, and therefore better, novel; however, it has also been argued that *Villette* is Charlotte Brontë's more superior work. As Robert Colby, author of "*Villette* and the Life of the Mind" writes, "Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* is thought of mainly as 'by the author of *Jane Eyre*.'" However, he also writes, "it may still be argued that in many ways Miss Brontë's last novel was her most profound accomplishment. To read *Villette* as carefully as it deserves to be read is to follow the curve of Charlotte Brontë's literary development to its completion" (410). Thus, Colby supports the claim that the sequence of the novels reflects Brontë's growth as a writer, which is represented by the growing complexity of her protagonists. In short, Lucy grew out of Jane. This argument reiterates the notion of narrative circularity in Brontë's works.

Beyond the thematic ties, the most interesting link between the two novels is, perhaps, the connection between the first scene of *Jane Eyre* to the ambiguous last scene of *Villette*. When Brontë closes *Villette*, she makes a careful note as to the time of year, "It is Autumn; he [M. Emanuel] is to be with me ere the mists of November come....Frost appears at night" (545).

Then, she begins to use storm and shipwreck imagery: “That storm roared frenzied for seven days. It did not cease till the Atlantic was strewn with wrecks...Let it be theirs to conceive the delight of joy born again...the fruition of return” (546). With Brontë’s poetic ending of *Villette*, the reader feels the settling of emotions—like the calm after a great storm. Upon closer analysis, one might also recognize it as very similar to the opening of *Jane Eyre*: “the cold winter wind had brought with it clouds so sombre, and a rain so penetrating...” (19). Furthermore, Jane remarks that it is November and that a storm had just passed “I studied the aspect of that winter afternoon. Afar, it offered a pale blank of mist and cloud; near, a scene of wet lawn and storm-beat shrub” (20). Finally, when Jane reads Bewick’s *History of British Birds*, she begins to think about ocean and ship imagery and she describes the scene in her imagination: “the vast sweep of the Arctic Zone...that reservoir of frost and snow...Two ships becalmed on a torpid sea ...” (21). The weather, time of year, chilliness, and imagery of the ocean and ships match so perfectly that they literally connect to one another in one smooth transition.

Ian Emberson, author of “‘A Wreck Just Sinking’: The Beginning of *Jane Eyre* and the Ending of *Villette*,” writes of these scenes:

These descriptions connect themselves...Surely the true image to accompany the last page of *Villette*, is that seen by Jane in the volume of Bewick as she sat ensconced in the window seat between the November mists and the red moreen curtains: ‘the cold and ghastly moon glancing through bars of cloud at a wreck just sinking.’ (90) The linkage of these two scenes posits the novels in a circular fashion, which again shows the narrative circularity in Brontë’s work. It is almost as if Brontë completed *Villette* as a reflection or continuation of, *Jane Eyre*.

Villette appears to be a more fully developed version of *Jane Eyre*. However, readers would benefit most by reading all of the novels because they cannot stand alone. Each parallel drawn among the books introduces and highlights areas for analysis in all of Brontë’s works. As Emberson writes, “In a certain sense *Jane Eyre* and *Villette* are one novel” (89). He argues that “each is so full of link-ups with the other, that the full impact of one cannot be appreciated in isolation” (89). We may supplement the relationship that Emberson identifies by including *The Professor* in this narrative recycling of characters, plot elements, and even sections of actual text from the novels.

In essence, Charlotte Brontë writes and rewrites the same protagonist and love scenario in *Jane Eyre* and *Villette*, which both stem

from what was deemed a failure in *The Professor*. It is this close linkage between Jane and Lucy that leads readers to believe that the repeated similarities are aspects of Brontë's own life which she has, whether consciously or not, included in her writing. As Colby writes, "One likes to think that the genius that first found itself in *Jane Eyre* ultimately fulfilled itself in *Villette*. In the history of the novel *Villette* may be said to look simultaneously backwards and forward. It is at once a retrospect and a prospect" (419). There are too many coincidences in these two works, from characteristics of Jane and Lucy to the connection of the first scene in *Jane Eyre* and the final scene in *Villette*, to be meaningless. The similarities must be influenced, in some way, from Brontë's own life—most likely beginning with *The Professor*.

The increase in complexity from *Jane Eyre* to *Villette* shows maturation in Brontë's work. Where Rochester represents an employer who is above Jane's social class and has a secret wife, M. Paul is a colleague who truly loves Lucy. Therefore, it is highly symbolic that each woman chooses whom she does by the end of each novel. Jane may have been able to return to a man who lied to her, but Lucy finds herself completely independent by the end. It seems that her protagonists' decisions reflect a growth in Brontë's work. She felt that Lucy, her final protagonist, should end completely alone and self-sufficient, rather than married with children, which shows how Brontë's perspective on the female role had shifted near the end of her career. She found it acceptable for a woman to be happily alone, or possibly *necessary*. As Mitchell writes:

Charlotte Brontë's final novel encompasses the solution to the central agonizing question posed by her other novels, the question of how a woman can best handle her own desire, given the dilemma of male domination and female submission. In *Villette* there is no fairy-tale ending; Lucy Snow is Jane Eyre grown up and living in the real world (69). Thus, Brontë denies readers the facile pleasure of the romantic wish-fulfillment because she must make the point that a woman must be alone to do anything significant in life, which is apparent because Lucy, the unmarried protagonist, is the only Brontë heroine with a career at the end. As Colby notes, "Lucy is intended to represent a fuller and completer woman....If one is to feel deeply and live profoundly, one must be prepared also to suffer grandly, we are led to infer" (412). This bold statement is also a comment on Brontë's development as an author because the critic argues that this shift in the protagonist also marks change in the writer herself.

Connecting *Villette* to *The Professor*

After examining the connections that link *The Professor* to *Jane Eyre* and *Jane Eyre* to *Villette*, we now come to the ways in which *Villette* is both a look back at Brontë's first written novel and a continuation of it. Although Brontë draws on her earlier and critically failed work, *The Professor*, to create similar elements in *Villette*, the novel is also forward-looking because the final scene is open-ended. One could argue that Brontë's *Villette* is the most complex and superior of all of her works, and that all of these narrative difficulties come closest to modeling the author's real life out of the three novels. In *Villette*, Brontë shows readers a complete final effort to work out the criticisms she received for *The Professor*.

As previously noted, the "love triangle" is a quintessential component of Brontë's work. Not only does the love triangle in *Villette* most closely model *The Professor*, but it is also an echo of Brontë's own life. At the center of the love triangle is Lucy Snowe, a foundling who leaves England and goes Belgium where she finds work as a teacher at Madame Beck's boarding school. Then there is Dr. John, also known as Graham Bretton—her childhood friend, in the second corner of the triangle. Opposite of Dr. John and Lucy is Monsieur Paul Emanuel. Lucy's relationship with M. Paul is most significant one and closely follows William and Frances's relationship in *The Professor*. This linkage is most notable in the obvious rearrangement of the same elements. For example, *The Professor* involves an English man who goes to Belgium to teach and falls in love with his French student; whereas, in *Villette* there is an English woman who goes to Belgium and falls in love with her male teacher who is French-speaking. The latter situation is reminiscent of Brontë's own experience with M. Heger when she went to Brussels to learn French and teach in 1842 (Barker 412-13).

As Barker writes, "Possibly the greatest single influence on Charlotte, both as a person and as a writer, was the time she spent in Brussels..." (412). While there, M. Heger was her teacher and she would write essays for him which were a "key element in Charlotte's relationship with Monsieur Heger, as her later novels make abundantly clear." Brontë's biographer then cites the example that "three out of Charlotte's four novels contain an essay written by a pupil for her teacher" (418). Many other critics have also referred to Brontë's trip to Belgium as a chief influence for her writing both *The Professor* and *Villette* as there are so many similar elements.³ However, there is no way to tell exactly how much of her real life the author incorporated into these novels. Instead, it seems that she was

simply trying to work out a frustration of a failed love as well as the failure to publish *The Professor* which fueled her desire continually to write such similar novels. Therefore, readers see Brontë's art imitating her own life in a final rearrangement of love triangle she rewrote throughout her career.

Brontë also increases complexity in terms of the protagonist's relationship with the reader. For example, the reader generally trusts William and even Jane in their respective novels, but Lucy is different. She withholds information from the reader as a source of power. The best example of this secrecy in her character is when Lucy fails to inform readers that Dr. John is Graham Bretton. It is not until she faints at the end of Volume I, and she awakes in Dr. John's house that she writes, "For, reader, this tall young man—this darling son—this host of mine—this Graham Bretton, *was* Dr. John: he, and no other; and, what is more, I ascertained this identity scarcely with surprise....The discovery was not of to-day, its dawn had penetrated my perceptions long since" (195). She continues, "To *say* anything on the subject, to *hint* at my discovery, had not suited my habits of thought or assimilated with my system of feeling....I had preferred to keep the matter to myself" (196). This scene is significant because, in contrast to William, Lucy feels the need to withhold information with the reader in order to maintain her power, whereas William, a male narrator, does not need to do so.

Throughout William's narrative, there is never a feeling that he is not telling the whole truth. In fact, from the beginning he directly relays the purpose of his story to readers: "My narrative is not exciting and, above all, not marvelous—but it may interest some individuals, who, having toiled in the same vocation as myself, will find in my experience, frequent reflections of their own" (12). This introductory statement of purpose, excerpted from William's letter in the first chapter, is ironic also because, indeed, Jane and especially Lucy have very similar experiences and "reflections," as William calls them, in their respective narratives, except that Lucy is more "marvelous" as there is an increase in Gothic tendencies from *The Professor* to *Villette*.

The letters in both *The Professor* and also in *Villette* are an interesting juxtaposition for analysis. As mentioned, *The Professor* begins with a letter, which puts the reader at a distance; whereas, readers get to see the letters Dr. John writes Lucy in *Villette*, which draws the reader into the story. William's letter is the entire first chapter of *The Professor*; it is awkwardly written to "Charles," about whom readers never learn more, but the transparent purpose is to fill the readers in on William's background and

what William will explain in the body of his story (Gilbert 317). Brontë includes letters in *Villette* in a much more effective fashion by showing the letters that Dr. John writes to Lucy. They are also of much more value and symbolic significance because Lucy must bury them to forget about her feelings for Dr. John. Thus, in *The Professor*, the letters serve purely as a vehicle for narration, and in *Villette* the letters are much more symbolic and even exemplary of Lucy's desire to have narrative control.

Clearly there are many symbolic connections that demonstrate *Villette's* continuation of *The Professor*, but there are also some textual connections that more concretely link the two novels. For example, the poem in *The Professor* not only connects the novel to *Jane Eyre*, but also to *Villette*. There is the line that refers to "when he lent her some precious book," (184) which seems to be the seed for when M. Paul lends books to Lucy throughout *Villette*. In addition, Lucy refers to M. Paul in a somewhat suggestive way: "his mind was indeed my library, and whenever it was opened to me, I entered bliss" (422). This quote shows how, like the poem, M. Paul lends Lucy his "precious" knowledge and books because he loves her. Furthermore, by lending her books and his mind, essentially, he is giving a piece of himself to her; in a way, his action is a courtship gesture.

In another section of Frances's poem, there is a line that reads "A day hence I must cross the sea, / Never to re-cross it more" (185). Lucy does cross the sea in her journey to Belgium, and it is also true that she does not return to England because she opens a school in Belgium. Thus, the speaker of the poem serves as the seed for Lucy's character in addition to Jane's. The latter part of the line too, about never crossing the sea again, is reminiscent of M. Paul's journey that most likely, although ambiguously, ends in shipwreck and death. This rearrangement of elements in terms of location between these two novels is both forward- and backward-looking. Both William and Lucy travel from England to Belgium. Conversely, in *The Professor*, Frances wishes to go back to England to teach, which shows how Brontë experiments with her protagonists who always wish to travel somewhere else. This quality among her heroines is significant because it shows how none of them can actually be content with their lives.

Furthermore, in terms of concrete connections between the novels, the ambiguous last scene of *Villette* comes full circle when joined with the second chapter of *The Professor*, which is arguably the first formal chapter because the first chapter is a letter labeled "Introductory" (5). As previously mentioned, Brontë paid close attention to chronology in her novels. At the end of *Villette*, Brontë writes that M. Paul has been gone for three years and

that “It is Autumn” and he is expected to return soon—right before November (545). However, the scene becomes frosty, cold and darker and Brontë incorporates shipwreck imagery: “God, watch that sail! Oh! Guard it!...That storm roared frenzied for seven days. It did not cease till the Atlantic was strewn with wrecks: it did not lull till the deeps had gorged their full of sustenance...There is enough said....Let them picture union and a happy succeeding life” (546). This excerpt, although not bluntly stated, alludes that M. Paul has drowned at sea and will never return to Lucy. The footnote of the text states that Brontë’s father had asked her to leave the scene more metaphoric for readers who may want a happier ending (603). This glossy ending was not the first time Brontë appeased her father’s wishes; the manuscript of *The Professor* was also heavily edited before publication, according to M.M. Brammer (170). Therefore, these two scenes, although edited by Brontë’s father, demonstrate a textual connection in terms of chronology as her other novels do. Linking *Villette* to *The Professor* is a way for Brontë to continue the circularity in her work.

It could also be said that since *The Professor* was written first, but published last, it has a position both in the beginning and at the end of Brontë’s cycle of novels. Brontë’s creation of a series of novels also marks her own progress and growth as a writer, which further contributes to the idea of narrative circularity because it shows how each book marks a position in the series of novels. Cohen asserts, “The plot of *The Professor* closely parallels that of *Villette*, Brontë’s more directly autobiographical final novel, but with the crucial difference of the narrator’s gender” (449). Thus, *The Professor* contains the “germ” of *Villette*; according to Colby: “Not only is there a perceptible emotional heightening in *Villette* as compared with *The Professor*, but the action of the later novel is greatly intensified as well” (411). She was unable to get *The Professor* published, and therefore saw it as a failure. Ironically, this initial “failure” was her first of three novels loosely based on teaching. One could argue that Brontë wrote *Jane Eyre* and then *Villette* after *The Professor* in succession—each as a “rewritten” version of the previous novel. Colby claims, “Lucy Snowe’s turbulent emotional experiences may be taken as an analogue of Charlotte Brontë’s creative life, in that her achievement of mastery over her morbidly introverted imagination parallels Miss Brontë’s own emancipation” (410). He writes that her “emancipation” began with *The Professor* (410).

Conclusion

Although it seems that Brontë wanted to compensate for her initial failure, one must appreciate her resilience in continuing to re-work the original concept presented in *The Professor*. After *Villette* was published in 1853, Brontë began writing yet another novel introducing the eroticized version of the “master-pupil relationship” motif. *Emma*, as the work was later called, only got to be about two chapters long and it was not published until 1860—five years after Brontë’s death.

The story begins with Mrs. Chalfont, who describes the neighborhood girl’s school run by Mrs. Wilcox. One day, a seemingly rich gentleman drops off Matilda Fitzgibbon, who enrolls in the school. Mr. Ellin, a bachelor, visits the school and discovers an attraction to Matilda; however, there is a crisis when her father cannot be located to pay her tuition. The story ends in a cliffhanger, where readers are left to wonder about Matilda’s explanation to Mrs. Wilcox. Brontë’s final attempt at mastering the “master-pupil” relationship is apparent in her last story because she continues with the same textual and thematic elements that she has used throughout her entire career.

Chronologically speaking, *The Professor* remained unpublished at this point, while her other novels were successful. Even though *Emma* is only about 20 pages, one can still spot elements which are present in Brontë’s other novels, such as the older bachelor being attracted to the young female who is all alone in school. This “last sketch,” as Thackeray called it, makes readers and scholars appreciate Brontë’s incessant efforts to get *her story* just right (Smith 225-27). She very much owns this narrow type of fictional genre because she spent most of her life trying to perfect it.

Brontë’s final emancipation of Lucy at the end of her journey through the “master-pupil” relationship reflects Brontë’s development as an author. In other words, this string of connecting novels shows an evolution and development, not only in the author’s work, but also in herself. Mitchell outlines this development quite succinctly:

The Professor traces the power and the pain of the domination/submission configuration through the experience of the male subject, while *Jane Eyre* enacts the wish-fulfillment of the female object who is miraculously transformed into an equal subject by the end of the novel....and in *Villette* a feminist solution is finally offered to the problem (82). Thus, Brontë not only increasingly challenge the social conventions of a time when women did not have many career options or freedom outside of the domestic sphere, but arguably emancipates herself by successfully publishing a story that was

deemed too “coarse” less than a decade earlier with *The Professor*. When *Villette* was published, Brontë herself was not yet married to Arthur Bell Nicholls, which shows that she was a relatively independent woman for her time who found success in writing about women who also wished to “free” themselves from the norms of mid-nineteenth century society.

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Abstract

In the decades following the twentieth century Holocaust, the Catholic Church made various attempts to justify its controversial actions during this tragedy, but it was not until nearly the century's end that the Holy See issued a formal statement that denied any responsibility for the Holocaust and the rabid anti-Semitism associated with it. However, many historians believe that this statement failed to convey the true history of the Church's relationship with the Jewish people—a relationship which was characterized by both anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism. In reality, history will prove that, since medieval times, the Catholic Church has acted to foster anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism throughout the Christian world, and consequently helped build an atmosphere that led to one of if not the most infamous genocide in world history.

Men are not born with hatred in their blood. The infection is usually acquired by contact; it may be injected deliberately or even unconsciously...Adults, unless protected by the vigor of their intelligence, or by a rare quality of goodness, seldom escape contagion. The disease may spread through the land like a plague, so that a class, a religion, a nation, will become the victim of the popular hatred without anyone knowing exactly how it all began.¹²²

These provocative words were written by former prisoner of war and Catholic Church specialist Malcolm Hay in his history of anti-Semitism, *Thy Brother's Blood: The Roots of Christian Anti-Semitism*. Hay's words show how anti-Semitism could lead to one of the most tragic events in history—the twentieth century Holocaust. Anti-Semitism was not a creation of the Nazis nor of Adolf Hitler, but had been present for centuries, promulgated and practiced by various individuals, groups, and institutions, including the Roman Catholic Church.

¹²² Malcolm Hay, *Thy Brother's Blood: The Roots of Christian Anti-Semitism* (New York: Hart Publishing Company, Inc., 1950), 3.

The Church's relationship with the Jewish people offers a look into some of its most questionable actions. Although this relationship has varied throughout the years, it has been most notably characterized by the subjugation, discrimination, persecution and even violence against Jews. This relationship, moreover, has evolved from one characterized by anti-Judaism to the more detestable anti-Semitism on the part of the Catholic Church. Tracing this relationship from the First Crusade of the eleventh century up until the Holocaust of the twentieth century, demonstrates that the Church helped create an atmosphere in which rabid anti-Semitism could lead to what some call the greatest crime of all time.

In the decades following the Holocaust, the Catholic Church made various attempts to justify its controversial actions during this tragedy, but it was not until nearly the century's end that the Holy See finally issued a formal statement, in which it denied any responsibility for the Holocaust and for the rabid anti-Semitism associated with it. Entitled "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah," this document recognized the Church's unique relationship to the Jewish people and went so far as to admit that "the history of relations between Jews and Christians is a tormented one," in which Christians have persecuted the Jews, at times using them as scapegoats and turning them into victims of violence, looting, and even massacres.¹²³

Moreover, the Church recognized, "the errors and failures of those sons and daughters of the Church...[whose] spiritual resistance and concrete [actions were] not that which might have been expected from Christ's followers."¹²⁴ Despite this apology, however, the Church refused to acknowledge that its past actions might have paved the way for the anti-Semitism which instigated the Holocaust. Rather, it distinguished between anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism, admitting that in the past, Christians had possessed a hostile, mistrusting attitude towards the Jews, making them guilty of anti-Judaism. On the contrary, however, the Church denied having

¹²³ Edward I. Cassidy, "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah," 16 March 1998. Internet: (accessed 27 October 2008).

¹²⁴ Edward I. Cassidy, "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah," 16 March 1998. Internet: (accessed October 27, 2008).

any connection to the more ruthless form of prejudice (i.e. anti-Semitism), since such racial hatred was strictly opposed by Church doctrine.¹²⁵

As a supplement to this formal statement, in the year 2000, the beloved, well-respected Pope John Paul II stood before attentive crowds in both Rome and Jerusalem and formally apologized to the Jewish people for the Church's past sins, including the Crusades and other various displays of anti-Judaism. With his poignant speech, the pontiff was able to touch the hearts of many Catholics and non-Catholics around the world, repenting for the sins of his predecessors.¹²⁶ However, despite such endearing sentiments, both this apology and the long-awaited formal statement "We Remember" failed to impress many historians, including David I. Kertzer. As the Provost at Brown University, a former Professor of History, a Professor of Italian society, and the son of a rabbi, Kertzer believes that the Church failed to expose the true history of its appalling connection to anti-Semitism and its frequently disturbing relationship with the Jewish people. In his controversial book, *The Pope against the Jews*, Kertzer attempts to show that, although the Church did not share the Nazi's goal of a racially purified society, it nonetheless did "help build [the long road which led to] the physical elimination of the Jews of Europe."¹²⁷

Although feelings of animosity towards the Jews date far back in time, they grew after Christ's death, as many of Christ's followers came to blame the Jews for His suffering and crucifixion. Such hatred only increased in the following centuries, as members of the Christian world began to condemn outspokenly the Jewish people. Stanford University Professor Gavin I. Langmuir even asserts that, "like Hitler, though in differing degrees, many bishops, church fathers, and other Christians of the first centuries were [anti-Semitic]."¹²⁸ Although some may consider Langmuir an extremist in making such a suggestion and comparing Church officials to the Fuhrer, primary and secondary sources present some validity to his admittedly exaggerated claim. For example, in the fourth century, Saint Gregory of

¹²⁵ David I. Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (New York, Vintage Books, 2001), 4.

¹²⁶ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 3.

¹²⁷ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 17.

¹²⁸ Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 5.

Nyssa deemed the Jews to be “slayers of the Lord, murderers of the prophets, adversaries of God, haters of God, men who show contempt for the law, foes of grace, enemies of their father’s faith, advocates of the devil, brood of vipers, slanderers, men whose minds are in darkness...sinners, stoners, and haters of righteousness.”¹²⁹

In addition to these expressions of anti-Judaic sentiments, the fourth century also saw the introduction of certain anti-Jewish restrictions. For instance, since Jews were considered inferior beings, they were forbidden from marrying Christians.¹³⁰ Additionally, in the years 388 A.D., 415 A.D., 418 A.D., and 519 A.D. such anti-Judaic feelings led to the burning of synagogues in such locations as Callinicum, Antioch, Magona, Alexandria, and Eretz Israel. Furthermore, the first account of forced conversion was recorded in 418, when Severus, the bishop of Minorca, claimed to have converted five hundred and forty Jews to Christianity after conquering the island.¹³¹ As a result of such occurrences, by the fifth century, as Langmuir observes, “the Christian anti-Judaic doctrine that depicted Jews as reprehensible, wrong...[and] eternally damned, was firmly established.” This anti-Judaic doctrine was preached even more widely and with little change for centuries to come, demonstrating the significant role of Christian anti-Semitism in the creation of the more general European anti-Semitism.

Throughout the following centuries, Jews would encounter further persecution from both religious and secular leaders. In 535 at the Council of Clermont Jews were banned from holding administrative offices; years later, in 576, the Jews of Clermont were pressured to convert to Christianity or else leave the city. In 632, the Emperor Heraclius forced Jews to be baptized and in the following century the Byzantine Emperor Leo III did the same. However, a change in policy towards the Jews occurred under Charlemagne,

¹²⁹ St. Gregory of Nyssa, “Oratio in Christi Resurrectionem,” fourth century A.D.: quoted in Hay, *Thy Brother’s Blood*, 26.

¹³⁰ Spiritus-Temporis.com, “History of anti-Semitism,” 2005. (accessed October 28, 2008).

¹³¹ Spiritus-Temporis.com, “History of anti-Semitism,” 2005. (accessed October 28, 2008).

during the latter half of the eighth century and into the ninth, as Jews benefitted from his more tolerant policies and obtained certain freedoms.¹³²

Following Charlemagne's death in 814, however, Archbishop of Lyon Saint Agobard ended such tolerance, declaring Jews to be accursed slaves and forcibly converting many Jewish children to Christianity. Jews were further persecuted at the beginning of the tenth century, when the French King Charles the Simple confiscated Jewish property, donating it to the Catholic Church. Later, in 1009, the Jews in France were wrongfully blamed for destroying the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, resulting in their expulsion from various French towns such as Limoges.

Despite these examples of persecution throughout the first millennium, Jews and Christians lived in Europe relatively peacefully¹³. The first major attack in which Jews were murdered did not occur until 1032, when Abu'l Kamal Tamim conquered Fez, Morocco, and killed approximately 6,000 Jews living in the Jewish community.¹³³ Although this massacre of 1032 is undoubtedly a significant example of Jewish persecution, it was at the hands of Arabs and not Christians.

The calling of the First Crusade in 1095 marked the first large-scale Christian pogrom against the Jews. This Crusade, one of the earliest controversial events connected to the Roman Catholic Church, warrants intensive study to investigate how a seemingly righteous endeavor could cause such an outburst of violence and hatred, bringing death to so many. Deemed by historian Thomas Asbridge to be a "titanic expedition"¹³⁴ and "one of the most remarkable episodes in European history,"¹³⁵ historians have thus long investigated the details, implications, and causes of the Crusade. Although the holy war began with the intention of conquering the Muslims in Asia Minor and reclaiming the Holy Land for Christendom, the expedition soon

¹³² Spiritus-Temporis.com, "History of anti-Semitism," 2005. (accessed October 28, 2008).

¹³³ Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (Irvington, NY: Columbia University Press, 1952), 108; Spiritus-Temporis.com, "History of anti-Semitism," 2005. Internet: html (accessed October 28, 2008).

¹³⁴ Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2.

¹³⁵ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, ix.

led to a string of bloody massacres that would prove to be only the start of a long and mostly unsuccessful crusading movement. The First Crusade also calls into question the papacy's role in often vicious displays of anti-Judaism during this so-called holy war. In the end, as medieval historian Steven Runciman claims, the Crusades would prove to be a "tragic and destructive episode...[and] nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God, which is the greatest sin against the Holy Spirit."¹³⁶

. On November 27, 1095, Pope Urban II stood before a massive crowd at the Council of Clermont in France and delivered a passionate, memorable speech calling for a holy war against the Muslim infidels, with the ultimate goal being to reclaim for Christendom the Holy Land (Jerusalem), which had been previously conquered by the Muslims. This First Crusade ended four bloody years later, just a year before the turn of the eleventh century. Known for his eloquence and talent as an orator, Pope Urban II delivered an unforgettable speech. Using, in Asbridge's words, "horrific imagery and forceful exhortation,"¹³⁷ the pontiff was able not only to capture his listeners' attention but to arouse great enthusiasm, as the crowd became overwhelmed with intense religious fervor, crying out, "Deus le volt!" ("God wills it!")¹³⁸ So powerful was the Pope's speech that in mere months the number of ambitious crusaders grew to approximately one hundred thousand, including men and women from both the lay and priestly classes.¹³⁹

According to Crusades' historian Dana Carleton Munro, five credible versions of this history-making speech exist. The various interpreters include Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, Baldric of Dol, Guibert of Nogent, and William of Malmesbury, all of whom wrote their versions several years after the speech was given. With each differing slightly from the next, it is difficult to determine what exactly the Pope said. However, although each version differs in the exact wording of the speech, all versions

¹³⁶Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951-54), 3: 480.

¹³⁷ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 1.

¹³⁸ Steven Runciman, *The First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 42-43.

¹³⁹ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 2; James Carroll, *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 239.

agree that the pontiff spoke passionately and persuasively, stirring the crowd and causing great enthusiasm to fill the hearts of his audience.¹⁴⁰

Another sentiment expressed in all versions is the dire need to rescue the Holy Sepulcher, bringing it back to its rightful owners (the Christians), and rescuing the suffering Christians in the East. All versions deem the Muslims to be infidels, endangering the Christian religion and causing the Christians in the East great suffering. Significantly, all versions convey the notion that the crusaders would be doing God's work, with the Pope promising that all who fought and supported this righteous war would gain eternal salvation.¹⁴¹

All five versions also express contempt for the Turks. Guibert, of Nogent refers to them with the term *nefandi*, meaning base or vile, and William of Malmesbury's detailed description of the infidels calls them cowardly and degenerate. Robert the Monk's and Fulcher of Chartres's versions illustrate the Pope's disdain for the Turks, calling them the "race from the kingdom of the Persians, an accursed race, a race utterly alienated from God...which has invaded the lands of...Christians and depopulated them by the sword, pillage, and fire." These people, claimed Urban, presented a great danger to Christians, as they had wrongfully taken the holy land, destroying its Churches, torturing its Christian people, and tainting it with its "uncleanness." Possibly most disturbing is the Pope's fervent call to "exterminate this vile race from the lands of our brethren."¹⁴²

Urban's speech targeted Muslims, so it is remarkable that the Jewish population would also fall victim to crusader brutality starting just weeks after the Pope's speech. Certainly, the Pope's strong use of imagery

¹⁴⁰Dana Carleton Munro, "The Speech of Urban II. at Clermont" (1906); in *The American Historical Review* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1906), 232-237.

¹⁴¹Dana Carleton Munro, "The Speech of Urban II. at Clermont" (1906); in *The American Historical Review* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1906), 232-237.

¹⁴² Pope Urban II, speech at Council of Clermont, 1095: interpreted by Fulcher: quoted by August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), 30; Pope Urban II, speech at Council of Clermont, November 1095: interpreted by Robert the Monk, interpretation of Pope Urban II's speech in *Historia Iherosolymitana*, 1120: quoted in Dana Carleton Munro, *Urban and the Crusaders* (Philadelphia, PA: The Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1901), 4-7; Munro, "The Speech of Urban II," 238.

motivated the audience, giving them reasons both to despise and seek vengeance against the enemies of the church. He separated the Turkish infidels from the rest of society, deeming them odious and inferior beings. Although the Pope never mentioned the Jews, it was commonly believed that both Jews and Muslims were enemies of the Church and of the Christian faith. Historian Jonathan Riley-Smith thinks that the crusading Christians may have applied Urban's discriminatory language not only to the Muslims but also the Jews because they associated Christ's crucifixion at the hands of the Jews in 33 A.D. with the Moslem conquest of Jerusalem in 638 A.D..¹⁴³

Moreover, because the journey to the Holy Land spanned three thousand kilometers, the fiery crusaders resorted first to attacking a more local enemy—European Jewry living mostly in the Rhineland—en route to their final destination.¹⁴⁴ Journalist Sam Waagenaar observes that many crusaders thought it practical to fight the “enemies of Christ, [who were among them]” before venturing to Jerusalem to attack other non-believers.¹⁴⁵ The crusaders actually knew very little about the Muslims and their supposedly treacherous actions in Asia minor; until the Crusades Western European society had had little contact with Muslims. The mere fact that Muslims were deemed “heathens” and deniers of the Christian faith served as enough motivation for crusaders “to suffer for the Name of Christ.”¹⁴⁶ To the crusaders their more local enemy—i.e. the Jews similarly denied the Christian faith and, even worse, were deemed the killers of Christ. Consequently, in their eager desire to do God's word, the crusaders took the sign of the cross, a religious symbol, to justify their violent actions against the enemies of the Church, whom, as both Cantor and Riley-Smith point out, they deemed to be not only the Muslims but the Jews.¹⁴⁷ Pope Urban II's speech thus created a crusading ideology which both motivated the crusaders

¹⁴³ Jonathan Riley-Smith. *The First Crusaders: 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 42.

¹⁴⁴ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, ix.

¹⁴⁵ Sam Waagenaar, *The Pope's Jews* (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court Publishers, 1974), 92.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas Patrick Murphy, ed., *The Holy War* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1976), 12.

¹⁴⁷ Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 304; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 42.

and justified their actions, as they formed vendettas against not only the Muslims but the Jews.¹⁴⁸

Jewish pogroms began just weeks after Urban's speech in December of 1095. The pontiff's words had unleashed what historian Thomas Asbridge refers to as a "flood of anti-Semitism [which] spread like a contagion from crusaders to the local Christians of central and eastern Europe."¹⁴⁹ Led by such characters as the ascetic, strange, and repellent Peter the Hermit¹⁵⁰, this merciless group known to us as the People's Crusade was responsible for what some historians have dubbed "the first holocaust."¹⁵¹ Characterized by courage and devotion but lacking a true understanding of the consequences of their actions, these Crusaders were driven by "blind and narrow self-righteousness."¹⁵² Believing that their efforts were both honorable and approved by the divine, they employed brutal tactics in an expression of "blind hatred, greed, and bloodlust," thus victimizing European Jewry from France to the Rhineland to Germany and beyond.¹⁵³

One of the most infamous leaders of these unruly mobs was Count Emicho of Leiningen, who believed that, as a reward for his diligent work as a crusader, he would be honored with a royal crown upon arrival in Byzantium. Possibly inspired by Peter the Hermit, Emicho, in Runciman's words, saw how "easily religious fervor could be used to the personal profit of himself and his associates."¹⁵⁴ Consequently, Count Emicho and his loyal followers embarked on their evil journey in the spring of 1096 and arrived at Spier on May 3 of the same year. Despite their determination, their efforts at Spier proved unsuccessful, as the town's bishop offered refuge to the suffering Jews, allowing for the murder of just twelve Jewish people. Overall, however, the German Church remained a weak opponent to the crusading movement, doing little to prevent the forced conversions of Jews, which was a clear violation of canon law.

¹⁴⁸ Norman Housely, *Contesting the Crusades*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 161-162.

¹⁴⁹ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 86.

¹⁵⁰ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 80.

¹⁵¹ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 84.

¹⁵² Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 480.

¹⁵³ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 86.

¹⁵⁴ Runciman, *The First Crusade*, 65.

On May 16, 1096, Count Emicho relocated his hostile group to the city of Worms.¹⁵⁵ By the time of their arrival on May 18, many fearful Jews had already heard of the events at Spier and had sought safe haven at the local bishop's palace. This time, however, the angry crusaders were able to force their way into the bishop's palace, killing the five hundred Jews whom the bishop had attempted to protect. Some truly unfortunate endured the cruelest treatment, "killed like oxen and dragged through the market places and streets like sheep to the slaughter."³⁷ Although offered the option of conversion in order to save their lives, many Jews would not abandon their religious beliefs—even if it meant unbearable torture, humiliation, and a painful death. One such unlucky victim was Isaac of Worms. Placing a rope around his neck, crusaders ruthlessly dragged the Jew through muddy streets until they finally asked if he would convert to save his life. No longer able to speak because he had been strangled, Isaac simply motioned to his neck, signaling his desire to have his head cut off rather than forsake his religion and so died with a severed neck at the hands of the merciless mob.¹⁵⁶ Other Jews, also refusing to abandon their religion, took their own lives rather than convert to Christianity or suffer at the hands of the merciless Christians.¹⁵⁷

After Worms, Emicho and his followers moved on to Mainz, where the citizens opened their gates to the crusading army. There, local Jews were prepared to do anything to save their lives; many begged both the archbishop and the lay lord for protection in their palaces, and a Jewish emissary even attempted to bribe Emicho by offering him seven gold coins in exchange for his promise not to attack the Jewish community.¹⁵⁸ Such efforts were fruitless, as Emicho continued with his attack, burning down the lay lord's palace and massacring over one thousand Jews in the course of just three days.¹⁵⁹

Solomon bar Samson offered a first-hand account of these events at the archbishop's palace in Mainz. As the city's citizens opened the gates for Emicho and his followers, Solomon recalled them shouting, "Look, they have opened up the gate for us. Now let us avenge the blood of 'the hanged one'

¹⁵⁵ Runciman, *The First Crusade*, 65.

¹⁵⁶ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 87.

¹⁵⁷ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 88.

¹⁵⁸ Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (California: University of California Press, 1996), 86.

¹⁵⁹ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 87.

[Jesus]." ¹⁶⁰ Calling Emicho the "wicked...enemy of the Jews", Solomon describes, among other remarkable events of that tragic and chaotic day, ¹⁶¹ how a woman named Rachel sacrificed her four children. Such sacrifices were common amongst the Jews, who preferred to take their own lives as well as the lives of their children rather than convert or be slain at the hands of the crusading armies. In addition to reflecting upon Emicho's cruelty, Solomon also refers to another leader of the crusades, Godfrey of Bouillon, who swore that he would not leave "'a remnant of residue' among those bearing the name Jew."¹⁶²

From Mainz, Emicho and his followers moved on to such towns as Trier, Metz, Neuss, Wevelinghofen, Eller, and Xanten. Upon reaching Wiesselburg, Hungary, Emicho's army fell apart, with the leader unable to control his men any longer.¹⁶³ However, their work had already been done. Although some fortunate Jews were able to escape persecution, the crusaders' efforts resulted in what historian Steve Hochstadt refers to as the "death, dislocation, and forced conversion" of thousands of Jewish men, women, and children. According to Hochstadt, the First Crusade consequently marked "the first significant outburst of popular violence of Christians against Jews."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Solomon bar Samson, Hebrew historical account of the First Crusade, 1140: quoted in Paul Hasall. "Medieval Sourcebook: Soloman bar Samson: The Crusaders in Mainz, May 27, 1096 ." October 1997

¹⁶¹ Solomon bar Samson, Hebrew historical account of the First Crusade, 1140: quoted in Paul Hasall. "Medieval Sourcebook: Soloman bar Samson: The Crusaders in Mainz, May 27, 1096 ." October 1997.

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Chazan, *European Jewry*, 247; Paul Hasall. "Medieval Sourcebook: Soloman bar Samson: The Crusaders in Mainz, May 27, 1096 ." October 1997.

D. Malkiel, "Historiographical essay: The underclass in the first crusade: a historiographical trend"; in *Journal of Medieval History*, ed. A.E. Curry, 28 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2002), 169.

¹⁶⁴ Steve Hochstadt, ed., *Sources of the Holocaust*. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 12.

Although no Pope, bishop, or other member of the clergy took a knife or weapon in his own hands, the Roman Catholic Church and, more specifically, Pope Urban II's memorable speech initiated the First Crusade, beginning a legacy of violence that places an inerasable mark upon the Church. It is remarkable that a religious institution could instigate such a crime against humanity; some historians consider the massacre of the Jews in 1096 a "first holocaust."¹⁶⁵ The events that took place during the First Crusade, moreover, mark just the beginning of the controversial relationship of the Church with the Jews and its ultimately notorious role in the Holocaust of the twentieth century.

Historian Thomas Asbridge believes that the cause of this bloody holy war lies in Pope Urban II's speech which inspired "a spirit of cruelty" against not only Muslims but against all "enemies of the Christian faith," including the Jews.¹⁶⁶ Although his work on the First Crusade concentrates on the relationship between Christianity and Islam, Asbridge also discusses the effects of the holy war on Judaism and on society in general. He believes that the pontiff's outspoken condemnation of the enemies of the Church expressed in his speech opened a "Pandora's Box" and created a "potentially uncontrollable torrent of racial and religious intolerance," thus helping to spread the virus of anti-Semitism and its associated violence throughout Europe.¹⁶⁷

Similar to Asbridge, former priest and award-winning author James Carroll writes in his own controversial book about the Catholic Church's relationship to the Jews that Pope Urban II's speech inspired eleventh century crusaders to bear both the symbolic and literal cross in this holy war. The Pope's impressive rhetoric equated violent actions with acts of redemption that would lead to eternal salvation. The Catholic Church thereby encouraged violence, ironically associating such violence with God's work, and thus instigating tragic acts of anti-Judaism. Possibly even more significantly, Carroll claims that more than just influencing thousands of Christians of his own time, the Pope's speech "sparked an awakening that has left an imprint on the consciousness of Western civilization to this day."¹⁶⁸

In studying the implications of this incredible speech, one must also consider the Pope himself, his character, and his ultimate motivation for

¹⁶⁵ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 84.

¹⁶⁶ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 85

¹⁶⁷ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 21.

¹⁶⁸ Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 239.

giving his now notorious call to arms. Before giving his historic speech in 1095, the Pope had a highly regarded reputation. As a young boy, he decided to dedicate his life to monasticism, devoting himself to prayer and to God and promising to live by the principles of chastity, piety, and purity. In 1068, he joined the powerful house of Cluny, where his hard work and piety soon earned him a promotion from the status of monk to the position of grand prior, placing him second in command to the abbot. In 1088, Urban's efforts at Cluny earned him the position of Pope; this came at a time when the papacy was in a weakened state, only just recovering from the recent investiture conflict involving Gregory VII and King Henry IV. With obvious determination and ambition, Urban was soon able to rebuild papal authority, taking new, more successful approaches to reform and creating the first viable *curia Romana*, or papal court.¹⁶⁹ Urban was on his way to gaining a reputation as one of the most highly influential Popes of all time—one who would gain respect as the pontiff who reestablished papal authority after the distressing and somewhat damaging investiture conflict.

Nonetheless, it is his speech calling for the First Crusade—and not an admirable career—that makes his name easily recognizable to any modern history scholar. Yet, despite the fact that Pope Urban II's words initiated a hostile spirit amongst the laity, most historians agree that the Pope himself was not aware of the tragic consequences of his speech on both the Jewish and Muslim worlds. Indeed, it was not a violent nature, anti-Judaism, anti-Semitism, or any other religious sentiment which prompted the pontiff to make this speech; rather, in Asbridge's opinion, his passionate call for war derived from his desire to "consolidate papal empowerment and expand Rome's sphere of influence."¹⁷⁰ In Pope Urban II's mind, the crusading movement had the possibility of fulfilling many of his goals for the papacy.

The Crusades, for example, would improve relations with the Byzantines, who, in March of 1095 at the ecclesiastical council of Piacenza in Italy, had requested military aid to help them battle their Islamic neighbors. Providing such aid would surely help reestablish a beneficial relationship between the Roman Church and the Greek Church of Byzantium—a relationship which had suffered after an intense disagreement in the year 1054. Moreover, by regaining the Holy Land, the Pope would be able to spread the Church's influence over greater distances, The Pope, in the medieval interpreter Fulcher's words, "always strove wisely and

¹⁶⁹Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 9-15.

¹⁷⁰Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 19.

energetically to raise the status of [the] Holy Church higher and higher.”¹⁷¹ Indeed, medieval historian Norman Cantor regards the First Crusade as a “church-centered imperialism”⁵¹

. In, *The Pope's Jews*, historian Sam Waagenaar examines the repercussions of Pope Urban II's speech. Waagenaar believes that the pontiff could not have imagined that his words would have such tragic consequences for the Jews.¹⁷² Nonetheless, the Pope's words gave way to a religious fervor, that led to “killing with God's blessing...the watchword of the century, to be repeated every time the [organization] of a new crusade needed some militant enthusiasm.”¹⁷³ Waagenaar goes on to state that even in the post-Crusades world, this belief persisted, causing more tragic Jewish massacres, including the tragic massacre of the Jewish population of Rottingen, Franconia in the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁴

This attempted Jewish “extermination” in Rottingen as Waagenaar calls it, was led by the German nobleman Rindfleisch, who claimed that he had received a message from heaven to avenge the death of a local citizen and exterminate the “accursed race of the Jews.” He assembled a mob to watch as he burned several Jews at the stake on April 20, 1298.. Leaving Rottingen he then led the mob across Franconia, Bavaria, and Austria, going from town to town and massacring any Jew who refused to convert to Christianity. Within the course of six months, the merciless mob had killed an astonishing number of Jews--approximately one hundred thousand.¹⁷⁵ This violent expression of anti-Judaism mimicked the Jewish massacres of 1095 and 1096, as they were apparently justified as a religious endeavor and possibly inspired by anti-jewish sentiments that arose during the First Crusade.

Historian Norman Housley also notes that no evidence exists to suggest that Pope Urban desired to establish a long-running crusading movement when he gave his speech at Clermont. However, by not offering

¹⁷¹ Fulcher, preface to interpretation of Pope Urban II's speech: quoted in Krey, *The First Crusade*, 24.

¹⁷² Sam Waagenaar, *The Pope's Jews* (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court Publishers, 1974), 92.

¹⁷³ Waagenaar, *The Pope's Jews*, 92.

¹⁷⁴ Waagenaar, *The Pope's Jews*, 93.

¹⁷⁵ Leon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism: From Mohammed to the Marranos* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 100; Waagenaar, *The Pope's Jews*, 93.

an alternative means of reclaiming the Holy Land, Urban made it virtually inevitable that future violent crusades or acts of violence would occur.¹⁷⁶ His speech unintentionally created an aggressive, crusading ideology which motivated the crusaders and justified their vendettas against the Jews--, who were considered the enemies of the Church, the murderers of Christ.¹⁷⁷

Like Asbridge, Carroll, Cantor, Housley, and Waagenaar, many other historians agree that the impact of the First Crusade is significant, shocking, and long-lasting. For example, in a "Violence and Spirituality: The Enigma of the First Crusade," historian Bernard McGinn wrote that Pope Urban II unknowingly "unleashed energies" which the Church could neither have foreseen nor controlled and thereby planted seeds of vengeance in the minds of Christians, who were now inspired to attack the enemies of Christ, including not only the Muslims but Jews as well.¹⁷⁸ McGinn concludes his article by observing the great impact the First Crusade and calls attention to its lesson: when religion and war mix, danger and tragedy may very likely ensue.¹⁷⁹ By calling for acts of violence that would supposedly grant eternal salvation to those participating in it, the Church sponsored a righteous war—a holy war—which would lead to the tragic deaths of not only Muslims but Jews also.

In *The Holy War*, Thomas Patrick Murphy discusses various perspectives on the First Crusade. In one chapter, he asks the question, "Should the holy war be looked upon as a significant turning point for the religious institutions of Western society?" In attempting to answer the question, he claims that the Church undermined its own doctrines of nonviolence and brotherhood by promoting a war in which Christians were to reclaim the Holy Land. Moreover, Murphy observes how, at the Council of Clermont, the Church abandoned its "chance to speak unequivocally as the champion of peace for European Christendom" and instead promoted the "substitution of a sword for a pilgrim's staff," thereby affirming the papacy's support of "war when it was raised for religious ideals."¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 48.

¹⁷⁷ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 161-162.

¹⁷⁸ Bernard McGinn, "Violence and Spirituality: The Enigma of the First Crusade," (1989); in *The Journal of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 378.

¹⁷⁹ McGinn, "Violence and Spirituality," 379.

¹⁸⁰ Murphy, *The Holy War*, 4.

In Another chapter, Murphy proposes that the Crusades, which began at a time of uncertainty within the Church, were a result of domestic problems the Church attempted to solve by targeting “alien elements” with “ideological and physical aggression.”¹⁸¹ In these ways, the Church “deprived [Western civilization] of what could have been the key institutional base for restraining the use of violence.”¹⁸² Historian Jonathan Riley-Smith agrees with this theory and suggests that although members of the church disapproved of violence to “secure material ends...they tolerated, even encouraged, certain expressions of pious violence,” mostly because they believed it to be God’s work.¹⁸³

To answer Murphy’s question, the First Crusade indeed presented a turning point from several perspectives. Although it was neither the first war nor the first instance of a massive attack against the Jewish people, it is distinguishable from other incidents in that it directly involved the Catholic Church and made the Pope the instigator of a violent holy war. Additionally, it was the first time a Pope’s speech had prompted such an outbreak of virulence as well as the very first instance of a brutal, large-scale pogrom of the Jews at the hands of the Christians. As Langmuir notes, although hostility towards the Jews had been established for centuries, the First Crusade increased “its pervasiveness and intensity” and further led to an even more severe persecution of the Jewish people in years to come.¹⁸⁴

Despite such observations, it would be a grave mistake to suppose that the First Crusade instigated all subsequent acts of anti-Judaism, since it certainly was not the first instance of anti-Jewish behavior nor was it the first time Jews were viewed as enemies of the Christian faith or as Christ’s killers. In their book, *The Jews as Ally of the Muslim: Medieval Roots of Anti-Semitism*, Allan and Helen Cutler actually propose that the First Crusade inspired all subsequent anti-Semitism, but they fail to support their idea with adequate historic evidence.¹⁸⁵ Still, this singular, infamous event did mark a significant point in the history of Christian anti-Judaism. Langmuir considers

¹⁸¹ Murphy, *The Holy War*, 28.

¹⁸² Murphy, *The Holy War*, 184-185.

¹⁸³ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 42.

¹⁸⁴ Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 305.

¹⁸⁵ Robert Chazan, "Book Review: *The Jews as Ally of the Muslims: Medieval Roots of Anti-Semitism* by Allan Harris Culter; Helen Elmquist Cutler" (1986); in *AJS Review* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 164.

the massacres to be the “beginning of a new and tragic phase in Jewish history because of the radical change in the pattern of European hostility to Jews.”¹⁸⁶ By deeming the Crusades to be a holy, righteous, and even necessary endeavor, Pope Urban II created, as Langmuir observes, “an atmosphere of religious war” and subsequently an ideal environment for violent expressions of anti-Judaism.¹⁸⁷

In 1095, neither the Church nor Pope Urban II desired to persecute the Jewish people since the Church’s goal in the First Crusade was to conquer the Muslims, reclaim the Holy Sepulcher, and increase papal and Church empowerment. Nonetheless, thousands of Jews were massacred at the hands of Christians in this most tragic event which the Church promoted.¹⁸⁸ Although Pope Urban’s speech mentioned nothing of the Jewish people, his words clearly inspired sentiments of apprehension, antagonism, as well as anti-Judaism, thus creating a hostile atmosphere which motivated Christians to participate in the violent crusading movement. Even more significantly, the resulting sentiment regarding Jews as “enemies of the church” and “enemies of Christ” would persist, placing a stigma upon the Jewish people, helping to spread both anti-Judaism and later anti-Semitism throughout the Christian world, resulting in further and at times more abhorrent persecution of the Jewish people. Unlike the First Crusade, however, this future persecution of the Jews—including accusations of ritual murder and the creation of a Jewish ghetto--were instigated by the Church, products of the Church’s own anti-Judaic and later anti-Semitic thinking.

Although no major attacks against the Jews are noted immediately after the First Crusade, incidents occurred in the years 1101, 1107, and 1122 through 1126⁷⁰ and historian Steve Hochstadt notes that “Christian attitudes towards the Jews who lived among them became more extreme.”¹⁸⁹ During the Second Crusade of 1146, Jews living in the Rhine were once again subjected to brutal attacks by crusading armies. These attacks were possibly the result of anti-Jewish preaching by the Cistercian monk Rudolph. In historian Housley’s opinion, the monk may have been influenced by the religious themes preached by such Christians as Peter the Venerable and St.

¹⁸⁶ Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 304.

¹⁸⁷ Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 305.

¹⁸⁸ Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages*, 26.

¹⁸⁹ Hochstadt, *Sources of the Holocaust*, 12.

Bernard of Clairvaux, whose efforts to restrain anti-Jewish attacks were unsuccessful.¹⁹⁰

Already falsely accused of being the killers of Christ, Jews would be persecuted further as they faced another false accusation starting around the middle of the twelfth century, accused of kidnapping and torturing young Christian children, usually boys, then murdering them and using their blood for ritual purposes. Although this blood libel myth, as it is called, originated in the first century A.D., when Apion, a grammarian and Sophist from Alexandria, accused Jews of sacrificing Greeks in the Temple, it was not until the twelfth century that accusations of Jews murdering Christians began to spread throughout Europe. In some ways, this belief may be rooted in and developed out of the more ancient accusation that the Jews were guilty of murdering Christ.¹⁹¹

The first written evidence of the blood libel myth is by the English Monk Thomas of Monmouth around the year 1144. Upon hearing about the death of a young boy found dead in the woods near the town of Norwich, Thomas blamed Jews for the death, claiming that they had led the boy—who would later be named Blessed William—into a house, where they proceeded to torture and murder him. Thomas' description is both vivid and disturbing, as he explains how the Jews supposedly "tortured [the boy] with all the torture that our Lord was tortured with."¹⁹² The Catholic clergy, including many of high rank, would soon use this story of the "first child martyr...to stir up that mighty wave of superstitious credulity, unreasoning hate, and insatiable ferocity."¹⁹³

The myth was later expanded in 1171, after a Christian groom at Blois, France, claimed to have seen a Jew throw a child's body into the Loire River. Although no evidence—not even a body—was produced, fifty-one Jews were tortured and burned at the stake for this supposed crime. The story was once again spread throughout the land, as preachers told eager Christian

¹⁹⁰ Hochstadt, *Sources of the Holocaust*, 12; Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 162.

¹⁹¹ JewishEncyclopedia.com. "Blood Accusation." 2002.

<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=1173&letter=B#3489> (accessed October 22, 2008). ht

¹⁹² Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, Jessopp Augustus and James Montague, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896).

¹⁹³ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 152; Hay, *Thy Brother's Blood*, 122.

listeners that Jews crucified young Christian children in “[celebration of] their hatred of Christ.”¹⁹⁴ Similarly horrific and false stories continued to surface into the twentieth century, motivating Christians to seek vengeance against the Jewish people, supposedly guilty of murdering Christ in the past and now supposedly slaughtering innocent children. Such horrendous allegations surely did not convey the piety expected of the Christian religion and may have been what Hay refers to as “the most powerful instrument of hate propaganda that has ever been invented.”¹⁹⁵

Possibly the most significant story of ritual murder occurred more than three centuries after Thomas of Monmouth’s initial accusations and involved Simon of Trent, also known as Simon the Unblemished or Simon the Pure. When Simon, a two-year-old boy, went missing from his home on March 23, 1475, Christian fingers soon pointed to the Jews, deeming them murderers once again, as they apparently assumed there could be no other possible explanation. Three days later, two Trent Jews, upon discovering the boy’s body floating in a river, retrieved it and brought it to the local officials. Such a seemingly humanitarian, yet admittedly naïve, act led to their immediate imprisonment, as they were irrationally yet unsurprisingly accused of murdering the boy.¹⁹⁶

Unfortunately for these two men, a baptized Jew who was also in jail at the time hoped to gain Christian favor by informing the local bishop that young children’s blood was always used to bake Jewish matzoh, thus implying that the two Jews were guilty of this horrible crime and thus condemning them to death. After enduring torture at the trial, one of the Jews—eighty years of age—finally confessed, no longer able to endure the physical suffering. With his confession, he consequently sentenced himself as well as twelve other Jews to execution, and the entire Jewish community was expelled from Trent.¹⁹⁷

Such false accusations persisted throughout the centuries, resulting in Jews being wrongfully punished-for murders they surely did not commit—accusations usually accompanied by torture, death, or both. So many cases of the blood libel myth arose that it would be impossible to document them all. It seemed that any time a young Christian child was missing, local Jews were blamed for the murder, becoming scapegoats. Historian Langmuir believes

¹⁹⁴ Hay, *Thy Brother’s Blood*, 123.

¹⁹⁵ Hay, *Thy Brother’s Blood*, 122.

¹⁹⁶ Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 127-130.

¹⁹⁷ Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 127-130.

that these accusations marked a significant development in the Christian persecution of Jews, as it allowed Christians to exploit the Jewish people in a new, completely irrational way. He attributes this new irrationality and consequent new form of hostility to the Christians' changing opinions of the Jewish people which occurred around 1150, as Jews were becoming more involved in lending money and were also given an inferior legal status.¹⁹⁸

Furthermore, Langmuir believes Christians' own insecurities may have caused them to form these illogical theories about the Jewish people. For example, in the fourteenth century, as the Black Death spread and killed numerous people throughout Europe, many Christians feared that the plague was God's punishment for their failure to abide by the rules of their Christian faith. However, by accusing Jews of poisoning wells and causing these deaths, Christians could easily remove the blame for the plague from themselves and place it upon the Jewish people, who had by this time acquired a reputation as evil murderers who targeted Christians. Langmuir concludes that these irrational accusations marked the actual start of anti-Semitism; Langmuir further claims that this early hostility against Jews is similar to the hatred manifested by Hitler in the twentieth century.¹⁹⁹

Clearly, the blood libel myth enabled Christians irrationally to persecute and murder Jews, helping to further stigmatize them as evil beings and enemies of the Christian faith. At the same time as these myths were spread throughout Europe, members of the Church found other reasons to subjugate the Jewish people and condemn them for their religious beliefs. For example, in 1205, Pope Innocent III consigned the Jews' to "perpetual servitude" to Christians because they had crucified Christ.²⁰⁰ This religious theory would be repeated in 1234, in Gregory IX's official code of canon law, the *Decretales*. This Slanderous theory of Jewish serfdom, moreover, also influenced secular rulers. Frederick II of the Holy Roman Empire, for example, used this terrible concept to defend his own claims of power over the Jewish people. The theory also impacted the legal status of Jews' in such locations as France, where, in 1230, King Louis IX adopted the Pope's assertion that Jews could be equated to serfs, declaring "wherever anyone

¹⁹⁸ Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 11.

¹⁹⁹ Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 11.

²⁰⁰ Innocent III, decree, 1205: quoted in Langmuir, *Towards a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 167.

may find his Jew he may lawfully seize him just like his own serf.”²⁰¹ Clearly, along with the blood libel myth, this concept would further undermine the social status of Jews as they became the target of slander and ridicule.²⁰²

Just a few years after establishing this debasing concept of Jewish serfdom, Pope Innocent III found new opportunities to persecute the Jews at the Fourth Lateran Council held in 1215. Upon taking the papal throne in 1198, Innocent III sought to magnify the power of his position as the Vicar of Christ above the common man. He hoped to reclaim the papacy’s monarchical authority over the Christian world, including secular leaders such as European emperors, barons, and lords. As historian Carroll asserts, Innocent’s reign marked the culmination of the “campaign for papal power” begun by Urban II with the First Crusade in the eleventh century. The Fourth Lateran Council, attended by four hundred bishops and archbishops, eight hundred priors and abbots, and various European ambassadors, was one step towards acquiring such power, as it proclaimed that there was only one universal church while also defining the central Catholic concepts of transubstantiation and the seven sacraments.²⁰³

In addition to making these important statements regarding the Catholic religion, the Fourth Lateran Council also “first promulgated crucial Church resolutions designed to isolate, restrict, and denigrate Jews.” It prohibited Jews from holding public office, forbade them from going out during Holy Week, and imposed a tax that Jews had to pay to local Catholic clergy. Furthermore, it declared that all Jews should wear a piece of cloth in the form of the letter “O” to distinguish them from Christians.²⁰⁴

In his study of the relationship between the papacy and the Jews, Waagenaar cites these restrictions as a salient point in the development of anti-Jewish sentiments. He suggests that Pope Innocent III, as the inventor of this “mark of distinction,” this “badge of shame,” was attempting to prevent accidental sexual intercourse between Jews and Christians. Both Carroll and Waagenaar, moreover, note the similarity between this decree and the Nazi Nuremberg Laws during the 1930’s that required Jews to wear the yellow

²⁰¹ King Louis IX of France, statute, 1230: quoted in Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 167.

²⁰² Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 166-169.

²⁰³ Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 282-283.

²⁰⁴ Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 283; Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 131-132.

Star of David, another “badge of shame” aimed at distinguishing Jews from Christians.²⁰⁵

The impact of the Fourth Lateran Council was so great that many historians consider it a dramatic turning point in the way the European world viewed the Jews. Hans Kung, for example, believes that these restrictions and decrees defined by the Council, and not the massacres during the First Crusade, “fundamentally changed the situation of the Jews, both legally and theologically.”²⁰⁶ Kung also observes that these restrictions came at a time when the Church was acquiring great authority over all of Europe, suggesting that the two phenomena may be related. In Kung’s words, the “more ‘total’ the Church’s claim on the soul of the world, the more dramatically Jews stand as ‘the original and quintessential dissenter’ from that claim.”²⁰⁷ In any case, these restrictions helped spur the growth of anti-Judaism, which was becoming ever more prevalent in medieval Europe.

Carroll furthermore deems these restrictions to have been a warning for the Jews, possibly foreshadowing their more violent persecution during later papal Inquisitions. Following Innocent III, Gregory IX took the papal throne in 1227 and soon announced this first papal Inquisition, which originally targeted Christian heretics and either killed those found guilty by burning them at the stake or, as Hans Kung sarcastically remarks, merely cut off the tongues of the “lucky ones.” Historian Carroll believes that, in the eyes of the Church, heretics and Jews would soon become one and the same. He consequently asks the question, “Was the Inquisition the hospitable organism to which the virus of modern anti-Semitic racism first attached itself?”²⁰⁸ He attempts to answer his own question by citing examples of Jewish persecution stemming from the Inquisition, beginning with the burning of copies of the Talmud in the thirteenth century.

A sacred text of Jewish laws and traditions, the Talmud was an important aspect of Jewish culture that became the target of a papal investigation. The thirteenth century investigation was instigated by Nicholas Donin, a French Jewish convert whom Waagenaar calls a

²⁰⁵ Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 283; Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 131-132.

²⁰⁶ Hans Kung, *Judaism: Between Yesterday and Tomorrow*, 1992: quoted in Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 283.

²⁰⁷ Hans Kung, *Judaism: Between Yesterday and Tomorrow*, 1992: quoted in Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 283.

²⁰⁸ Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 384.

“monstrous Christian [and] extraordinary man of the most despicable character.”²⁰⁹ Donin had attacked the Jews while staying in France; then, in 1236, he visited Rome, where he testified in front of the Pope regarding the supposedly blasphemous and heretical writing contained within the sacred Jewish text. Consequently, On June 20, 1239, Gregory IX, at this time ninety-five years of age, ordered the burning of the Talmud—i.e., in Kertzer’s words “the [supposed] root of Jewish evil,”²¹⁰ thereby demonstrating the Church’s claim of both moral and religious authority over Jewish beliefs.²¹¹

The first actual burning of the Talmud, however, did not occur until years later in 1242, under Gregory’s successor, Innocent IV, when approximately twelve thousand volumes taken from Jewish homes and synagogues were brought to the plaza in front of the Hotel de Ville in Paris, France. King Louis IX’s soldiers carried out the actual act, lighting the bonfire that would take a day and a half to destroy the massive pile of books. Carroll compares this event to the brutal massacres of the Jews that occurred in Trier and Mainz in 1096. Although in 1242, only books and not people were being destroyed, the destruction was led not by a mob of unruly Christians as in 1096 but significantly by the Holy See itself. Carroll believes that such a public, Church-approved display of anti-Judaic sentiments demonstrated how Judaism had little chance of thriving in a Europe dominated by “the sway of the sword-perverted cross,” i.e. the Roman Catholic Church. Although the actual contents of the Talmud are not at debate here, it is nonetheless interesting to note that passages from this so-called evil text actually spoke of love, humanity, charity, peace, and kindness.²¹²

While Carroll’s assertions may appear a bit extreme and at times exaggerated, one cannot deny the significance of this event, as it demonstrated a blatant disregard for Jews’ rights as well as complete disrespect for their religious beliefs. More burnings of the Talmud would occur in 1244 under Innocent IV, 1265 under Clement IV, and 1285 under Honorius IV, showing the Church’s continued persecution of the Jewish religion and growing anti-Judaism. In 1322, under John XXII and on the eve of the Jewish harvest festival *Shevuoth*, this persecution took an even more

²⁰⁹ Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 97.

²¹⁰ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 139.

²¹¹ Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 307-308; Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 97.

²¹² Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 309-310.

horrible turn. The Talmud was once again ordered to be burned, but this time along with at least one Jew. These burnings greatly weakened the Jews' status in Europe by the end of the thirteenth century, helping to solidify the stigma that had already been placed upon them through the massacres of the First Crusade, the blood libel myth, and the Fourth Lateran Council.²¹³

In addition to burning the Talmud, the Inquisition found other ways of persecuting Jews. Although its original aim was to persecute Christian heretics, the Inquisition, according to Peters soon targeted Jews as a result of the changing attitudes towards them which began in the twelfth century. During the thirteenth century, Jews were subjected to inquisitions regarding accusations of blasphemy, usury, and magic. The first mass burning of Jews at the stake occurred in France in 1288. In 1324, Jews, along with lepers, were accused of poisoning wells and conspiring to destroy Christian society, which caused a rise in paranoid anti-Jewish sentiments that only increased with the spread of the Black Death in 1348. Such accusations in Peters' opinion, helped establish the anti-Judaism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as well as the movement in Spain against *conversos*, i.e. Jewish converts.²¹⁴

When the Inquisition began in Spain in 1481, it is not surprising inquisitors targeted Jewish converts, placing over 13,000 *conversos* on trial during the first twelve years. Carroll cites the example of The Inquisition brought charges against Yuce Franco, accused of crucifying a kidnapped Christian infant. Franco and his supposed accomplices were executed in 1491, and a year later, all Jews were expelled from Spain, causing as many as 150,000 to leave during the spring and summer of 1492. “[Surpassing] the medieval inquisition in both scope and intensity,” the Spanish Inquisition was generally opposed by the Popes, although they were unable to stop or even temper it. Then, in 1542, Pope Paul III would actually call for a Spanish-type Inquisition to come to Rome to combat corruption within the Church.²¹⁵

Gian Pietro Carrafa, who had served as the papal nuncio in Spain, headed this Roman Inquisition and oversaw the burning of Jews at the stake in 1553. This same year also saw a renewal of Talmud burning as Jewish homes and synagogues were once again invaded—this time in Rome—in search of copies of the sacred text. Volumes of the Talmud and other Jewish

²¹³ Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 310; Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 79; Waagenaar, *The Pope's Jews*, 97-98.

²¹⁴ Peters, *Inquisition*, 80.

²¹⁵ Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 373.

texts were piled in a mound in Rome's Campo dei Fiori and burned, just as they had been over three centuries before in Paris.²¹⁶

Centuries later, Pope Leo XII, whose short reign lasted from 1823 to 1829, ordered the Holy Office of the Inquisition to investigate to what extent restrictions on the Jews living in the Papal States were being enforced. The investigation was supposedly inspired by his attempt to “contain the wickedness of the obstinate Jews so that the danger of perversion of the Catholic faithful” could be avoided.²¹⁷ After finding that some Jews were living outside the ghetto and enjoying some simple civil rights, such as opening businesses outside the ghetto and socializing with non-Jews, inquisitors complained that the Jews were, in Kertzer's words, “flouting the laws of the land [and] trying to hold on to freedoms they had won during the French occupation.” To enforce the old restrictions on the Jews, the Holy See reinstated the ghetto and restricted Jewish interactions with Christians, all with the help of the office of the Inquisition.²¹⁸

Carroll notes how, upon hearing about the opening of Vatican archives, fellow historian David Kertzer wrote, “The explanation of what made the Holocaust possible is to be found in no small part in the files of the Inquisition,” since those documents would reveal the tragic way in which the Roman Catholic Church conditioned the European population to view the Jews as inferiors.²¹⁹ Undoubtedly, not only the Inquisition, but also the massacres of the First Crusades and the blood libel myth placed a stigma upon the Jewish people which would not be easily erased. Such persecution set Jews apart from other members of society and offered Christians a scapegoat in the event of a missing child, a contaminated well, and even the Black Death. The Inquisition merely introduced a new method of persecution—this time not influenced by a mob mentality or by the stories of members of the lower clergy but by the actual Vicar of Christ, the Holy See, the Pope himself. Further Papal responsibility can be traced to one of the most feared, undeniably anti-Judaic Popes, Pope Paul IV.

After enduring violent massacres, false accusations, unjustifiable punishments, and other forms of discrimination during the eleventh, twelfth,

²¹⁶ Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 373.

²¹⁷ Internal Inquisition report, 1825: quoted in Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 64.

²¹⁸ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 63-65.

²¹⁹ David Kertzer, article in *New York Times*, February 7, 1998: quoted in Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 321.

thirteen, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, Jews faced even more severe persecutions in the sixteenth century, when one of the most notoriously anti-Jewish Popes took the papal throne. At seventy-nine years of age, Gian Pietro Carafa, whom Waagenaar refers to as “the power behind the establishment of the Roman Inquisition,” took the title of Pope Paul IV on May 23, 1555. Roman Jews greatly feared what actions the new Pope might take—and rightly so. Just seven weeks after becoming Pope, on July 12, he published a Papal Bull entitled “Cum nimis absurdum,” in which he denounced the Jewish people. He mocked them for considering themselves to be Christians’ equals and declared that it was their own fault that God had condemned them to eternal slavery as a result of their own guilt. He furthermore claimed that the Jews were immensely ungrateful; rather than appreciating Christians for allowing them to live amongst them, they had the audacity to become their masters, living in the best parts of the city and even hiring Christian nurses to care for their children. In these ways, the Pope claimed, the Jews had disgraced the Christian name, and so certain ordinances needed to be put into place.²²⁰

Deemed the “Ten Anti-Commandments” by historian Sam Waagenaar,²²¹ these laws would severely subjugate the Jewish people, taking away many of their rights as citizens and freedoms as human beings. Starting on July 23, Jewish men and women were required to wear certain clothing to distinguish themselves from others. They were also forbidden to dine or socialize with Christians and also could not hire Christian nurses or maids to care for their children and homes. Their economic activity was severely restricted, as the bull prohibited them from participating in any food-related trade or from participating in and economic activity with the exception of picking rags. Jewish doctors were not allowed to treat anyone other than members of their own race. Further restrictions might appear quite menial in nature from a modern perspective; for example, they could only use the Latin alphabet and the Italian language and could not be addressed as *Signore* (sir) by other Christians.²²²

In addition to these discriminatory laws, possibly the most significant outcome of Pope Paul IV’s Bull was the birth of the first Roman

²²⁰ Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 169-171.

²²¹ Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 170.

²²² Kenneth R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1977), 164; Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 172-173.

ghetto. Created to protect the Christian world from contamination by the Jewish people, the ghetto would have only one exit and entrance, one synagogue, and its gates would be locked at night. Located in a rather unclean, flood-prone section of the city, the ghetto was approximately three acres in size, a suitable space for about one-tenth of the Jewish population that would inhabit it. Formed in a haphazard fashion, the ghetto failed to provide a healthy environment; maintaining proper hygiene, socialization, and education became major problems. Writer Sam Waagenaar even refers to the location as “a concentration camp tempered by a modicum of haphazard liberties.”²²³ Furthermore, within six months of the Bull, all Jews would have to sell their property to Christians; obviously, there was no longer a need for them to own such property, since their new home was in the oppressive setting of the ghetto.

This Roman ghetto was actually not the first such location. The city of Cologne had its own ghetto in 1150, and in 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council issued ordinances that confined the Jews to certain isolated living quarters, although such laws failed to be regularly enforced. A ghetto in Frankfurt was established in 1460, and Iberian refugees arriving in Poland in 1496 were sent to a ghetto in Krakow. Nonetheless, this first Roman ghetto is significant because it was created by official decree and also because the decree was enforced with determination to isolate the Jewish people from the Christian world. Just as Pope Urban II’s preaching of the Crusades in 1095 had a long-lasting, negative impact on the Jews,, Paul IV’s Papal Bull would have an equally drastic effect, as the institution of the ghetto would survive for many centuries. Possibly most significantly, “cum nimis absurdum” marked the first occasion in which such an oppressive institution was mandated and strictly enforced by a Pope.²²⁴

Since the First Crusades until the establishment of this first Roman ghetto, some members of the Church had tried to stop anti-Judaic behavior nonetheless, many others promoted such discrimination through papal decrees or other actions. Although Pope Paul IV’s motivation for his discriminatory policies cannot be known, it may be safe to assume that his past connection to the Roman Inquisition greatly shaped his views of non-Christians, encouraging him to take anti-Jewish sentiments to a new level of persecution, by physically separating them and explicitly robbing them of many human rights. Nonetheless, Paul IV’s actions were also an extension of

²²³ Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 174-175.

²²⁴ Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 376.

the anti-Jewish sentiments and behavior present since the First Crusade. Additionally, Carroll believes that the Pope's actions derived from his desire to convert the Jewish population; by degrading them and forcing them to live under the most horrendous conditions, the Pope hoped they would realize that they had fulfilled the prophesy of servitude and convert to Christianity.²²⁵ Pope Paul IV took the prevailing belief in Jewish servitude and abhorrence of the Jewish religion present for centuries, to a new level.

In any case, the pontiff possessed an undeniably ruthless nature in which he targeted not only Jews but others. In addition to his remarkable Bull, he also ordered all Jews and Marranos emigrating from Portugal to be burned alive, and in 1559 pronounced death sentences on all kings and princes disloyal to the Church. As a result, many Jews and non-Jews celebrated his death in 1559.²²⁶

Unfortunately, although the Pope's death came just four years after he issued his history-making Bull, the ghetto remained, in the words of David Kertzer, "a grim place, reflecting the Jews' degraded position as the people who had rejected and killed Christ."²²⁷ It was reinstated under various Popes. In 1593, for example, the situation in the ghettos actually worsened, as Pope Clement VIII ordered that Jews were to live only in ghettos located in Rome, Ancona, and Avignon. This forced Jews living elsewhere to pack up and relocate. Much later, in the nineteenth century, Pope Leo XII reinstated the ghetto and started a project to increase its size so that all Roman Jews could live within its walls. In 1823, the Pope announced his desire to force the Jews back into the ghetto, as they apparently had for too long enjoyed the freedom of living outside of it. He also introduced the practice of forced ghetto sermons, forcing Jews to listen to denunciations of their own rabbis, beliefs, and religious practices on a weekly basis.²²⁸

Despite the anti-Judaism exhibited by these Popes, other Popes did express some benevolence towards the Jewish people and made efforts to help them. Pope Clement IX, for example, stopped the degrading practice of carnival foot races of Jews in the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, as Kertzer observes, no Pope "would act to dismantle the squalid ghetto at the foot of Vatican Hill," and many, such as Pope Pius VI in 1775, Pope Leo XII in 1823, and Pope Gregory XVI in the 1800's, would attempt to reinstate the

²²⁵ Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 377.

²²⁶ Waagenaar, *The Pope's Jews*, 177-178.

²²⁷ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 41.

²²⁸ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 63.

degrading institution whenever possible. Consequently, while Jews in other parts of Europe were enjoying an increase in civil rights, the Jews of Italy continued to be oppressed.²²⁹

Certainly, the continuing reinstatement of the ghetto served as a major aspect in the rise of modern anti-Semitism which began around the eighteenth century. Kertzer considers the ghetto one of the cornerstones of the Church's policy towards the Jews—a policy characterized by subjugation, discrimination, and humiliation. Conditions for the Jews living in the ghetto were equally as severe in the 1800's as they were in the late 1500's. In one example, Kertzer cites Guiseppe Piperno, who was forced to live in a single room with his wife, four children, and sister. Not only were such tight quarters uncomfortable, but they were also unsanitary, especially since Piperno's children suffered from severe cases of diarrhea. Not having a place to dispose of their excrements, the entire family feared that they would succumb to the cholera epidemic. Jews also were forced to participate in humiliating carnival rites, such as dressing as clowns and enduring taunts from non-Jewish onlookers. Such degradation embodied a prejudice which deemed the Jewish people as inferior beings and unworthy of respect.²³⁰

Ultimately, Paul IV's Papal Bull represented a significant new level of persecution, shaping the Roman Catholic Church's policy towards the Jews for the next three centuries. Although the ghetto was originally used to aid Catholics in converting and baptizing the Jewish people, such goals later became insignificant as Catholic feelings of anti-Judaism progressed into anti-Semitism. Catholic anti-Semitism was most often driven by social and political—rather than religious—reasons, as Jews inherited the stereotype of rich, controlling moneylenders who desired to rule the Christian world. As a result, believing that conversion would not change their status as Jews and thus their status as inferior beings, many Church officials became less concerned with converting Jews.²³¹

As the last Pope successfully to maintain the Roman ghetto, Pius IX, who reigned from 1846 to 1878, considered the ghetto a “little paradise on earth because, removed from frequent popular reprisals, the Jews lived there together, around their synagogue, in conformity to their laws...and with full liberty of their religion”—a far cry from reality, since the impoverished,

²²⁹ Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 379; Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 75.

²³⁰ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 73-74.

²³¹ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 137.

unsanitary, and overcrowded ghetto could hardly be described as a paradise on earth.²³² Shortly after his election, this Pope offered a façade of good will towards the Jews by ordering the destruction of the ghetto walls. Nonetheless, Jews remained the same, as Jews were still prohibited from owning property or living outside the ghetto and denied equal civil rights. It was not until September 20, 1870, when Italian forces seized Rome and forced the Vatican to abdicate its power over the city, that the Roman ghetto finally was eliminated and Jews freed.²³³

However, as any Holocaust scholar would note, the notoriety of the ghetto would return again in the twentieth century—this time used by the Nazis as a holding place for Jews on the way to meet their death.²³⁴ As Carroll points out, although the Papal ghetto “was not a first attempt at racial extermination...it...was the beginning of the strategy of elimination,” a strategy later employed by the Nazis.²³⁵ Moreover, the institution of the ghetto and the discriminatory restrictions placed upon Jews helped create and reinforce the theory that Jews were inferior, shameful beings “condemned to eternal slavery,” unworthy of living among Christian people.²³⁶

Following their emancipation from the ghetto in 1870, Jews, began to pose an altogether new, possibly uncontrollable threat in the eyes of the Church. Many Churchmen believed that the Jews, now freed, were transformed from “frightened denizens of ghettos” to “evil masterminds plotting the destruction of the Church and all that was holy.”²³⁷ As in the past, when the Jews had been blamed for killing Christ and murdering Christian children for ritual purposes, they were again irrationally blamed for various societal problems. Pope Pius IX, just months after he emancipated the Jews expressed his concern regarding them, declaring, “We have today in Rome unfortunately too many of these dogs, and we hear them barking in all

²³² Pope Pius IX, speech, 1870: quoted in Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 38.

²³³ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 129; Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 38.

²³⁴ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 28; Hochstadt, *Sources of the Holocaust*, 16-18.

²³⁵ Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 365.

²³⁶ Pope Paul IV, “Cum nimis absurdum,” 1555: quoted in passage from Herman Vogelstein, *Rome*, translated by Moses Hadas (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publishing Society, 1941) 267.

²³⁷ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 130.

the streets, and going around molesting people everywhere.”²³⁸ Quite ironically, this same Pope later beatified by Pope John Paul II on September 3, 2000, in one of the final steps to granting the former Pope sainthood.²³⁹

Despite this obvious parallel between the papacy’s ghetto in 1555 and of the Nazis in the 1930’s, the Church has denied any connection to the Holocaust or to the anti-Semitism associated with it. One of the reasons the Church has been able to escape accusations of anti-Semitism is that Church doctrine condemns the very sort of racial thinking which anti-Semitism requires. After all, how could the Church possess such a view of the Jews, God’s chosen people, when Jesus Himself was Jewish. Contrary to its claims, however, the Church was indeed guilty of classifying and subjugating Jews as being inherently different—regardless of their religious practices. For example, in 1547, the archbishop of Toledo banned any descendants of Jews—including even Christians—from receiving the assistance which the archdiocese provided. In some cases, descendants of Jews were prohibited from only Church offices, in an attempt to maintain a certain purity, which could not include the descendants of Jesus’ murderers born with “‘polluted blood.”²⁴⁰

Although obviously not as severe as Nazi anti-Semitism, such discrimination was, in Kertzer’s words, “not only embraced by the Church but actively promulgated by official and unofficial Church organs.”²⁴¹ Moreover, around the start of the eighteenth century with the introduction of what historians deem modern anti-Semitism, the Church became even more outspoken in its negative attitudes towards Jews. Indeed, throughout the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, the Church openly expressed anti-Semitic sentiments through widely-read, well-respected Church newspapers such as *L’osservatore romano*, *L’Osservatore cattolica*, and *Civilta cattolica*.

Established in 1864, *L’Osservatore cattolica* often featured anti-Semitic articles and often warned readers of the great threat the Jewish race presented to the Christian world. One article, for example, insinuated that the Jews—rich, powerful, and vast in number--were taking over the world, becoming the “masters” of the Christian people. This same article also

²³⁸ Pope Pius IX, speech, 1870: quoted in Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 130.

²³⁹ Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 379-380.

²⁴⁰ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 207.

²⁴¹ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 7.

referred to Jews as a separate race, which helped to create a racial rather than religious prejudice against them. Literate Italian Catholics and the lower clergy read this periodical; the lower clergy then spread its anti-Semitic messages to the illiterate peasantry during Sunday masses.²⁴²

Similarly, the Catholic newspaper *L'Osservatore romano*, made many intriguing, at times remarkable, comments regarding Jews and anti-Semitism. For example, the paper expressed concern that Jews were gaining too much sympathy from recent violence against them, such as the pogroms in Russia; one of the paper's writers went so far as to suggest that "crafty Jews [might] themselves be behind the murderous rampages," with hopes of gaining such sympathy.²⁴³ Another frequent theme of the paper distinguished between "good" and "bad" anti-Semitism, claiming that "Anti-Semitism ought to be the natural, sober, thoughtful, Christian reaction against Jewish predominance."²⁴⁴ However, when a non-Catholic newspaper accused *L'Osservatore romano* of "fostering the most radical kind of anti-Semitism", the publication's editors reacted by claiming that they did not aim to combat Jews but rather aimed to combat Judaism, which had created "a dispersed Jewish race, an evil sect and detestable caste" of people who should not live among others.²⁴⁵

Another source of anti-Semitic writing during the nineteenth century is found in the prominent publication, *Civiltà cattolica*. Father Guiseppe Oreglia, is one of the publication's founders, credited with drafting its first thirty-six articles on the topic of the Jews. These articles expressed resentment towards the Jewish people and suggested reasons to fear them; they emphasized that if given too much freedom, the Jewish race would become "the persecutor, oppressor, tyrant, thief, and devastator of the countries where it lives." In addition to referring to Jews as a separate "enemy race," Oreglia expressed his sentiments by describing them with such disparaging terms as "eternal insolent children, obstinate, dirty, thieves, liars, ignoramuses, pests, and the scourge of those near and far". Furthermore, Oreglia believed that a Jew was always a Jew even after renouncing Judaism.

²⁴² Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 149.

²⁴³ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 147.

²⁴⁴ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 147.

²⁴⁵ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 148.

Clearly, such a declaration embodied the very definition of anti-Semitism, since it embraced discrimination that went beyond religious reasons.²⁴⁶

Catholic newspapers continued to write about Jews in the years leading up to Hitler's ascension to power, throughout his reign, and throughout the Holocaust. On June 10, 1938, Jesuit priest Enrico Rosa wrote an article in which he expressed an obvious dislike for the Jewish people, accusing them of "[usurping] the best positions in every field" and posing a great threat to the Christian world.²⁴⁷ Although the priest condemned physical violence against the Jews, he nonetheless indicated the need for "an equable and lasting solution to the formidable Jewish problem."²⁴⁸ Such an attitude reeks of anti-Judaism, as it attributes unfavorable, stereotypical characteristics to the Jews while suggesting that they created a significant problem that needs direct attention. Because *L'Osservatore romano* was a Vatican publication, it was widely read by many Italians, so that Rosa's message spread to a large portion of the Italian Catholics.²⁴⁹

These anti-Semitic writings represent the culmination of Christian anti-Jewish sentiments which began with the massacres of the Jews during the First Crusade and continued throughout the following centuries, influenced by the blood libel myth, the Fourth Lateran Council, the Roman Inquisition, Paul IV's Papal Bull, and the creation of the Roman ghetto. At times with increased intensity, at times instigated by Popes, such anti-Judaism characterized the relationship between the Church and the Jews from 1095 all the way to the Holocaust of the twentieth century. As a result, some historians connect early acts of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism to the later horrendous crimes committed by the Nazis.

A Scottish prisoner of war during World War I and later a specialist on the history of the Catholic Church, Malcolm Hay believed that the Nazis' actions in the twentieth century resulted from a long history of Christian anti-Semitism, much of which directly involved the Roman Catholic Church. Hay

²⁴⁶ Father Guissepe Oreglia, article in *Civiltà Cattolica*: quoted in Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 136-137.

²⁴⁷ Enrico Rosa, article in *L'Osservatore romano*, June 10, 1938: quoted in Susan Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy* (London & New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 25.

²⁴⁸ Enrico Rosa, article in *L'Osservatore romano*, June 10, 1938: quoted in Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 25.

²⁴⁹ Susan Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy* (London & New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 26.

claims that the Nazis' infamous crime had its roots in the medieval theory which made Jews social pariahs, condemned by God to perpetual servitude. He further suggests that the Nazi's final solution was nearly successful because it developed without interference from the Christian world. To support his contention, Hay cites Leon Bloy, who also believed that hatred of Jews during the Middle Ages and the desire to exterminate them derived from Christians' love and devotion to God and their desire to avenge the death of Jesus.²⁵⁰

Like Hay, Langmuir finds that a major change in Christian mentality during the medieval period, may have stirred feelings of anti-Judaism, as Jews came to be viewed as eternally damned beings. Such sentiments may have resulted from the fact that around the year 1000, Christians came to focus more on Christ's suffering and were consequently eager to find a scapegoat for His crucifixion in the Jewish people. Such anti-Judaism, Langmuir observes, "seemed an important precondition for European anti-Semitism, a halfway station between a very common kind of ethnocentric hostility and the peculiarly irrational hostility of Hitler."²⁵¹ The author consequently equates the hostility against the Jews in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the hostility manifested by Hitler centuries later.²⁵²

Undoubtedly, Nazi anti-Semitism was not a new phenomenon but rather one present for centuries, practiced and promulgated by various Church officials and at times by the Vicar of Christ himself. Kertzer believes that, despite the actions of Catholics during the Holocaust, by the time of Hitler's ascension to power in 1933 the Church was partially responsible for helping develop an atmosphere in which Nazi anti-Semitism could thrive. Nonetheless, the actions of the Papacy and other Church members both before and during the Holocaust warrant an investigation, as the Church ultimately failed to help the suffering Jewish people in their time of need. As American publishing executive William Bernard Ziff, observed, "the Christian world...practically abandoned [the Jews] and [sat] by with hardly an observable twinge of conscience in the midst of this terrible catastrophe."²⁵³

²⁵⁰ Hay, *Thy Brother's Blood*, 4.

²⁵¹ Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 6-7, 116.

²⁵² Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 5, 17.

²⁵³ William Bernard Ziff, *The Rape of Palestine* (Auburn, CA: Argus Books, 1946), 487.

Even before the Holocaust began, both Nazi and Fascist racism was spreading throughout Germany and Italy respectively. Within weeks of Hitler's ascension to power, Jews were quickly subjugated through such acts as the Jewish boycott of April 1, 1933, and later through such discriminatory actions as the Nuremberg Laws of 1935. Pope Pius XI, who reigned during these years, has garnered equal amounts of admiration and criticism from historians. Waagenaar considers the Pope's condemnation of racism and anti-Semitism to be both brave and explicit and wonders how different the plight of the Jews would have been had Pius lived through it.²⁵⁴ Mirroring Waagenaar's admiration for the pontiff, David G. Dalin, an American historian, conservative rabbi, and former associate professor of Jewish history at the University of Hartford, writes about Pius XI and his successor in his book, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*. Dalin discusses the significance of the Pope's anti-Nazi encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* ("With Burning Anxiety"), issued on March 12, 1937. Although the encyclical did not directly speak of anti-Semitism, Dalin refers to it as a pro-Jewish document which angered the Nazis, even causing them to spread rumors that the Pope was half-Jewish. He furthermore distinguishes Pope Pius XI as one of the few European leaders to condemn anti-Semitism as early as 1938, around the same time that British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was appeasing Hitler.²⁵⁵

English journalist and author John Cornwell, on the other hand, belittles the significance of this same encyclical, referring to it as a tardy attack against racism that came four years after the Pope received a passionate letter from one Sister Teresa Benedicta, begging him to condemn anti-Semitism.²⁵⁶ Similarly, European historian Susan Zuccotti also believes that the Pope, who was old, ill, and losing influence within the Vatican could have been more explicit in his condemnation of Nazi and Fascist racism. She observes that no evidence exists to suggest that the Pope directly opposed anti-Jewish laws being enforced throughout Italy in the 1930's under Benito Mussolini, despite the Pope's condemnation of Nazi practices and racial theory. In her book, aptly titled *Under His Very Window*, Zuccotti observes that the Pope did not object when local Jews were forced out of schools, jobs,

²⁵⁴ Waagenaar, *The Pope's Jews*, 333.

²⁵⁵ David G. Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope: How Pope Pius Rescued Jews from the Nazis* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2005), 38-39.

²⁵⁶ John Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (New York: Penguin Group, 2000), 141.

and businesses. She furthermore suggests that whatever condemnation the Pope did offer came too late, as the Vatican failed to issue a written papal statement that would have provided the world with moral guidance during these difficult times of Jewish persecution.²⁵⁷

Nonetheless, Zuccotti mentions several instances in which the Pope did condemn German racism and also cites several examples of Catholic newspaper articles which mirrored the Pope's sentiments. On April 30, 1938, for example, an article in *L'Osservatore romano* opposed German race theory, referring to the "brotherhood of peoples, the equality of their dignity, and the necessary condition of cooperation and peace between Nations."²⁵⁸ Also, on April 13, 1938, the Vatican Congregation of Seminaries and Universities sent a letter to all Catholic institutions of higher education asking educators to oppose various aspects of Nazi racial theory. Such components of Nazi racial theory included the belief that education's main purpose was to develop racial pride, along with the notion that laws of race prevail over religion, and that intellectual and moral qualities arise from the blood.²⁵⁹ Clearly, in these ways, the Vatican did oppose Nazi theory, though in a small, perhaps weak, voice which failed to utter such meaningful words as "Jew" or "anti-Semitism."

On July 14, 1938, several Italian newspapers, including *Giornale d'Italia*, published a statement entitled *Manifesto of the Racial Scientists*. The statement introduced racism to Italy and declared the existence of a pure Italian Aryan race to which the Jews did not belong.²⁶⁰ The *Manifesto* prompted an increase in anti-Jewish writings throughout the nation; furthermore, it also prompted a response from the Vatican, as the very next day Pope Pius XI addressed an audience of nuns at an assembly of the Sisters of Notre Dame du Cenacle. He spoke of "exaggerated nationalism...that prevents the health of souls and that raises barriers between people."²⁶¹ He also briefly referred to the *Manifesto*, expressing his obvious condemnation of Fascist racism as a doctrine which was opposed to the teachings of the Christian faith.

²⁵⁷ Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 40-41, 319.

²⁵⁸ "Esemplificazioni di teorierazziste,"(author unknown), *L'Osservatore romano*, April 30, 1938: quoted in Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 30.

²⁵⁹ Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 29.

²⁶⁰ Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 27-28.

²⁶¹ Pope Pius XI, speech given at the Sisters of Notre Dame du Cenacle, July 15, 1938: quoted in Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 33.

Days later, on July 21, 1938, he spoke once again against such an offensive type of nationalism, referring to it as a “detestable...spirit of separatism.”²⁶² He also continued to express his distaste for racism when he gave a speech to the students of the Collegio di Propaganda Fide. This time speaking with great eloquence and passion, the pontiff declared the universality of the Catholic human race which lived as one single, great, unified family. As Zuccotti admits, even though the pontiff never mentioned the Jews in these speeches, it was obvious that his words were directed against Fascist and Nazi anti-Semitism, making Jews throughout the world extremely grateful for the pontiff’s support.²⁶³

The Pope eventually did condemn anti-Semitism openly, in March of 1938, as he explained the Holy See’s strong disapproval of all types of hatred and more specifically of “hatred against the people who once were chosen by God, a hatred which nowadays is commonly indicated by the word anti-Semitism.”²⁶⁴ This same speech also suspended “The Society of the Friends of Israel” (*Amici Israel*), which for years had been issuing pamphlets expressing hatred of the Jewish people, while simultaneously attempting to forcibly convert them. Moreover, in a speech given on September 6, 1938, the Pope again expressed his disapproval of anti-Semitism, poignantly declaring, “Spiritually, we are all Semites.”²⁶⁵ In addition to these verbal efforts to attack anti-Semitism, the Pope commissioned in the early summer of 1938 an encyclical which would have offered an even more significant Vatican condemnation of anti-Semitism. To be titled *Humani generis unitas* (The Unity of the Human Race), the document was drafted under secrecy by the American Jesuit Father John LaFarge. Unfortunately, the encyclical was never published, and no one can be certain that the Pope even saw its draft, as he died soon after it was completed on February 10, 1939.²⁶⁶

Despite varying opinions of the pontiff, it is clear that, he did express sympathy for the Jews more so than many Popes and that he did

²⁶² Pope Pius XI, speech to the students of the Collegio di Propaganda Fide, July 21, 1938: quoted in Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 34.

²⁶³ Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 34-35; 40.

²⁶⁴ Pope Pius XI, speech suspending “Society of the Friends of Israel,” March 1938: quoted in Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler’s Pope*, 39; Waagenaar, *The Pope’s Jews*, 457.

²⁶⁵ Pope Pius XI, sermon, September 6, 1938: quoted in Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 190.

²⁶⁶ Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler’s Pope*, 41; Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 190-191.

make some attempts—no matter how ineffective—to condemn anti-Semitism. Unfortunately, at the same time that the Pope was speaking against the Nazis' actions, his very own Secretariat of State led by his future successor, Eugenio Pacelli, was actively forming an alliance with the Fuhrer himself: Adolf Hitler. It is further possible that Pacelli was responsible for the rather mysterious disappearance of the draft of *Humani generis unitas*, which he failed to publish in the Catholic newspapers that were under his control. With Pius XI weak and near the end of his life during Hitler's reign, it is likely that his future successor actually possessed more power within the Vatican than the Pope himself.²⁶⁷

While Pius XI's actions and speeches undoubtedly provide a more favorable picture of the Church's attitude towards anti-Semitism, the actions of his successor, Pius XII, regarding the Holocaust were notorious. Pacelli's far less sympathetic attitude towards the Jews shaped his various policies. His role in the Holocaust began even before his reign as Pope, when in 1933 he signed one of the most controversial agreements in history—an agreement between the Catholic Church and the Fuhrer, an agreement that is so controversial that it would haunt the papacy for years to come. He also made other questionable decisions regarding the Nazis and the plight of the Jews.

With German Catholics representing a large majority of the population, numbering as many as twenty-three million in 1933, Hitler feared the role Catholics might play in his ascension to power and in the fulfillment of his infamous goals for "race and space." Since German Catholics condemned National Socialism, the Church posed a great threat to Hitler and the Nazi regime—a threat which needed to be removed and one which Hitler addressed in his first cabinet meeting on March 7, 1933. Hitler's solution to this threat was an agreement with the Vatican in which the state would grant the Church freedom pertaining to religious practices and education, while the Church would agree to remain outside of social and political activities.²⁶⁸

Hitler and his regime quickly began working to develop this favorable Church-State relationship. As soon as April of 1933, members of Hitler's regime, including vice-chancellor Papen, met with Pacelli and other members of the Church to discuss a Reich Concordat. After months of negotiations, meetings and some hesitation from Pacelli, Papen and Pacelli finally met in the latter's office for the initial ceremony concluding this agreement. The following Monday, German newspaper headlines blazoned

²⁶⁷ Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 190.

²⁶⁸ Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 133-134.

the signing, and the papers included a statement written by Hitler detailing its two main provisions, making it seem, in the words of Cornwell, that the concordat had been “a historical triumph for National Socialism.”²⁶⁹

In this statement, Hitler explained that the concordat guaranteed that members of the Roman Catholic Church would “put themselves without reservation at the service of the new National Socialist state.”²⁷⁰ The dictator went on to describe the two main provisions of the agreement. First, the termination of organizations recognized by the treaty was to be withdrawn immediately. Second, any “coercive measures” against members of the Catholic Church were to be stopped. The formal signing of this agreement occurred on July 20, 1933, and its final ratification came several weeks later in September of the same year. This final confirmation of the alliance was celebrated the following week at a service at St. Hedwig’s Cathedral in Berlin, Germany, where Nazi flags were hung alongside Catholic banners in a disturbing display of this ironic agreement between church and state.²⁷¹

Even before the concordat’s formal signing and final ratification, Hitler, in a cabinet meeting on July 14, 1933, expressed his immense contentment with the alliance, as he was certain of the positive outcomes it would have for his regime. In hindsight, one must consider his optimism quite disturbing, for he believed that this very document would be “especially significant in the urgent struggle against international Jewry.”²⁷² Clearly, Hitler assumed that by signing this agreement, the Vatican had expressed its moral approval of his own policies; furthermore, the Nazis could now at any point silence the Church by deeming any issue apolitical matter, thus eliminating the threat of condemnation from the holy institution.²⁷³

Such condemnation, however, never came from the lips of Eugenio Pacelli, who began his reign as Pope Pius XII in March of 1939. Despite repeated evidence detailing the atrocities occurring against the Jews (and other non-Aryans) the Pope refused to offer a clear denunciation of Nazi policies—a denunciation which may very well have helped save many Jewish and non-Jewish lives. During the last week of June, 1942, the media made

²⁶⁹ Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 152.

²⁷⁰ Adolf Hitler, statement to the media, April 1933: quoted in Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 152.

²⁷¹ Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 152-159.

²⁷² Adolf Hitler, discussion in cabinet meeting, July 14, 1933: quoted in Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 152.

²⁷³ Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 153.

several attempts to reveal the plight of the Jews, whose deaths had totaled approximately one million by that time. The London *Daily Telegraph*, for example, announced the slaughter of over 700,000 Jews by the Germans through the use of poison gas. Another headline, appearing on June 30, announced “MORE THAN 1,000,000 JEWS KILLED IN EUROPE” and featured an article that described the Nazis’ intention to exterminate the entire European Jewish population. Despite such public information about Nazi murder, the Pope maintained a position of neutrality, denying both the Christian and Jewish worlds the denunciation they so desperately wanted to hear.²⁷⁴

The Pope again failed to denounce the atrocities several months later, on December 24, 1942, in his now notorious Christmas message to the world. Appropriately titled “Rights of Man,” the address first discussed the damaged economic policies of recent decades which had led individuals to forsake their ethical and religious obligations. He further appealed to both individual and family piety and recognized the need for a peaceful order throughout society, which could be obtained through loyalty to the Church. After such general social statements, the Pope finally confronted the current war, which he claimed to be the result of “a fatal weakness and an unbridled lust for profit and power.”²⁷⁵ In reflecting upon the atrocities of the war, he encouraged all members of society to dedicate themselves to good will towards their fellow man and thereby help create, in Cornwell’s words, a “divinely ennobled human society.”²⁷⁶ Finally, Pius XII made his only public statement in which he ever referred to the suffering of the Jewish people, as he announced:

Humanity owes this vow to those hundreds of thousands who, without any fault of their own, sometimes only by reason of their nationality or race, are marked down for death or gradual extinction.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 281-286.

²⁷⁵ Pope Pius XII, Christmas radio message, December 24, 1942: quoted in Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 292.

²⁷⁶ Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 292.

²⁷⁷ Pope Pius XII, Christmas radio message, December 24, 1942: quoted in Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 292.

Although the Pope was clearly referring to Jewish victimization under the Nazis, his refusal to acknowledge them by name weakened his declaration and failed to provide the world with an outspoken denunciation of Nazi policy. Even Mussolini laughed at the weakness of the Pope's message, suggesting that "the Vicar of God...should never speak; he should remain in the clouds."²⁷⁸ Harold Tittman, head of Pius' XII's own Secretariat of State, also expressed his dissatisfaction with the speech, suggesting that the Pope should have abandoned his usual practices of speaking in general statements and condemn the Nazis more directly.²⁷⁹

Although some evidence of the Pope's attempts to aid the Jews exists, it pales before the evidence showing he hesitated to truly alleviate their plight. He was notably criticized when he failed to act on October 16, 1943. On this day, the Nazis liquidated the Roman ghetto and sent thousands of Jews on trains on the way to their death. The Pope did nothing to stop them. He also failed to provide a papal directive instructing Church institutions to provide refuge to Jews within their walls. Emma Alatri Fiorentino and her family, for example, attempted to find refuge after receiving warning about the imminent ghetto liquidation, but they were refused admission into several convents along the Via Nomentana. Others, including Piero Terracina and a group of Jewish refugees led by a local priest, were also denied entrance into various Roman monasteries and convents.²⁸⁰ By allowing the persecution of local Jews in the very city where he resided, under his very window, and by failing to issue a papal directive offering them assistance, the Pope demonstrated his failure to alleviate their plight during this crucial time.

As Zuccotti points out, feelings of anti-Semitism were not necessarily the primary reason why nuns, monks, and other members of the Church refused to assist the Jews. Many Church institutions were already overcrowded and without adequate food supplies, certainly influencing decisions to reject Jews. Nonetheless, if the Pope had openly expressed the great danger Jews were facing and promised to supply extra food to these institutions, he could have helped rescue many Jews. Despite the Pope's apparent lack of sympathy, some one hundred convents, (such as Our Lady of

²⁷⁸ Benito Mussolini, conversation with Count Ciano about Pius XII's Christmas message, December 24, 1942: quoted in Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 293.

²⁷⁹ Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 292.

²⁸⁰ Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 194-195.

Sion), and fifty-five other church institutions (such as the Catholic boarding school, The Religious Teachers Filippini), offered over four thousand Jews a safe haven. Unfortunately however, the Vatican was unwilling to make an official statement that would have provided thousands of Jews refuge.²⁸¹

As Cornwell recognizes in his controversially titled book, *Hitler's Pope*, no Pope prior to Pius XII had ever faced such a situation as difficult as the Holocaust, which put the beliefs, values, and actions of the pontiff world scrutiny.²⁸² Indeed, the Pope's actions and lack of action have caused many historians to question the pontiff's motives, his character, and--possibly most significantly--his attitude towards the Jewish people. Six feet tall, remarkably thin, with an ash-grey complexion, the pontiff was called by his closest acquaintances a kind, benign, supremely pious individual.²⁸³ Sir d'Arcy Osborne, for example, then British minister to the Holy See, referred to Pius as a "warmly humane, kind, generous, sympathetic (and, incidentally, saintly) character...[whose] sensitive nature was acutely and incessantly alive to the tragic volume of human suffering caused by the war."²⁸⁴ Osborne went on to describe his confident belief that the Pope would have given his own life for the sake of humanity.²⁸⁵

This comment by the British minister contrasts with Pius XII's actions and appears to be quite an exaggeration. Far from offering his life to save the Jewish people, Pius failed even to recognize them as Nazi victims. Despite this positive assessment of the Pope, most biographers agree that he was rather unemotional and dispassionate, some calling him, in Zuccotti's words, "isolated and unworldly." Assessing varying opinions of the Pope, historian Zuccotti concludes that, as a priest with little pastoral experience or exposure to human suffering, he viewed the world through the eyes of a diplomat and aristocrat and possibly found it difficult to imagine the possibility of a plan to exterminate the Jewish population.²⁸⁶

Cornwell's view of the Pope is far less forgiving. He tells us of Pius XII's apparent antipathy towards the Jews and his belief that the Jews had in

²⁸¹ Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 194-199.

²⁸² Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 295.

²⁸³ Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 4; Z

²⁸⁴ Sir d'Arcy Osborne, letter to *The Times*, London, May 20, 1963: quoted in Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 60.

²⁸⁵ Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 60.

²⁸⁶ Zuccotti, *Under His Very Window*, 61-62.

fact brought their misfortune upon themselves.²⁸⁷ In his appraisal, Cornwell references fellow writer Guenter Lewy, who, after studying various documents and arguments, concluded that “the Pope and his advisers— influenced by the long tradition of moderate anti-Semitism so widely accepted in Vatican circles—did not view the plight of the Jews with a real sense of urgency and moral outrage.”²⁸⁸

Pius XII consequently hesitated to offer the Jews much help, as such intervention might have endangered the Church’s own security and stability. Cornwell belittles the Pope’s attempts to offer some aid to the Jews as acts of “basic charity” and does not believe such attempts affirmed the pontiff’s sincere concern for the Jewish people.²⁸⁹ Like Zuccotti, he notes that the Pope failed to “utter a candid word about the Final Solution,” failed to condemn the Nazis for their unimaginable cruelty, failed to recognize the Jews as the Nazis’ victims, and thereby failed truly to confront this tragic issue. For these reasons, in Cornwell’s opinion, Pius XII was Hitler’s pawn, Hitler’s Pope, and the ideal Pope for Hitler’s plan to destroy the Jewish race.²⁹⁰

In addition to Cornwell and Zuccotti, many other critics of Pius XII have created a wide debate about the pontiff and his questionable actions during this tragedy. Kertzer notes that in 1959 playwright Rolf Hochhuth was one of the first individuals publicly to criticize Pius’ actions, making him the central figure in his controversial play *The Deputy*.²⁹¹ After devoting about three years to studying the Final Solution and learning of the Pope’s actions during this tragedy, the playwright became outraged and so began his mission to reveal the true history of the Pope’s role in the Holocaust. Hochhuth thus made Pius a central yet silent figure of the play, which he fittingly subtitled a “Christian tragedy.” In Margaret E. Ward’s words, the play confronts the question, “How, in this so-called Christian Europe, the murder of an entire people could take place without the highest moral authority on the earth

²⁸⁷ Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 295.

²⁸⁸ Guenter Lewy, essay in *Commentary*, February 1964: quoted in Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 295.

²⁸⁹ Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 295-296.

²⁹⁰ Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*, 296-297.

²⁹¹ Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews*, 3.

having a word to say about it.”²⁹² The play’s unforgiving portrait of the Pope is an interesting appraisal of the Church’s history of anti-Semitism.

Possibly even more significant than the opinions of historians and playwrights are the opinions of Holocaust survivors themselves. Adam Boren, born in Warsaw, Poland, on November 15, 1929, was a mere child when the Nazis invaded his native country. After several successful escapes from the Nazis, Boren was eventually captured and sent to Auschwitz after having to listen to the Nazis murder his father and brother. Following his emancipation from the camp in 1945, he emigrated to the United States and wrote about his Holocaust experiences in, *Journey through the Inferno*.

In an interview in March, 2008, Boren referred to the Church’s “sadistic priests,” whom he believed propagated anti-Semitism throughout Eastern Europe during the war. He also condemned the Pope’s actions and silence, believing that the pontiff “knew everything but would not denounce the Nazis in his speeches.” For Boren, who lost his entire family—mother, father, sister, and brother—as a result of the Holocaust, the Church’s actions and lack of them were despicable and worthy of criticism by both Jews and Christians alike.²⁹³

However, despite the Church’s questionable actions during the Holocaust and its controversial relationship to the Jews throughout the second millennium, it was the Nazis themselves who bear the responsibility for the twentieth century Holocaust. This paper does not equate members of the Church with the Nazis, nor their frequent anti-Semitic behaviors and sentiments with the Nazis’ more abhorrent cruelty. Rather, this paper explores the irony that pervades the controversial relationship between the Catholic Church and the Jews, for it is astonishing how a religious institution could foster feelings of hatred and persecution towards the very people deemed chosen by God. Catholic anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism did not *cause* the Holocaust but the church’s thought history with the Jews did help create the environment in which it occurred.

Moreover, it would be a grave mistake to overgeneralize that all Popes are anti-Semitic or that the Church itself is anti-Semitic. Instead, one could look to the Church’s history in terms of its power and social position in order to uncover the reasoning behind some of its actions in regards to the Jewish people. James Carroll devotes an entire chapter of his book on the

²⁹² Margaret E. Ward, *Rolf Hochhuth* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977), 24-26.

²⁹³ Adam Boren, Personal Interview, March 26, 2008.

Church's temporal power, suggesting that the Roman Catholic Church is just as much—if not more—a political institution as it is a religious one. History suggests that in the eyes of many Popes and Church officials—including Urban II, Innocent III, and Pius XII to name a few—power and authority were equally as important as morality and righteousness.

Nonetheless, whatever the reasons for its past actions, the Church bears responsibility for fostering anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism throughout the Christian world. The Church progressed from an institution which instigated a massacre of the Jewish people during the eleventh century First Crusade to one which failed to help these same people during the twentieth century Holocaust. In the years between, the Church continually stigmatized and persecuted the Jewish people through false accusations, demeaning papal decrees, the fear-inducing Roman Inquisition, the degrading ghetto, and the public outpouring of verbal and written denunciations.

In these ways, throughout the course of the second millennium, Church members failed to demonstrate the humanitarian characteristics that one would expect from pious individuals. Consequently, despite the fact that the Catholic Church is the very symbol of the Catholic religion and considered one of the world's most holy institutions, it nonetheless helped create an atmosphere in which rabid anti-Semitism could lead to the most notorious genocide in history—the Holocaust of the twentieth century and the subsequent death of six million unfortunate Jews.

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¹ Juliet Barker's *The Brontës* is the foremost authoritative biography on the Brontës. With a focus on the siblings' childhoods, one can begin to understand the complex world of Charlotte Brontë, or what Barker, and other critics (most notably Patsy Stoneman) call the "Brontë Myth." (xx) Additional well-known biographers such as Lyndall Gordon and Elizabeth Gaskell present alternative and colored views of Brontë's life. Gordon wrote *Charlotte Brontë: A Passionate Life*, which focuses on the author's personal relationships. Gaskell wrote *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* in an attempt to save her friend's reputation after her death, which she did by making readers sympathize with the author's difficulties throughout her life.

**“The Most Ancient Village in Our
Country”**



Interpreting Forgotten Colonial Material at the Salisbury Site

Keri J. Sansevere

Acknowledgements

Through nearly a year of research and analysis on the Salisbury Site, many individuals have shared their thoughts and ideas with me. Without their assistance and support, this project would not have become a reality.

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Dr. Cross had not excavated the site, I often wonder what kind of thesis I would have. Certainly, not a thesis as strong and attractive. Thanks to Charles Kier and Fred Calverly for revealing additional information regarding the site. Cheers to them for leaving a slice of this delicious archaeological pie for me.

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Abstract

Excavated nearly seventy years ago by Dorothy Cross as part of the Works Progress Administration, the Salisbury Site has been called one of the oldest centers of Native American activity in the Delaware Valley. Since Cross' excavation, archaeologists have focused their scholarship on interpreting the thousands of prehistoric artifacts excavated from the site while providing little or no explanation of 17th-century historic material, including nearly 600 tobacco pipe fragments. This paper will explore the forgotten colonial artifacts from the Salisbury Site through the lens of 21st century archaeology by researching early colonial history and artifact analysis. With this data, an expanded interpretation of the site will be presented.

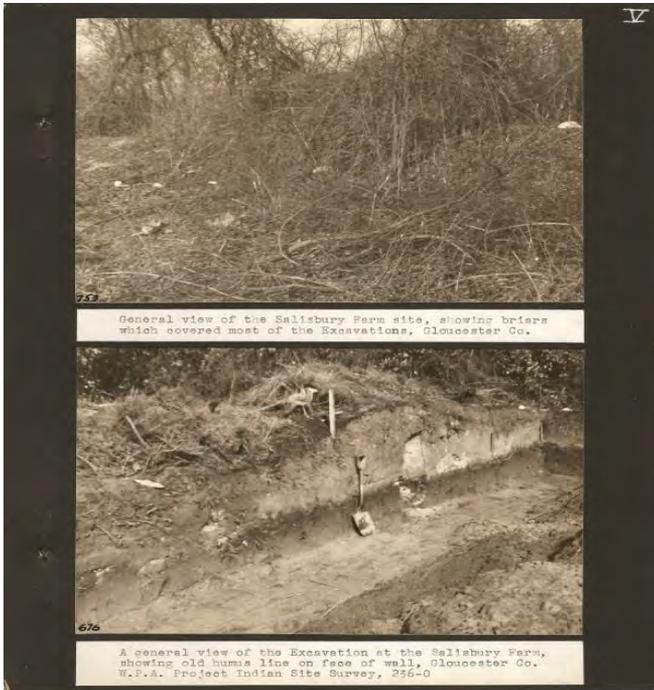
Part I Background: History of Past Archaeology The Salisbury Site

The Salisbury Site was excavated nearly seventy years ago, though it was certainly not New Jersey's first experience with archaeology. A number of earlier excavations took place in New Jersey prior to the Salisbury Site excavation, such as C.C. Abbot's pioneering work at Burlington Island in the late 1890s (Veit 2002: 24). Since the excavation and site report were completed, the Salisbury Site has not been re-examined in light of updated archaeological dating techniques or new information provided by scholarly archaeological and historical studies of early colonial settlement in the Middle Atlantic Region. Dorothy Cross, the head archaeologist at the Salisbury Site, gave little attention to the unearthened early colonial cultural material and possible 17th century cultural features, such as pits and potential cellar holes. In fact, Cross and her team of archaeologists may have even casually discarded some of these artifacts, not realizing their archaeological value at the time.

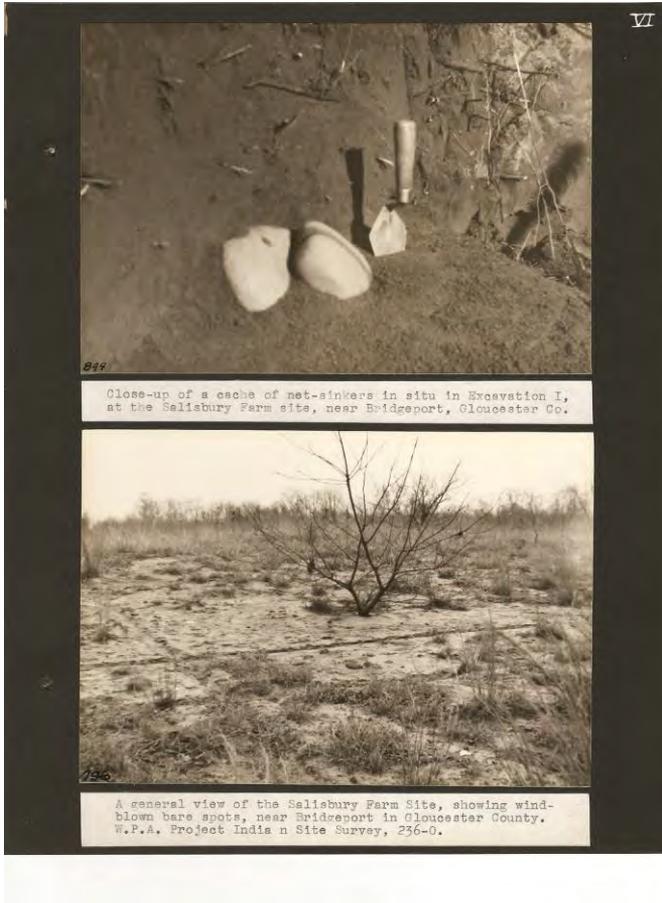
It appears that Cross' primary focus was to excavate and better understand an earlier prehistoric Native American archaeological component at the site. Even when retained, some of the colonial artifacts are no longer present in the collection, having been misplaced. This paper will explore the Salisbury Site through the lens of 21st century archaeology by researching its early colonial history through primary and secondary sources and analyzing the surviving artifact collection. From this data, an interpretation of the site will be presented.

Archaeological excavation of the Salisbury Site was part of the Works Projects Administration program developed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as an economic stimulus for unemployment. Under this program, the Indian Site Survey (ISS) was established (Indian Site Survey 1938). The ISS excavated the site from March 1937 to March 1938. Geared toward better understanding the prehistory of Native American settlement in the country, archaeologists such as Dr. Cross were given the task of overseeing excavations by teams of amateur and burgeoning professional archaeologists and analyzing the collected data. American archaeology, at this time, was in its infancy as a professional and scholarly field and the work of archaeologists such as Cross laid the first foundation stones for archaeological dating, excavation, and analytical techniques employed today, with great changes and new information learned along the way.

The Salisbury Site was excavated by Dorothy Cross and her crew members from March 1937 to March 1938. According to Dr. Dorothy Cross' brief site report, the Salisbury Site was situated on a farm that once belonged to Henry A. Salisbury and lies above the high tide mark of the Delaware River on the Inner Coastal Plain about one and a half miles west of Bridgeport, New Jersey (Cross 1941: 52). It is located 1.2 miles south of Raccoon Creek and .7 miles inland from Rt. 130 (formerly Rt. 44) on Block 201, Lot 7, in Logan Township, Gloucester County, New Jersey (Morton 1936). According to Cross, dense thickets and "a quarter-mile strip of marsh which is entirely flooded only during excessively high spring tides" separates the site from the Delaware River (Indian Site Survey 1938, Cross 1941: 52).



(Fig 1) Original photographs from Cross' excavation (Indian Site Survey 1938).



(Fig 2) Original photographs from Cross' excavation (Indian Site survey 1938).



Fig. 3. 2008 Google Earth Map depicting Salisbury Site location.



Fig. 4. 1999 tax map produced by William E. Alburger, P.L.S. The site is located in Block 201, Lot 7.

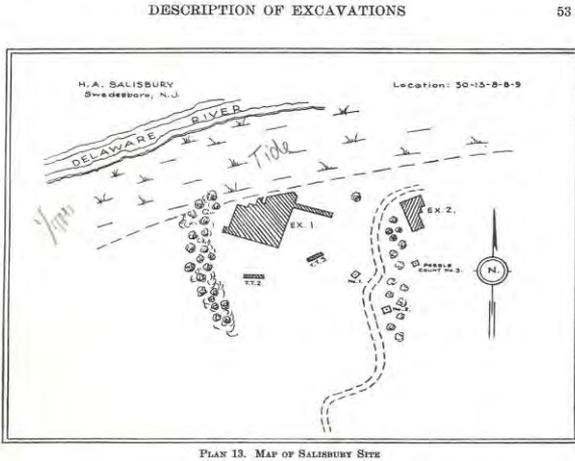


Fig. 5. Map of Salisbury Site excavation. (Cross 1941: 53). Annotated by Keri Sansevere.

Based upon field notes taken by E.J. Morton dated November 26, 1936, the site is rectangular in shape and covered with sandy soil. Previously

farmed, it was allowed to lie fallow for at least 15 years prior to the excavation (since ca. 1921). Swamps lie to the north and west of the site. The site is bounded by brush on the east side and open fields to the south. Approximately .25 miles to the northwest is the Delaware River. Morton states that it is possible that the “swampy area” may have been underwater during the Native American occupation. Before excavation, Morton noted that the site was covered with Indian grass.

According to a soil survey conducted by the Department of Agriculture and the Soil Conservation Service, the Salisbury Site remains rest in tidal marsh (US Department of Agriculture 1959: sheet #7). The tidal marsh is a mix of brackish and fresh water with silty clay soil (US Dep’t of Agriculture 1959: 26). According to the soil survey, the area was diked or ditched in the 1930s. Numerous farms were abandoned as a result of the costly and time consuming nature of maintaining the dikes. The presence of tidal marsh on the location of the Salisbury Site may mean that the site has been eroded by the tides of the Delaware since Cross’ excavation nearly thirty years before the soil report was published.

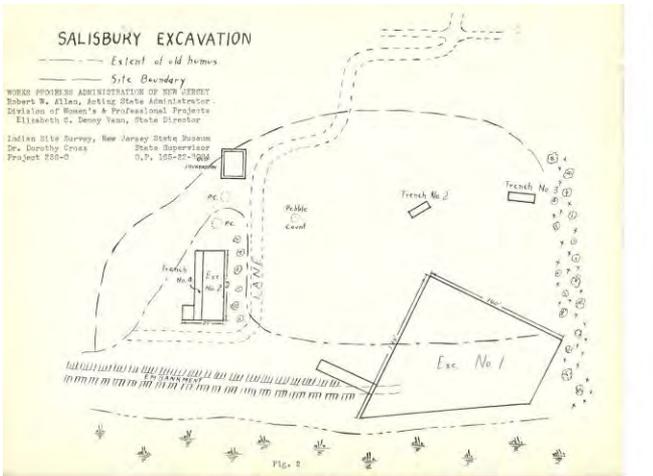
Cross states that the site measures 700 feet long by 300 feet wide and abuts the eastern side of the Delaware River (Cross 1941: 52). During a surface survey, Cross found Native American lithic remains which included fire-cracked rock used in stone cooking hearths and flakes of stone from lithic tool production (Cross 1941: 54). These artifacts were concentrated on the north west half of the site, which is where all further excavations took place. Among the artifacts recovered during the 1937-1938 excavation include pre-historic lithic remains, seven pits, five hearths, prehistoric and historic ceramics, prehistoric and historic smoking pipes, a roof tile, and a penknife. While glanced over in Cross’ site report, the historic artifacts recovered and pits identified are the focus herein.

Charles Kier and J. Harvey Hughes attempted an excavation in the Fall of 1945 but were unable to locate the site due to fast land and heavy undergrowth (Kier 1948: 2). The site was surrounded by woodland and a variety of wildlife (Ibid). Nearly twenty years after Cross, Charles Kier and Fred Calverly excavated at the Salisbury Site (Kier & Calverly: 1957). They mention that the site was a “mecca for relic collectors and potholers” (1957: 64). In 1952, Kier stated that Salisbury is “probably the largest aboriginal village site in the Delaware River Valley south of the Abbott Farm” (Kier 1952: 2). Like Cross, Kier and Calverly appear to have overlooked the importance of the site’s early colonial archaeological component.

With the exception of the Abbott Site, located in Mercer County, NJ, Salisbury saw the most “intensive” archaeological excavation of the Indian Site Survey (Indian Site Survey 1938). Due to its importance as an archaeological resource, the Salisbury Site was listed in the National Registry on March 3, 1979 (Reference No: 79001489) (New Jersey and National Registers of Historic Places: 2008).



Fig. 6) US Department of Agriculture Soil Survey



(Fig. 7) Map of Salisbury Site excavation (Indian Site Survey 1938). Note foundation remains.

(Fig. 8) 1934 Atlas Map (Sheet 30) annotated by C. Kier. Courtesy of R. Alan Mounier.



Pits

In total, Cross mentions seven pits in her site report, all of which contained artifacts. Unfortunately, records of the location or spatial distribution of the pits no longer survive. Such records could provide information about site development, activity areas, and site layout. Further, artifacts recovered from each pit were not separated by context, and their exact provenience is no longer known, making it difficult to re-interpret the function of some of the cultural features. What is known about the pits is described below. With information provided by Cross, the function of some of the pits could be reinterpreted.

Pit I, two feet deep and two feet in diameter, contained a mixture of dark yellow soil and sand. Here, charcoal, chips (otherwise known as lithic flaked debitage formed during stone tool production), four potsherds, a jasper flaker, and two jasper projectile points were found. No Euro-American colonial artifacts were documented from this pit and it is probable that it was made by prehistoric Native Americans and pre-dates the colonial occupation of the site.

Pit II measured twenty feet long by twelve feet in diameter and five feet deep, roughly oval in shape, and contained somewhat complex stratigraphy. The large size of this pit is notable as such large cultural features are generally not indicative of or associated with prehistoric Native American occupations. Thus, it is possible this feature may represent something else, perhaps a cellar hole associated with a former house or outbuilding. Beginning with the upper layer of dark yellow sand, hand-wrought nails and numerous pipe fragments were located in the upper three feet of the pit. Below these historic remains but also in the dark yellow sand, charcoal and deer bone were found. Below this layer, a barren grey shaded soil exists. Under the sterile stratum was a black, decayed humus layer which contained a number of potsherds and a quartzite arrowhead.

Based on the colonial nails and ceramics recovered as well as soil stratigraphy or soil layers encountered, it appears that Pit II may have represented a large cellar hole to a former building, which measured roughly 12 feet by 20 feet in size. Such dimensions could be indicative of a one or two room building. However the function of the building is unclear. It is also important to note that building stone or brick does not appear to have been recovered from the pit, suggesting that the possible structure either lacked a masonry foundation or, if such a foundation was formerly present, it

has been removed before the pit was filled with soil. The presence of charcoal does suggest that the building may have been destroyed by fire. After its destruction, the cellar was filled with soil. Further, the deer bone recovered may represent the remains of food consumed by the site's colonial occupants. Consumption of wild animals, such as deer, by early colonial settlers has been documented at other contemporary sites in Delaware, such as the Richard Whitehart site (ca. 1681-1701) and the John Powell Plantation Site (ca. 1691-1735) (Grettlar et al. 1995:65, 130).

Pit III measured fifteen feet by 10 feet in plan and fifty-four inches deep. The stratigraphy was slightly more complex than Pit II, containing five different layers. Dark yellow soil comprised the first stratum in which metal nails, smoking pipes, and some potsherds were scattered. It is unclear if the potsherds Cross mentioned refer to historic, Euro-American ceramics or prehistoric Native American pots. Below this layer, six inches down from the surface, a black decayed band appeared which contained a chert projectile point and two potsherds. A two inch layer of sterile yellow sand was encountered next. Another stratum of black decayed organic matter followed measuring eight inches wide in which a jasper flaker and potsherd were found. A smaller pit was dug into on the side of Pit III measuring 39 inches in depth containing dark sand as well as a rim from a steatite bowl, potsherds, arrowheads, charcoal, and chips.

While the size of the Pit III may be indicative of a later, colonial period feature, the artifacts recovered from the pit do not paint as clear a picture. The upper stratum, yielding colonial artifacts appears to have been formed or deposited during the colonial occupation of the site, and it is possible that the pit encountered was only represented by this stratum. Strata encountered below, may have simply represented buried organic-rich soil layers deposited during an earlier occupation of the site by Native Americans as no colonial-period artifacts were found in these strata. The deep pit below the dark organic layers, which contained the rim of a steatite bowl, generally dating from the Terminal Archaic Period from 2000 B.C. to A.C. 1000, likely represents a storage pit made by earlier Native Americans.

As Cross mentions, Pit IV had the most complex stratigraphy and measured twenty feet by seven feet in diameter. This pit reached a depth of 54 inches. Cross explains that she was unable to describe the contents of this pit in a simplified manner. Due to the soil formations in the pit, clear cut bands of soil were not identified. As a result, Cross divides the pit into sections in which the exact depth and diameter of each division is lost. The

top layer contained dark yellow soil on the left of the pit in which stone flakes, potsherds, oyster shells, two 7 inch by 7 inch by 10 inch cobbles, and numerous European smoking pipes were found. Inside this layer was a smaller deposit of grey clayey soil which contained stone flakes, potsherds, and European smoking pipes. Underneath the clay and yellow soil layer, a layer of charcoal was discovered. Below the yellow soil and to the right of the charcoal, a stratum of black soil was found containing charcoal, potsherds, and European smoking pipes. To the right of the dark yellow soil and above the black soil, a medium sized section of sterile light yellow was observed. The right side of this deposit was followed by multi-colored stratified sand and, to the right of that, dark yellow soil. Both formations contained arrowheads, spearheads, one scraper, and 1 utilized flake. Underneath both of these layers, a deposit of dark sand with black spotting was discovered containing the same artifactual remains.

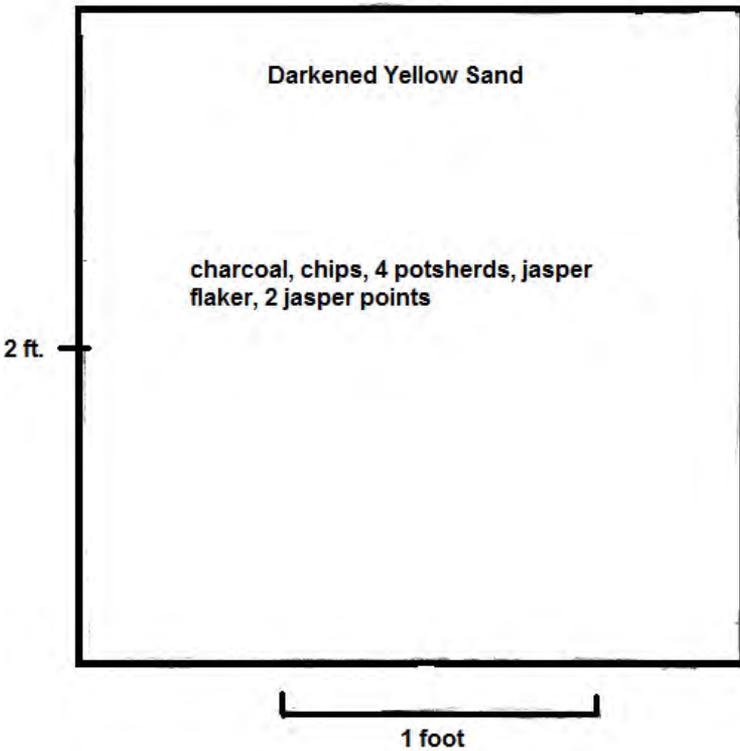
The size of Pit IV suggests that it could represent a large cold cellar associated with a former building. The complex stratigraphy noted by Cross is likely due to an attempt to fill the cellar hole with surrounding soils, the mixed nature indicative of different soils being shoveled into the hole at the same time. In fact, the recovery of prehistoric and colonial artifacts recovered from similar layers also suggests that surround soils were dug up and used to fill the cellar hole. Like Pit II, the presence of charcoal may suggest that the structure that stood over the pit was destroyed or damaged by fire. The undulating nature of the base of the pit may also suggest that smaller cold storage pits or posts may have extended below the floor of the cellar, a common attribute of colonial-period cellars.

Pit V featured all black soil and measured two feet in diameter by eighteen inches deep. This pit contained pottery, concentrated towards the center, and scattered stone flakes. This pit was probably created by earlier Native American occupants at the site.

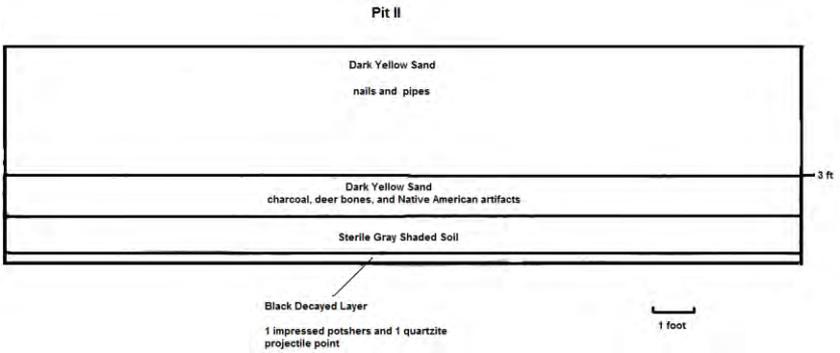
Pit VI's dimensions were four by five feet in diameter and twenty seven inches deep. The top layer was comprised of black soil which featured fire cracked rock, potsherds, and charcoal. Dark yellow sand was found below this layer and contained a shale arrowhead. The absence of colonial artifacts strongly suggests that Pit VI was created by prehistoric Native Americans. The presence of native pottery indicates that it was formed sometime between the Transitional Archaic and Contact Period (2000 B.C.-A.D. 1700)

Lastly, Pit VII measured three feet by five feet in diameter and twenty eight inches deep and contained potsherds. Like Pit VI, the presence of prehistoric Native American pottery and absence of colonial artifacts also indicated that Pit VII was created by earlier Native American occupants.

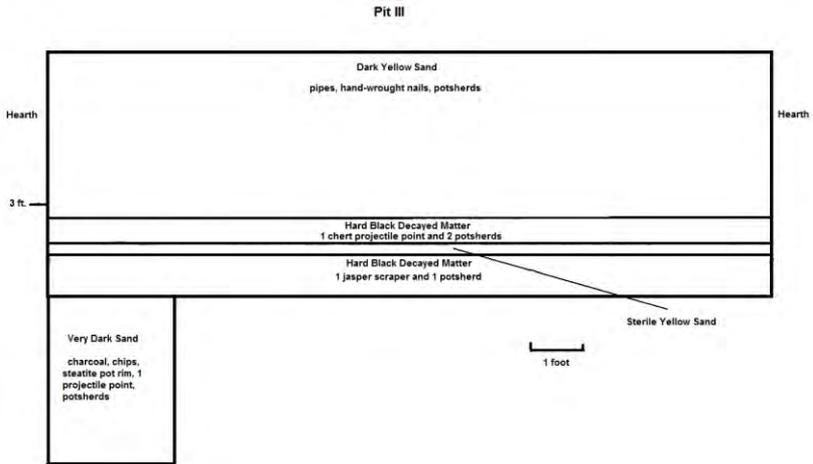
Pit I



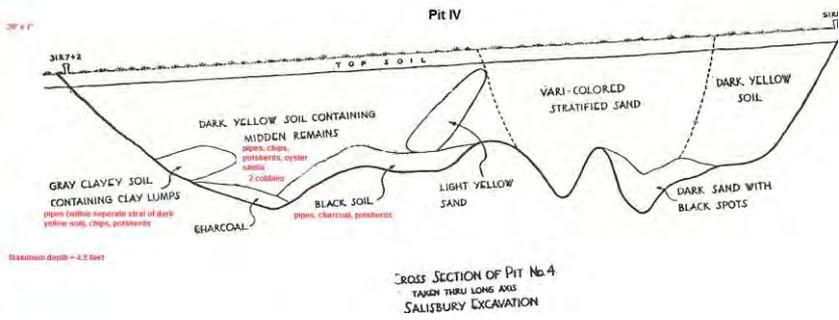
(Fig. 9) Pit I Stratigraphy. This drawing is interpretational. Drawn by Keri Sansevere.



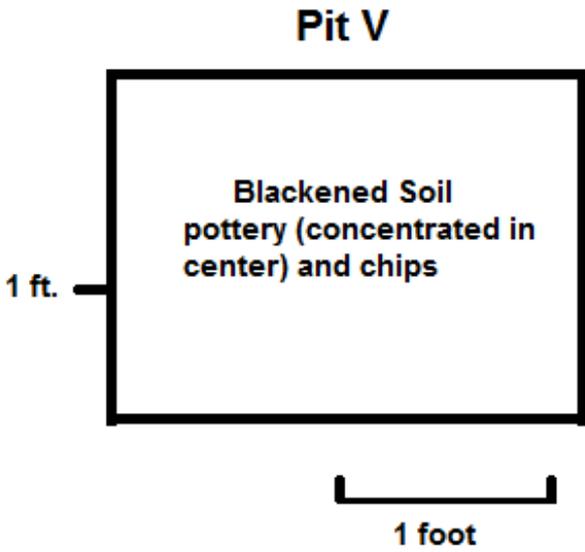
(Fig. 10) Pit 2 stratigraphy. This drawing is interpretational. Drawn by Keri Sansevere



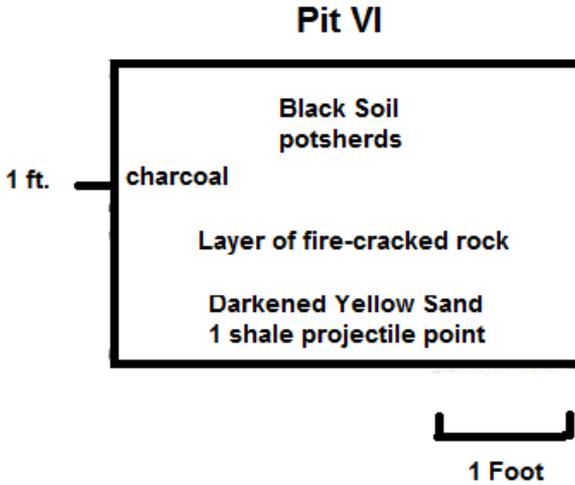
(Fig. 11) Pit 3 stratigraphy. Note that Cross only provides the depth of the pit dug into the side of Pit 3. This drawing is interpretational. Drawn by Keri Sansevere.



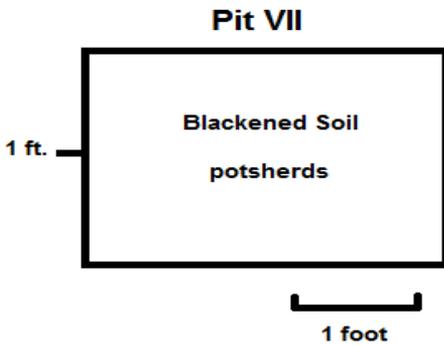
(Fig. 12) Pit 4 excavation. Drawn by Dorothy Cross (Cross 1941: 55), annotated in red by Keri Sansevere.



(Fig. 13) Pit 5 stratigraphy. This drawing is interpretational. Drawn by Keri Sansevere



(Fig. 14) Pit 6 stratigraphy. Note that Cross does not tell us depth of each strata for Pit 6. This drawing is interpretational. Drawn by Keri Sansevere.



(Fig. 15) Pit 7 stratigraphy. This drawing is interpretational. Drawn by Keri Sansevere.

Cross' Analysis of Remains

In her report, Cross mentions the recovery of both prehistoric and historic artifacts (Cross 1941). Native American materials include projectile points, ceramics, and smoking pipes. Ceramics, glass, a pan tile, ceramic smoking pipes, and hand-wrought nails can be attributed to an early European presence. The pit features, charcoal, and faunal elements may be attributed to either group. (Unfortunately, these materials were inaccessible and could not be dated using various techniques which would help determine which group these artifacts are associated with.) Currently, the artifacts are stored in the New Jersey State Museum (NJSM) located in Trenton, New Jersey. However, the NJSM was not able to locate all of the Salisbury Site artifacts, particularly the historic remains.



(Fig. 16) Prehistoric and historic artifacts from the Salisbury Site in the New Jersey State Museum. Photograph taken by Dr. Richard Veit.

The majority of the artifacts found during excavation were stone tools. Jasper was the most commonly utilized material and was presumably obtained from the nearby Delaware River in cobble form or quarries in Pennsylvania. In the site report, Cross (1941) mentions that many partially worked pebbles were discovered near the river. In addition to jasper raw materials such as shale, argillite, chert, chalcedony, sandstone, quartz, and quartzite were represented in this collection. A relatively small number of artifacts were manufactured out of steatite, slate, mica schist, and granite. With the exception of jasper, many of these materials must have been imports, some of which may have been obtained in nearby Pennsylvania or parts of New Jersey. The unusually large variation of materials suggests that the rehistoric Native American occupants were involved in complex trade and/or were highly mobile.

Projectile points comprised nearly 50% of the entire collection. However, Cross states that only 563 were typed. Forty-three percent of the projectile points were manufactured out of flinty materials. Shale and argillite were used for 35% of the arrowheads. Twenty-two percent of the projectiles were constructed out of quartz and quartzite.

One hundred-fifty two spearheads were typed, mostly Orient fishtails. Nineteen blades and knives were found, constructed out of jasper and shale. Twenty nine jasper drills were discovered along with twelve other drills. A total of 169 scrapers were typed, 80% of which were jasper followed by 20% of other lithic materials. Seven celts, five sandstone, one shale, and one porphyry, and one sandstone adz were also found at the site. Sandstone and Quartzite were used for all thirty hammerstones excavated. Three steatite, one granite, and four shale gorgets were found. Three bannerstones were excavated, two of which were steatite and one of which was sandstone. Nine sandstone pestles, thirty four sandstone netsinkers or weights, two sandstone whetstones, two shale hoes and two shaft smoothers were also discovered.

In total, 3,500 Native American potsherds were excavated. Most of the pottery contains visible cord impressions which Cross classified and tallied by type: 42% of ceramics featured linear paddle-cord impressions, mesh paddle-net style impressions accounted for 13% of potsherds. Sixteen percent of the pottery shows plain rough impressions and flat bases. Lastly, cord-wound stick impressions make of miscellaneous patterned marks on ceramics comprise 20% of excavated sherds. All of the ceramics show signs

of the coil method of manufacture, feature wide mouths, and are roughly conoidal shaped.

A few Native American small finds were excavated by Cross. One nearly complete Native American smoking pipe was found along with thirteen other fragments, all of which were tempered using mica. Deer and small animal bones were found in the pits as well. Curiously, several faunal remains of a juvenile whale were excavated. One bone was disc-shaped and thirteen other fragments were rostral. Unfortunately, Cross does not tell us which pit the whale remains were found in.

In her report, Dr. Cross tells us that she had found seven pits. According to the Indian Site Survey, these are “cultural pits” of a “permanent nature” (1938). These pits were interpreted as remains of a cluster of Native American villages.

About 300 yards from the site, it was stated that there are deposits of windblown sand (Indian Site Survey 1938). Cross interpreted this as evidence of former dune topography.

Beyond the prehistoric Native American artifacts recovered, the Salisbury site contained evidence of an early colonial Euro-American presence. The Indian Site Survey (1938) states that colonial artifacts were found in the old humus strata, between 10” and 36” below the surface (1938). Glazed European ceramics, lead bullets, hand-wrought nails, pipes, a penknife, and a rum bottle neck were excavated and were concentrated on the top old hummus layer. Most pipes and nails were found in pits. Nearly all of the material was likely imported from various European countries on merchant ships.

In the final remarks of her site report, Cross interprets the Salisbury site as having been a “rather extensive and permanent village.” (Cross 1941: 62). The Indian Site Survey proposed that Salisbury may have been a halfway point between the “metropolitan” Abbott Site and other communities on the Cohansey (1938). However, Dr. Cross concludes in her site report that, because there was no evidence of typological change, such as different manufacturing methods or decorative style, the site must have been relatively briefly occupied by Native Americans. Despite all of the information regarding the prehistoric occupation of the site, a unique and rare late 17th century archaeological component was largely overlooked and ignored.

Critique of Cross' Site Report

Cross' report and interpretations contain a number of weaknesses. A disadvantage for Cross was that she was conducting archaeology when the field was still rather young. Since her excavation and report nearly seventy years ago, many new theories and research have come to light. John Staeck, who completed his M.A. thesis on blades from the site, agrees that archaeology was not as well defined as it is now (Staeck 1991: 80). In her report, Cross fails to provide a sense of depth and dimension when describing many of the remains and soil formations found in the pits, especially in Pit IV. She also does not mention where items, such as the intriguing whale remains, were found. Another weakness of Cross' report is that she only devotes several sentences to European materials. She fails to thoroughly explain the historical remains which are largely overshadowed by analysis of Native American materials. Finally, Cross does not discuss the history of the Salisbury Site. The shortcomings of the site report have given credence to the need for re-evaluation of some of the Salisbury Site. Perhaps some of the most pressing issues surrounding the site, placing the site in historical context, investigation of over 600 excavated European smoking pipes, and a reevaluated interpretation of the site will be explored while re-visiting the Salisbury Site.

Part II Historical Research

Land Transfers

In his book, Indians of New Jersey, Frank H. Stewart mentions several land transfers (1932: 60-86). In 1641, Raccoon Creek to Cape May was claimed by settlers. Eight years later, the land extending from Raccoon Creek to Mantua Creek was purchased. Unfortunately, no information has been found to date that describe what colonial items were given to the Indians in exchange for the Raccoon area. Stewart mentions six deeds from Gloucester County that survive from the 1670s that shows similar or related trade material with the Salisbury Site. (Note: The trade items mentioned for each deed are only the ones that may be related to the Salisbury Site and are not the sole items being traded.) On February 8, 1673, land from Jeremiah's Kill to

Finn's Creek was purchased for "one-half ankor of drink" and two knives (Stewart 1932: 73).

Nearly three years later on January 2, 1676, Oldman's Creek to Salem's Creek was acquired for "two ankers of Rum [and] eight Knives" (Stewart 1932: 61-62). On November 15 of the same year, land near Markus Hook extending to Old Man's Kill was purchased for "two half ankers of liquors" and four knives (Stewart 1932: 75). In 1677, three other land deeds describe some items that were found on the Salisbury Site or items that can be associated with the materials found there. The first occurs on September 10 which stakes land from Rancocus to Big Timber Creeks. Here, thirty tobacco touns, 12 tobacco boxes, 1 gross pipes, and thirty knives were traded. Several days later on the 27th of September, sixty tobacco touns, sixty tobacco boxes, and 120 pipes were traded for land between Big Timber and Oldman's Creeks. . Lastly, on October 10, Assinpink to Rancocus was acquired for thirty tobacco touns/steles, twelve tobacco boxes, one gross of tobacco pipes, and thirty knives.

As evident, tobacco and smoking accessories were an intrinsic part of early colonial culture in the New World. Not only was it used by Europeans, but it also attracted Native Americans. Although the smoking pipes recovered from the Salisbury Site likely do not reflect materials to be sold to Native Americans, they confirm the fact that smoking was an essential part of 17th century colonial and Native American culture in the New World

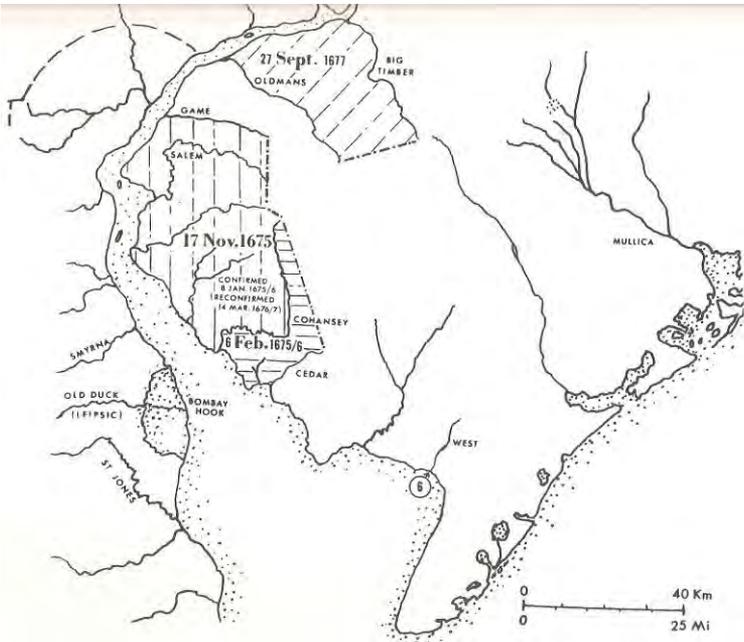
Other materials mentioned in deeds that do not show up and are not related to any remains found at the Salisbury Site include matchcoats, awls, blankets, gun powder, paint, gun flints, various items of clothing, and kettles. Some of these materials, like gunpowder, blankets, paint, and clothing usually do not survive in the archaeological record because of their organic nature. However, it cannot be assumed whether these items were or were not present on the Salisbury Site. Through this research, we can become acquainted with some of the items 17th century colonials held as possessions. Such materials may have been possessions of the Smith's.

Chain of Title

According to a 1999 tax map, the Salisbury Site is located on Block 201, Lot 7, in Logan Township, Gloucester County, New Jersey.

In past tax maps, it is referred to as Block 6, Lot 13. This 43 acre parcel is located near the mouth of Raccoon Creek along the Delaware River. State Route 130 is approximately .75 miles southeast of the site. A chain of title was established using resources from the Gloucester County Clerk's Office (Woodbury, New Jersey) and the New Jersey State Archives (Trenton, New Jersey). Documents used include deeds, wills, property subdivision records, and intestate documents.

The first deed that references the land pertaining to the Salisbury Site is dated September 27, 1677 (New Jersey State Archives, 1677). This transaction references land from Oldmans Creek to Timber Creek. The amount of acreage in this conveyance is not listed. Mohocksey, Tatameckho, and Apperinges sell the land to John Kinsey, Thomas Ollive, Daniell Wills, John Pennford, Benjamin Scott, Joseph Hemsley, Robert Stacy, William Emley, and Thomas ffolke. In exchange for land, the colonials give the Native Americans the following goods: 30 matchcoats, 20 guns, 30 kettles, 1 great kettle, 30 pairs of hose, 20 fathoms of duffells, 30 petticoats, 30 Indian axes, 32 narrow hoes, 30 bars of lead, 15 small barrells of powder, 70 knives, 60 pairs of tobacco touns, 60 scissors, 60 tinshaw looking glasses, 70 combs, 120 aul [awl?] blades, 120 fish hooks, 2 grasps of red paint, 120 needles, 60 tobacco boxes, 120 pipes, 200 bells, 100 jewes harps, and 6 anchors of rum. According to Marshall Becker (1998: 58), Mohocksey is of the Cohanse band of Native Americans and acts as a broker for neutral native land. Curiously, Becker states that Mohocksey could not claim this land as his own.



(Fig. 17) A map featured in Becker (1998) depicting some 17th century land conveyances in the Delaware Valley. The most northern sale, dated 27 September 1677, includes the location of the Salisbury Site. According to Becker, this transaction “involves about half of the lands of the Oldmans Creek band (1998: 41).

Fortunately, a deed dated August 11, 1763 between Jonathan Aborn and Daniel Strang, discussed below, listed the former land owners of this property between 1689 and 1763 (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1763). Some of the referenced deed transactions were never formally recorded. The list of property transactions included in this 1763 deed appears to have been deliberate, possibly as a way to establish a clear chain of title. Further, information regarding the price, acreage, and date of conveyances was, at time, illegible in the document. This implies that the recorder knew these deeds were missing in 1763 and thus recorded the chain of title.

From the Aborn/Strong document coupled with a court affidavit, we learn that John Smith gave his land to his wife, Sarah, through will on October 9, 1683. (New Jersey State Archives, 1689). According to the affidavit dated April 4, 1689, Thomas Revell confirms that John Smith gave Sarah Smith his lands through a nuncupative will. We also learn that John's widow, Sarah, married James Read after his death. This document also states that John Smith's house, as well as all of his writings, were burnt in a fire. This fact will play a critical role in interpreting the historic archaeological remains recovered from the Salisbury Site. Due to circumstantial evidence, it is apparent that John Smith received the land between 1677 and 1683 and that his house was burnt between 1683 and 1689.

Based on primary documents, it is unclear if Sarah and James Read rebuilt at this site or moved elsewhere. According to a deed dated September 6, 1689, James and Sarah Read were then living in New Castle, Pennsylvania, implying that they no longer live at the Salisbury Site (New Jersey State Archives, 1689). This deed records the land exchange from James and Sarah Read to Christopher Watkins of Lower Hook in Gloucester. The Reads conveyed 400 acres of the land to Watkins on September 6, 1689 (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1763). After having the land surveyed by Edward Byllinge, Watkins purchased 196 acres for the price of 9 pounds. What happened to the other 204 acres is unknown.

According to the Aborn/Strang deed, on March 16, 1703, Christopher Watkins sold the property to Amos Nickles (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1763). The residence of each party was not indicated in the deed. Nickles held the property until his death. Proved on April 3, 1724, Amos' will specified that his sons Edward and John Nickles were to receive the land.

John and Edward Nickels yeomen of Greenage (which is likely an alternate spelling for Greenwich), who changed their surname to Nicholas after their father's death, conveyed 220 acres to Evin Morgan of Philadelphia in 1731 (New Jersey State Archives, 1731, Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1763). Morgan was listed a merchant in the deed. This property was sold to Morgan for 75 pounds and divided into 2 parcels.

Based upon the information revealed in the Aborn/Strang deed, Evin Morgan sold the land to Andrew Waltson on November 27, 1733 (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1763). Unfortunately, further information regarding this transaction was not written down or has not survived. This also may imply that the deed was never filed

Upon his father's death, Mathias Waltson took over Andrew's land (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1763). Because Andrew Waltson's will could not be located combined with the fact that the Aborn/Strang deed did not mention a will, it is probable that Andrew died intestate, or without a will. Upon his death, his eldest son, Mathias Waltson, Jr., assumed ownership of the land. Unfortunately, the Aborn/Strang document did not provide the conveyance date nor details pertaining to this transaction or subsequent exchanges

Upon the death of Mathias Waltson, the land was willed to John Jones and Mathias Waltson, the latter presumably Mathias Waltson, Sr.'s son (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1763). John Jones sold the land to Charles Hoffman on April 20, 1749 (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1763). On September 1, 1757, Charles Hoffman conveyed this tract, consisting of unknown acreage, to Jonathan and Hannah Aborn (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1763). Information regarding these transactions has been limited due to the fact they have only been cursorily summarized in the Aborn/Strong deed and may not have been formally recorded

On August 11, 1763, Jonathan, a yeoman and Quaker, and Hannah Aborn of Greenwich Township sold a small piece of their land to Daniel Strang, a yeoman, of the same town (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1763). The land consisted of 9 acres, as well as an estate, for the price of 13 pounds and 10 shillings. While this land appears to have been located southeast of the Salisbury Site, it had been part of a much larger tract that Jonathan Aborn owned that did contain the site. It is again important to point out that this transaction provided a list of the previous ownership history of the larger tract since 1683.

Based upon archival research, Jonathan Aborn died intestate on August 5, 1785 (New Jersey State Archives, 1785). John Aborn, his son, and Jonathan Harker, possibly a neighbor, friend, or son-in-law, were appointed as administrators of Jonathan's property. Jonathan Aborn's personal estate was inventoried through probate.

Between 1785 and 1815, it is unclear as to how John Aborn became title holder of the property. It is likely that John may have assumed control over the estate as an administrator. He also may have paid off other family members in order to own the land. This usually happens when a family member dies intestate and the estate is split up amongst the heirs at law. One family member attempts to assume control of the land by buying out the ownership shares of the heirs.

By June of 1815 (day of June illegible), John Aborn, late of the County of Gloucester, died intestate, leaving behind a 216.49 acre property, containing at least three houses (Gloucester County Surrogate's Office, 1815). Mentioned in his inventory, documents show that his land was divided between his six children: James, 22.82 acres; Mary, 12.55 acres; Elizabeth, 32.07 acres; William, 110.6 acres; Achsa, 19.77 acres; and Bathsheba, 18.68 acres. A property subdivision map made in 1815 depicts the division of the tract among the siblings. The Salisbury Site was situated at the northern end of this large tract. James Aborn received the parcels (No. 1 and No. 2) of land that includes the location of the Salisbury Site. Dorothy Cross may have recognized and mapped the cellar and foundation remains from one of these 18th century dwellings in her excavation.

James and Sarah (wife) Aborn of Woolwich Township conveyed the land to William Holdcraft, also of Woolwich Township, on March 15, 1816 (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1816). Despite the fact that the acreage is not given, the document states that Holdcraft paid \$2,400 for the land. No further information regarding this transaction has been found.

William Holdcraft, now of Egg Harbor, sold the land to Benjamin Salisbury of Woolwich Township on January 19, 1839 (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1839). Because Holdcraft now resides in Egg Harbor, it is possible that he may have rented out the land and dwelling to farmers at some point during his ownership, which lasted from 1816 to 1839. Based on archival research, Benjamin Salisbury also purchased neighboring tracts of land throughout the middle of the 19th century, including parts of the Kille farmstead, less than .50 mile east of the Salisbury Site (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1856, Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1854). (The Kille

family occupied the neighboring Goose Island site to the southwest from the late 18th century to the middle of the 19th century. At least one descendant, Wesley Kille, still resides in the area (Mounier personal communication: 2008)).

The Salisbury family held the land containing the Salisbury Site for nearly one hundred years until the middle of the 20th century. According to his inventory, Benjamin Salisbury died intestate on November 13, 1862 (New Jersey State Archives, 1862). Based upon a deed dated December 12, 1880, the land was divided among Benjamin's five children (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1880). Among these children, Joseph Salisbury acquired the land containing the Salisbury Site upon Benjamin's death. Like his father, Joseph died intestate at an unknown date (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1880). Upon Joseph's death, the land was split between his three children, Eliza, Sara, and Thomas Salisbury. Thomas received the land that directly relates to the archaeological site. On December 12, 1880, Thomas and Rebecca (wife) Salisbury of Upper Penn's Neck willed 1/5 of their share, or 35 acres, to Samuel Salisbury of Greenwich Township to be used as farmland (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1880). The deed states that the property was sold for one dollar, suggesting that Samuel mortgaged the property. This deed does not mention a house on the site. It is possible that by this time, the house occupied by Salisbury, and possibly formally by the Aborn family, was no longer standing. On March 2, 1885, Samuel Salisbury, Sr. died intestate (New Jersey State Archives, 1885). His son, Samuel, Jr. became the administrator as an heir at law. In 1918, Samuel Salisbury, Jr., gave this land to Henry Salisbury, presumably his son (Gloucester County Surrogate's Office, 1918). Henry Salisbury owned the property during the time Cross' excavations took place, and was the last member of the Salisbury family to own the land

Although archival research has not turned up a link between Henry Salisbury and Monsanto Company, it is likely that the latter received the land in the middle 20th century from the executors of Henry's will. Monsanto Company sold the property to Shell Oil Company on September 26, 1973 for \$6,000,000 (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1973). The Salisbury Site is located on tract 3 of this deed, which contained 42.714 acres. On October 3, 1991, Shell Oil Company granted the land to Delaware Developing Company for the sum of \$6,000,000 (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1991). The land was listed as parcel 1 in the corresponding deed and consisted of 43 acres. Delaware Developing Company sold the same acreage of land back to

Shell Oil Company on March 21, 1992 (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 1992). Shell Oil sold five parcels containing 43 acres of the land to the current owner, Logan 529 Group, LLC on December 3, 2001 for \$350,000 (Gloucester County Clerk's Office, 2001).

To summarize, the Salisbury Site historical occupation spans from 1677 to between 1683 and 1689. It may have resumed again during or prior to Jonathan Aborn's ownership and continued to about 1880 when the property was willed to Samuel, Jr. The occupation began when 17th century Native Americans sold the land to colonial proprietors in exchange for a number of trinkets and supplies. John and Sarah Smith were probably the first to settle on the land while their presence has been represented by most of the historical remains uncovered from the Salisbury Site. The land was then passed on to 18th century owners, most of whom were farmers. A number of families held onto the land from the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, including the Nickels', Walston's, Aborn's, and Salisbury's. Having the land for over 100 years, the Salisbury family held onto the land the longer than any family. By the mid 20th century, corporate owners took the land for dredging, oil, and developmental purposes. The current owners are a non-profit organization that plan to develop the land into an equine recreational facility. A 220 acre equestrian walking trail is slated to be installed in 2009.

To summarize, the Salisbury Site historical occupation spans from 1677 to present day. The occupation began when 17th century Native Americans sold the land to colonial proprietors in exchange for a number of trinkets and supplies. John and Sarah Smith were probably the first to settle on the land while their presence has been represented by most of the historical remains uncovered from the Salisbury Site. The land was then passed on to 18th century owners, most of whom were farmers. A number of families held onto the land from the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, including the Nickels', Walston's, Aborn's, and Salisbury's. Having the land for over 100 years, the Salisbury family held onto the land the longer than any family. By the mid 20th century, corporate owners took the land for dredging, oil, and developmental purposes. The current owners are a non-profit organization that plan to develop the land into an equine recreational facility. A 220 acre equestrian walking trail is slated to be installed in 2009.

The Salisbury Site: Establishing a Historic Context

Before the first European settlers arrived in the 17th century, Salisbury was home to Native Americans. In their report, Kier and Calverly hypothesize that the Salisbury Site was the “hub” of prehistoric activity in the area from Middle Woodland to the Historic period and was related to numerous other “satellite villages” (Kier and Calverly 1957). These sister sites included Raccoon Point (Archaic-Late Woodland), Konzik Farm (Archaic to Early Woodland), Goose Island (Archaic to Early-Late Woodland), and the Kille Site (Mid-Late Woodland), all located within a one mile radius from Salisbury. Kier and Calverly point out that all of these sites were abandoned by the time of contact except for Salisbury (1957:67). Particularly, Kier states that Goose Island may have been abandoned for Salisbury (Kier 1952: 2). This means that natives moved from Goose Island to Salisbury. Conflictingly, Dorothy Cross states that the Salisbury Site was abandoned by Native Americans long before European contact and settlement as the historic stratigraphy “sealed” in or capped deposits associated with earlier Native American occupations (Cross 1941: 62).

According to John Staeck who intensely looked at blade-like flakes recovered from Salisbury and Goose Island, Salisbury’s prehistoric occupation runs from the Middle Archaic to the contact period (6000 BC-1650 AD) (Staeck 1991: 71). The bulk of the recovered material can be linked to the Late Archaic to Middle Woodland period (Ibid). A number of the projectile points can be identified as Jack’s Reef. According to Custer, Jack’s Reef is confined to the Middle Woodland period between 600 and 900 AD (Custer 2001: 34). Most of the Jack’s Reef points were constructed out of jasper. Custer states that Jack’s Reef lithics were recovered from upstate New York and at 7S-K-1 in the Lower Delaware Valley, Delaware and the Island Field Site in Kent County, Delaware. (Custer 2001: 34, 96). According to Lorraine Williams, there were different groups of Native Americans at nearly all of the major creeks that feed into the Delaware (1995: 113). Williams states that based upon her research, no band exceeded a population of 200 individuals. saac Mickle states that at the time of European contact, Raccoon Creek was occupied by a group of Lenni-Lenape Native Americans called the Naraticon (Fig. 20) (Mickle 1845: 1).

Colonists called these Native Americans the “River Indians” (Williams 1995: 113). A 17th century Lindstrom map clearly depicts Naraticon territory along the Delaware River and Raccoon Creek (Mickle 1845: 1, Also see “Gazette of Maps” below). In 1845, historian Isaac Mickle remarked that Raccoon could be “the most ancient village in our country” (Mickle 1845: 7). Little is known about the Naraticons. There is an unconfirmed possibility that they may have worshipped a red snake deity (Mickle 1845: 100). Mickle points out that a primary document records a Naraticon’s upset disposition when a European colonist wanted to kill a red colored snake. Besides Raccoon, the creek is also known by its Indian names, “Narati-cons-sippus” and “Memirako”, which translate to “Raccoon” in English (Mickle 1845: 121). The raccoon was apparently abundant in the early colonial era, which gave the creek and village its name.



(Fig. 18) 17th Century Native Americans in New Sweden, perhaps Naraticon. By Peter Lindstrom (1654) (Holms 1702).

After the initial 15th and 16th century voyages that began the exploration of the New World, Henry Hudson was appointed by officials of the Dutch East India Company to look for a route to the Far East (Munroe 1978: 3, Tyler 1955: 1). Not being so fortunate, Hudson sailed the *Haeye Maen (Half Moon)* to the eastern coast of North America and anchored in the Delaware Bay for one night in 1609 (Munroe 1978: 3, Tyler 1955: 1). Around this time, England and the Virginia Company were trying their luck a little further south. Historical narratives tell us that Hudson was probably the first European to set eyes on the Delaware Valley. In 1614, Cornelius Jacobsen Mey explored the lower Delaware Valley (Fargo 1936: 6). Following the curious yet successful voyages of Hudson and Mey, the Dutch West India Company decided that it would be profitable to establish a trade route in this land (Tyler 1955: 2). The Dutch claimed the land extending between the Delaware and Hudson Valleys and named it New Amsterdam (Munroe 1978: 6).

As early as 1623, the Dutch explored the land near Raccoon Creek (Simpson 1965: 85). In 1623, the Dutch erected Fort Nassau several miles north of the Salisbury Site (Munroe 1978: 13, Ostman 1976: 23) David DeVries, a Dutchman, among the first Europeans to establish a colony in the Delaware Valley (Munroe 1978: 13). Between 1631 and 1633, DeVries managed the ill-fated Swanandael settlement in present day Delaware. The Dutch continued their survey of the Delaware Valley and founded Ft. Casimir in 1651 which lay 4 miles south of the Swedish Fort Christina (Tyler 1955: 3).

For at least the first half of the 17th century, the Sweden was a leading power (Tyler 1955: 2). Sent by Sweden, Peter Minuit found himself anchored on the Delaware River in present day Wilmington, Delaware where he would establish Fort Christina. By the spring of 1638, the Swedes began to settle the Bridgeport area founding the first colony on Raccoon Creek, located about 1 ½ miles north of the Salisbury Site (Simpson 1965: 23, 85). With the Swedish arrival in 1638, the area was renamed New Sweden (Munroe 1978: 16). In 1643, the Swedes set up Fort Elfsborg on the eastern shore of the Delaware (Tyler 1955: 3, Ostman 1976: 27).

The first settlers lived in “dispersed ‘neighborhoods’ on navigable water” (Wacker 1995: 224). This settlement pattern would continue until at least the 18th century. Around this time, both the western and eastern shores of the Delaware became dotted with forts and posts that were claimed by the

Swedes, Dutch, and eventually, the English. In 1664, Fort Casimir surrendered to English forces (Tyler 1955: 13).

Europeans first came to southwest New Jersey in hopes of pursuing trade with Native Americans (Leiby 1964: 91). The trade relationship was dynamic, particularly in New Sweden. Here, Swedish settlers purchased goods from other European colonists (Kupperman 1995: 94). These goods would then be traded to Native Americans for their furs. In turn, the Swedes sold these furs to those back at home in Europe.

Despite this pattern, Leiby states that trading was not successful (1964: 91). When trade proved unfruitful, colonists turned to farming. According to Adrian C. Leiby's The Early Dutch and Swedish Settlers, most of the New Jersey side of the Delaware River was a "wild land" where nothing grew (1964: 91). Despite this, arable land was located by early colonists in the middle of the 17th century. In 1653, cartographer, engineer, and land surveyor Peter Lindstrom explored Repaupo Creek down to Salem. Upon looking at this area alongside the Delaware River, Lindstrom said that the land was "entirely fertile and suitable for tobacco plantation, and beautiful and rare fruit trees, with fine pasture land and many beautiful valleys, and fine streams which run up into the country." (Leiby 1964: 91). Lindstrom, a Swedish engineer, is most notable for the maps he produced of 17th century Swedish waterways in the new colony (See Cushing 1883: 8). The land is remarked for its agricultural potential with assets like loamy sand, an excellent source of timber, as well as an abundance of fruits, nuts, berries, and fowl (Simpson 1965: 23, 85).



TRADING WITH THE INDIANS.

(Fig. 19) "Trading with the Indians" by Arnoldus Montanus (1671).



(Fig. 20) Native Americans and Europeans in Pennsylvania on the western side of the Delaware (Holms 1702).

During the mid to late 17th century, Raccoon Creek was an important tributary used as a waterway by European settlers that connected them to the Delaware River. From the Delaware River, settlers had easy access to Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the Delaware Bay, which provides access to the Atlantic Ocean. From the Atlantic Ocean, these settlers could sail the Eastern seaboard or back to their homelands.

The need for a regulated system and maintenance of roads in the 1670s provides evidence regarding the amount of mobility and trade the settlers engaged in (Simpson 1965: 61). By the end of the 17th century, Philadelphia was growing to be a leading port for the early colonists (Simpson 1965: 95). Ships regularly entered the Delaware River via Raccoon Creek to sail to Philadelphia for trade. Around this time, the leather industry was one of the main economic staples.

Despite that the English conquered New Sweden and New Amsterdam in 1664, the English did not immediately arrive at Raccoon (Wacker 1995: 217). Seeing the rich prospect for trade, a group of 230 English Quaker settlers, including John E. Idrige, Edward Warner, and ship Captain Gregory Marlow, embarked for the New World. Most passengers were from either London or Yorkshire (Pomfret 1964: 27). The *Kent* first anchored in New York at customs. The ship arrived in New Castle, Delaware on August 8, 1676 (Stewart 1917: 29, 86, 44, Pomfret 1956: 104). Here, they were obligated to pay 5% dues (Pomfret 1964: 27). From New Castle, they sailed up the Delaware River and landed at the mouth of the Raccoon Creek tributary. It is here at the mouth of Raccoon Creek that the ship dropped her passengers and the goods she was carrying (Pomfret 1965: 104). Upon disembarking the *Kent*, passengers were assisted by the Dutch and Swedes in the area. Passengers from London settled between Pennsauken and Rancocas Creek, as well as in Trenton (Pomfret 1964: 27). Those from Yorkshire chose to establish themselves just north of Assiscunk Creek. Some of the original settlers took in passengers until they were able to move with other Friends (Pomfret 1956: 277).

Near the mouth of Raccoon Creek, the English found an abandoned Swedish village (Stewart 1917: 29). Frank H. Stewart asserts that the Swedes left this site to establish to settle further inland, perhaps at the sister colony in Swedesboro (1917: 29). However, John E. Pomfret states that there were not many villages at the mouth of the creek (1956: 117). According to Pomfret, settlements were located at least 1 mile inland.

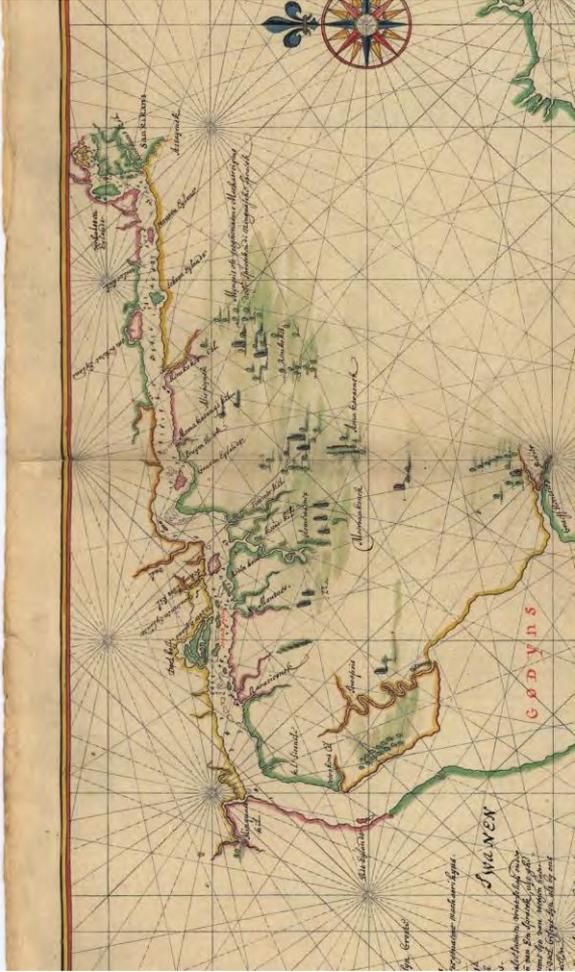
Located about six miles south east of the Salisbury Site, Swedesboro was also founded by the Swedes as well as the Finns and Laps and named “Raccoon” after the nearby creek (Simpson 1965: 33). It is likely that this settlement and the Bridgeport settlement were related to one another and may have both been called “Raccoon”. According to a 1699 census, 134 individuals were living in “Gloster” County (“Account of the Inhabitants of West Jersey in 1699” 1881: 305)

By 1703, it was noted that log cabins and the Parish of Raccoon were established along Raccoon Creek. Historian Thomas Cushing describes the 18th century traveler Peter Kalm’s interpretation of early colonial Swedish houses: one room structures with a low door, little holes for windows, and a chimney, constructed out of logs and clay or gray sandstone and clay (1883: 9). Raccoon had their first schoolmaster by 1706, showing even more signs of a permanently settled European community. This individual was one of few “traveling educators” and used the Bible and prayer books as class texts (Simpson 1965: 61). This may suggest that these settlers were living alongside the Native Americans, or that the site was abandoned by the Natives. Due to the aforementioned permanent attributes of the community, it seems most plausible that Native Americans were no longer present in Raccoon near the beginning of the 18th century. However, either interpretation gives strong evidence for a history of European and Native American contact. To accentuate this point, Hazel B. Simpson mentions that the Native Americans taught “white men how to cope with a wild country” (Simpson 1965: 85).

By the early 18th century, those traveling from Raccoon, Penn’s Neck, and Repaupo noted that the area was still dotted with farm houses (Leiby 1964: 91). With the exception of Raccoon, the entire area was “thinly settled” (Ibid).

During the last quarter century of the 1600s, Simpson notes that the English settlers had little or no problems with Native Americans. (1965: 101). This statement provides evidence that Native Americans were still active in the Raccoon area until at least the English’s 1677 arrival but were probably gone by the time the Swedes had firmly rooted themselves at the beginning of the 18th century.

Over the next two hundred years, the area’s name would be changed to Greenwich Township, Woolwich Township, “Helmstadt”, and “New Stockholm” (Simpson 1965: 23, 85). The land was referred to as “Lower Raccoon” by 1836 (Ibid, 23). According to Logan Township’s official



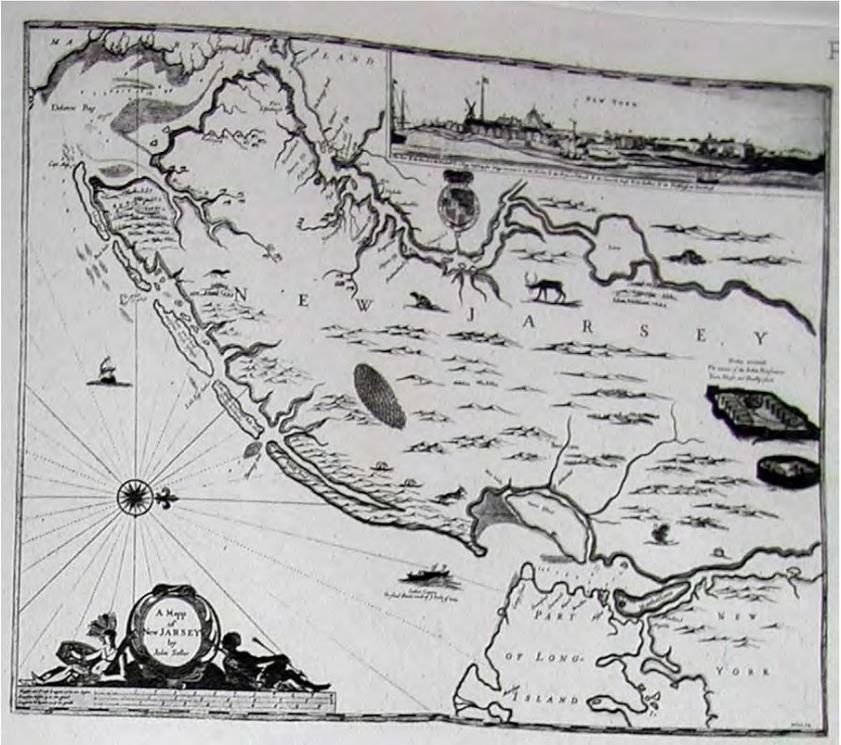
(Fig. 23) Map ca. 1630 by Joannes Vingboons. Note Naraticon (Naraticonk) territory.



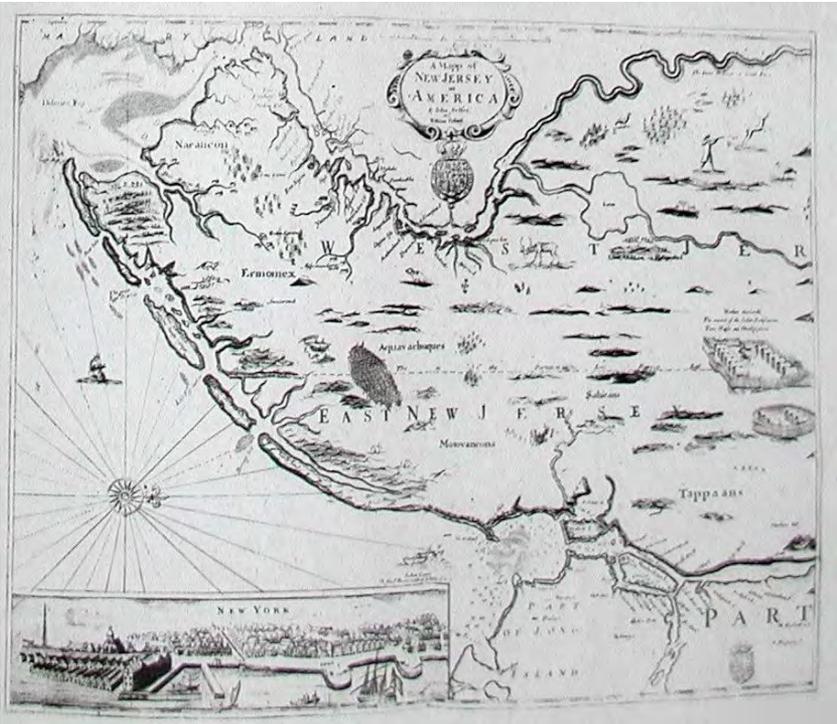
(Fig. 24) Likely a 20th century map depicting settlements from 1638. Cartographer unknown.



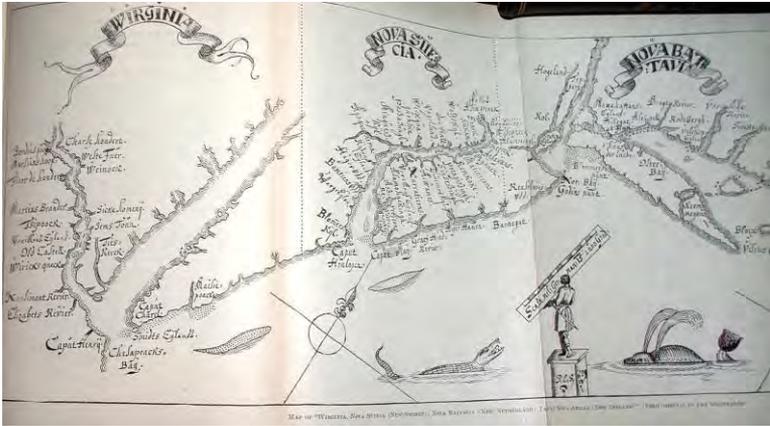
(Fig. 25) 1656 map of New Amsterdam by Adriaen van der Donck.



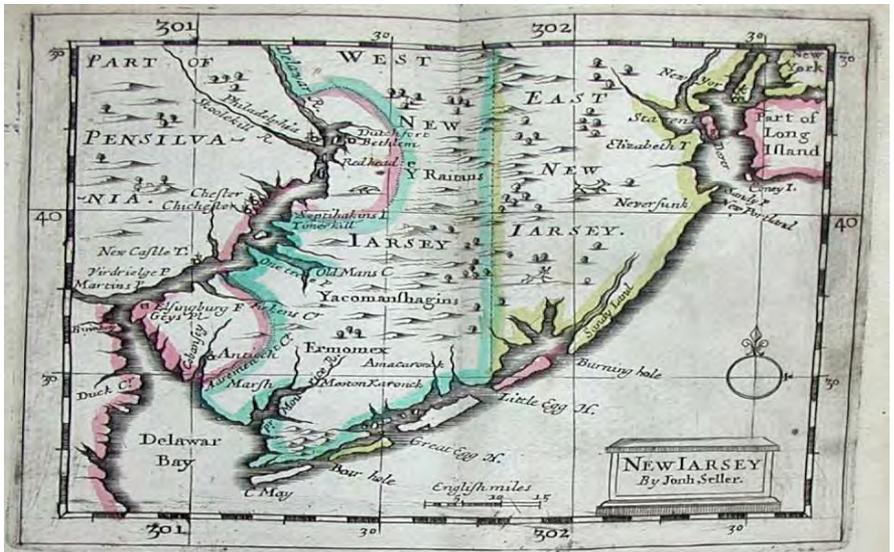
(Fig. 26) 1675 map of Delaware Valley by John Seller.



(Fig. 27) 1677 map of Delaware Valley by John Seller and William Fisher.



(Fig. 29) 1691 map by Peter Lindstrom. Note Naraticon (Naraticonk) territory.



(Fig. 30) 1692 map of Delaware Valley by John (Jonh) Seller.

Current Site Conditions

A new recreational county park that directly backs up to the Delaware River is likely owned by Logan 529 Group, LLC. Based upon the facility's official website, the site is managed by the Gloucester County Improvement Authority but may be fronted by Logan 529 (gcianj.org). According to a brochure, the park is mainly used for equestrian activities. Currently, the park is planning a 220 acre equine trail that will wind throughout the property by 2009.

Based upon a personal communication with R. Alan Mounier, the Salisbury Site holds the possibility of future excavation (Mounier personal communication 2008). Mounier and colleague, Jack Cresson, visited the site on November 26, 2008. While at the site, they observed that the area is now farmed for soybeans. Mounier and Cresson also observed the remains of a cellar and schist foundation, possibly the same remains that Dr. Cross identified in her excavation. Mounier stated that this type of foundation likely dates to the 18th century. Based upon the title search, this foundation may be associated with the 18th century Aborn family occupation. The site is also a popular deer hunting area during the months of October through January. While at the site, Mounier and Cresson met with Mr. Wesley Kille, a likely descendent from the 18th century Kille family. Mr. Kille, a game warden for the area encompassing the Salisbury Site, advised that we not proceed with archaeological investigation until the end of the hunting season in the beginning of February.

Part III Artifact Analysis

Beyond information regarding the colonial occupation of the Salisbury Site that can be gleaned from deed research, artifacts left behind by former site occupants can also shed light on the nature and date of occupation. The only colonial artifacts from the Cross excavation at the Salisbury Site that remain in the collection today consist of several hundred ceramic smoking pipe fragments and a single Dutch roof tile. According to Cross' site report, bottle fragments, ceramics, a pen knife, and hand-wrought nails were also found during the excavation nearly eighty years ago. Since

then, these artifacts have been lost. It is interesting to note that these materials could not be located in the Salisbury site catalog filed in the New Jersey State Museum. The Registrar for the Bureau of Archaeology and Ethnology at the New Jersey State Museum, Gregory Lattanzi, suggested that Cross may have discarded these items along with the catalog that corresponded to these artifacts. This makes assessment of the lost artifacts impossible. However, they must be considered in order to try to reach a more accurate interpretation of the Salisbury site.

Smoking Pipes

The most abundant type of colonial artifact found while excavating the Salisbury Site were pipes. Over 600 fragments were diagnostic. Despite this large number, this amount simply reflects the number of pieces recovered from the site. By taking intact bowls and bowl fragment size into consideration, the assemblage likely represents 50-60 pipes. A useful diagnostic tool, pipes have the ability to provide us with “indices of a stage of cultural development” and certainly “merit careful consideration” (Omwake 1959: 126). Also, smoking pipes can be considered one of the most personal of artifacts. The user likely utilized these pipes while working, relaxing, socializing, and even farming. Pipes were closely linked to colonial culture and can be a measure of socio-economic status as well as a testament to the fact that, although in a New World, colonials still relied heavily on Europe.



(Fig. 31) Smoking pipes from the Salisbury Site stored in the New Jersey State Museum. Photograph taken by Dr. Richard Veit.

Archaeologists have noted that ceramic tobacco pipe bore hole diameter decreased over time from the 17th through 18th century. Measuring the bore diameter of the stem fragments yielded a variety of sizes:

- 4/64: 2 fragments
- 5/64: 10 fragments
- 6/64: 185 fragments
- 7/64: 340 fragments
- 8/64: 68 fragments
- 9/64: 2 fragments

Using J.C. Harrington's breakdown of average time periods associated with each bore diameter size, it appears as though 1650-1680, associated with 7/64 diameter, was the most active time of the site during the colonial period (Harrington 1954: 10-14). However, there is evidence of early pipes (2 9/64 fragments) which may date to 1620-1650. Later pipes (2 4/64 fragments) were also recovered from the Salisbury Site which may be as late as 1750-1800 according to Binford's model. Harrington's date was further narrowed by using Lewis Binford's formula of regression, which yielded the date of 1677 (Binford 1962:19-21). Although the Binford and Harrington model was not designed for Dutch tobacco pipe stem fragments, the author found it to be a useful diagnostic tool in determining the date of colonial occupation of the Salisbury Site.

Over 500 stem fragments were unmarked and did not yield any further information that would lead to interpretations of the Salisbury Site. Forty-two stem fragments and twelve bowl fragments (roughly 10% of the historic pipes) exhibited signs of char on the outside of the apparatus. This ranged from small amounts of grey stains to dark and sooty stains that nearly enveloped the entire fragment, suggesting that the pipes were exposed to fire. Interestingly, one stem had a tiny hole that may have been placed there with a drill. This pipe may have been used as a flute or hung around the neck as a pendant.

Twenty-two stem fragments showed maker's marks. A gentleman by the name of K. Phillips drew many of the pipes from the Salisbury collection shortly after the excavation. Some of the pipes on Phillips' illustrations were not located in the NJ State Museum's (NJSM) collection and may too have been lost.

The following is a description for each type of stem ornamentation or maker's mark, along with the quantity, a brief history of the design or mark, date of manufacture, and current location (Fig. 33):

Description: 1 band of sideways L's, a band of diamonds, followed by another band of sideways L's. (1, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 1

History: Produced in Bristol, England with Bristol diamonds (Dallal Personal Communication 2008).

Date: Unknown

Location: NJSM

Description: 2 bands of chain-link design at breakage point. Design may have continued. (2, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 2

History: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Location: NJSM

Description: Diamond pattern sandwiched between one hollow band and one chain-linked band on each side. (3, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 8

History: Possibly Bristol-style and found in mid to late 17th century contexts at the

St. John's Site (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 64). Produced in Bristol, England with Bristol diamonds (Dallal Personal Communication 2008).

Date: Possibly mid to late 17th century

Location: NJSM

Description: Maker's mark "IF" followed by a band of X's/Diamond pattern (4, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 1

History: Made by James Fox of Bristol, the teacher of Llewlin Evans (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 59). The "X" motif was widely used by Dutch (Dallal Personal Communication 2008).

Date: 1651-1669 (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 59), 1648-1682 (Dallal Personal Communication 2008).

Location: NJSM

Description: Maker's mark "IP" followed by diamond pattern. Above this is one rouletted band and one hollow band. Underneath "IP" is a rouletted band.

(5, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 2

History: Numerous IP's working in the 17th century. John Pearce I (Master of Pipemakers Guild 1724/5) (Dallal Personal Communication 2008). Produced in Bristol, England with Bristol diamonds (Dallal Personal Communication 2008).

Date: 1696-1738 if made by John Pearce I (Dallal Personal Communication 2008)

Location: 1 in NJSJ, 1 unknown

Description: Maker's mark "LE" followed by diamond pattern sandwiched between 2 rouletted bands on each side. (6, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 2

History: English pipe made by Llewlin Evans (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 58) Many

found in MD, VA, DE, MA, ME, New Brunswick, Newfoundland (Huey

Personal Communication 2008)

Date: 1661-1688/9 (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 58)

Location: NJSJ

Description: 4 Fleurs-de-lis placed at each corner of a diamond. (7, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 1

History: Unknown, possibly Dutch (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 67). Also found at Stadt Huys Block in Manhattan, New York (Dallal 2004:226)

Date: Mid 1600's (Dallal 2004: 226), 1660-1685/1695 (Duco 1982: 48)

Location: NJSJ

Description: 3 Fleurs-de-lis placed in a vertical row (8, fig. 5)

Quantity: 1

History: Possibly Gouda (Riordan 1991: 94). Found at Stadt Huys Block in Manhattan, New York (Dallal 2004: 226).

Date: c. 1640-1670 (Riordan 1991: 94) 1660-1685/1695 (Duco 1982: 48)

Location: NJSJ

Description: A band of backslashes followed by a band of connected rings. Underneath is a band of connected V's (9, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 1

History: Probably Dutch (Dallal Personal Communication 2008). Found at the

Clarke & Lake Site in Maine in mid 17th century contexts (Baker 1985: 25).

Date: Possibly mid 17th century

Location: NJSM

Description: a diamond-patterned band sandwiched between 1 band of roulette on each side (10, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 1

History: Similar pattern found at Clarke and Lake Site in Maine in mid 17th century contexts (Baker 1985: 25). Produced in Bristol, England with Bristol diamonds (Dallal Personal Communication 2008).

Date: Possibly mid 17th century

Location: NJSM

Description: 2 roulette bands underneath a backwards “L” shaped band (11, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 1

History: Dutch or English (Dallal Personal Communication 2008)

Date: Unknown

Location: NJSM

Description: 1 plain incised band followed by a band of roulette. Semi-diamond shape band underneath followed by 1 band of roulette. (12, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 1

History: Produced in Bristol, England with Bristol diamonds (Dallal Personal Communication 2008).

Date: Unknown

Location: NJSM

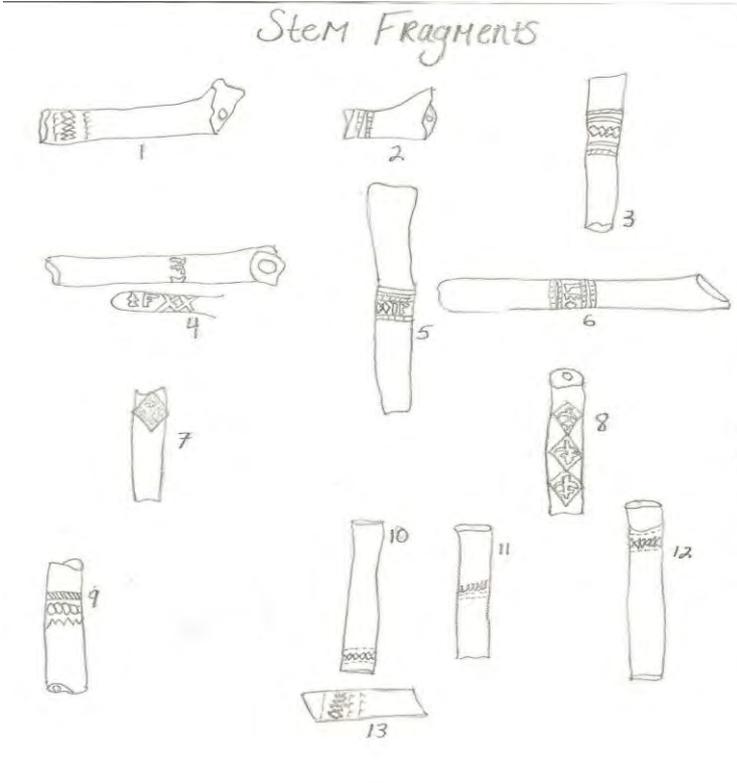
Description: 1 band of dashed lines above a band of diamonds. Underneath are 2 bands of side-way’s “L” shaped marks. All marks are on an angle. (13, Fig. 5)

Quantity: 1

History: Produced in Bristol, England with Bristol diamonds (Dallal Personal Communication 2008).

Date: Unknown

Location: NJSM



(Fig. 32) Smoking pipe stem fragments. Drawn by Keri Sanssevere.

Based on stem decoration, the pipe fragments date from 1640-1689 and have a mean date in the mid 1660s. This range envelopes Harrington's date of 1650-1680 and Binford's date of 1677. This data gives credence to the possibility that the Binford-Harrington model may be applied, with special care and awareness, to Dutch pipe stem fragments.

Sixty-nine bowl fragments (including fragments that still have a portion of the stem attached) were counted. Fourteen exhibited maker's marks or other diagnostic features, such as bowl shape, which are presented below in the same format as the stem fragments (Fig. 34):

Description: Stamped "LE" on bowl (1, Fig. 6)

Quantity: 3

History: Made by Llewlin Evans of Bristol (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 69)

Date: 1661-1686 (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 69) 1660-1680 (Mallios 2005: 95)

Location: 1 at NJSM, 2 unknown

Description: Stamped "LE" with a diamond separating the "L" and "E"

(2, Fig. 6)

Quantity: 1

History: Made by Llewlin Evans of Bristol (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 69)

Date: 1661-1686 (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 69) 1660-1680 (Malios 2005: 95)

Location: NJSM

Description: Stamped "EB" on heel (3, Fig. 6)

Quantity: 1

History: Made by Edward Bird, of Amsterdam, formerly of England (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 52, Dalal 2004: 226). Found from New York to the

Chesapeake region (Miller 1991: 76). Fort Orange Site (de Roever 1987: 51) and

Oscar Leibhart Site (Omwake 1959: 128). There were at least 11 pipemakers

who used the stamp "EB" (Omwake 1959: 128)., it most likely refers to Eduard/Evert Bird who practiced from 1644-1664 (de Roever 1987: 57).

Date: 1635-1665 (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 52) 1640-1660 (Mallios 2005: 94) 1644-1664 (de Roever 1987: 57) 1653-1672 (Omwake 1959: 132) 1672-1720 (Duco 1982: 75).

Location: NJSM

Description: Bulge on both sides of the bowl with rim roulette (4, Fig. 6)

Quantity: 7

History: Unknown

Date: 1660-1680 (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 42), 1660-1680 Mallios 2005: 95)

Location: NJSM

Description: More pronounced bulge than above specimen, also with roulette rim

(5, Fig. 6)

Quantity: 1

History: Unknown

Date: 1660-1675 (Hurry & Keeler 1991: 38), 1660-1680 (Mallios 2005: 95)

Location: NJSM

Description: Dutch funnel elbow type, nearly complete (6, Fig. 6)

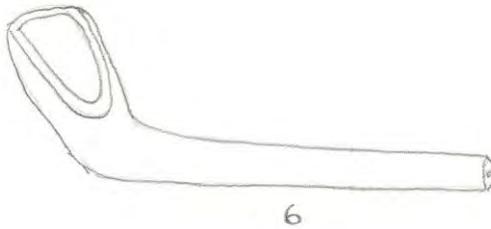
Quantity: 1

History: Unknown

Date: 1680-1740 (Hume 1963: 262), 1700-1740 (Mallios 2005:95).

Location: Unknown

Bowl Fragments



(Fig. 33) Smoking pipe bowl fragments. Drawn by Keri Sansevere

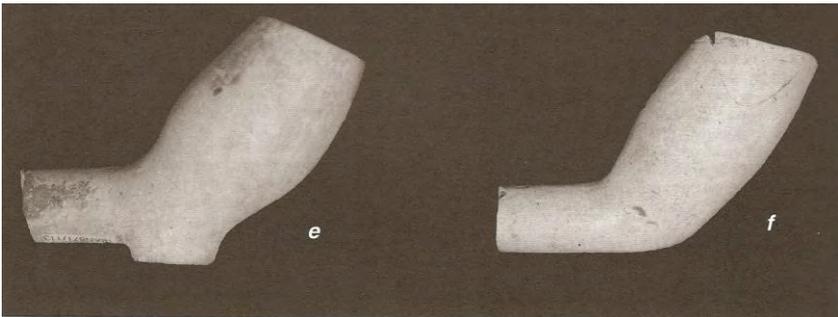
Based upon the maker's marks, these pipes range from 1635-1740, a relatively large frame of time. Most bowls exhibited a central bulge on both sides, placing them roughly within 1660-1680. A date in the late 1670s is reached when all bowls are averaged, similar to the 1677 Binford date and mean date of stem fragments.

Recently, Seth Mallios has proposed a new calculation for English white ball-clay pipebowls that has been applied to the Salisbury Site's bowl assemblage (Mallios 2005: 89). Mallios discovered this technique while looking at pipes from the 1607 site at James Fort at Jamestown Island, Virginia. His method involves "identifying the shape of each bowl, counting the number of examples of each morphological type, and then completing a series of simple arithmetic calculations" (Mallios 2005: 89). According to Mallios, using a "bowl-based method consistently outperforms commonly used stem-based mean-date measures." (Mallios 2005: 89). Mallios states that his technique is "within seven years of mean dates established by other factors" (Mallios 2005: 89).

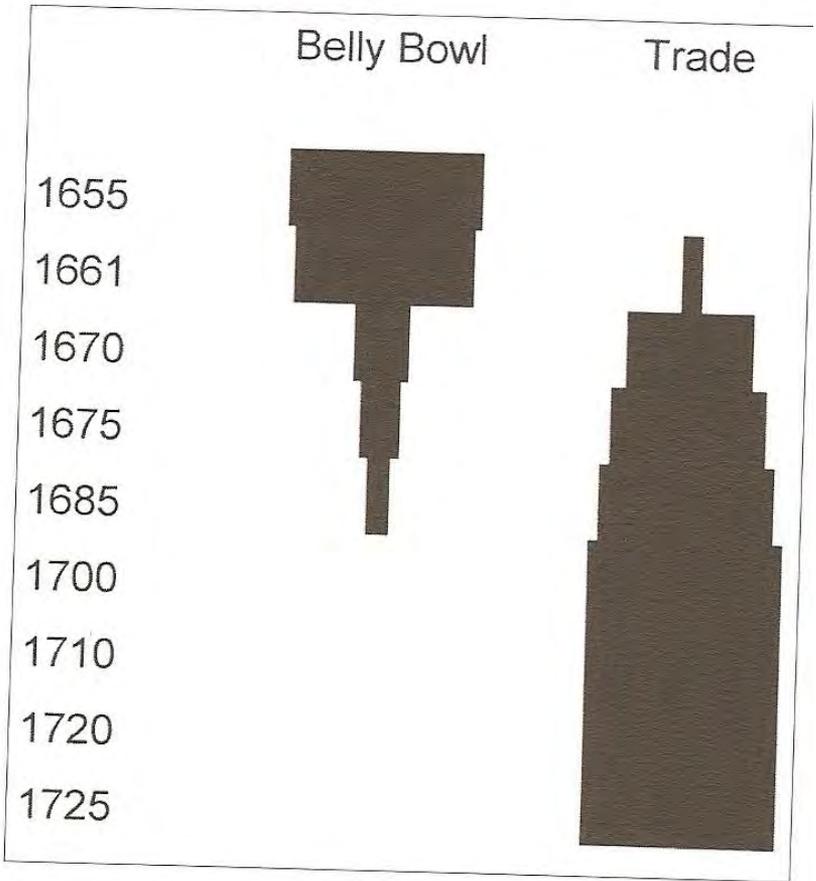
Using Mallios' technique, the author identified bowls according to a typology in his publication, summed the total number of unique bowls, multiplied the number of bowls in each unique type by the midpoint range of each type according to Mallios, and finally adding the midpoints and dividing by the total number of pipebowls (in this case, 14). The Mallios date of the pipebowls used in this sample is 1672, slightly earlier than the Binford date, but nonetheless still places Salisbury in the 1670s. Despite the fact that Mallios' study was with predominately English pipebowls, it has been a useful diagnostic tool for dating the Salisbury Site, which contains both English and Dutch pipe fragments.

More recently, Al Luckenbach and Shawn Sharpe developed another way to date pipe bowls based upon seriation (Luckenbach & Sharpe 2007). Luckenbach and Sharpe worked with over 20 17th – early 18th century sites in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. They divided the assemblages into two distinct bowl forms: belly bowls and trade bowls (Fig. 35). According to their article, belly bowls were most common in the 1650s and 1660s. Belly bowls are more likely to have heels and are more bulbous bowls than trade bowls. Conversely, trade bowls are more closely associated with 1670-1725. Trade bowls exhibit barely any bulge and may not have a heel. When looking at both trade and belly bowls, it is evident to the authors that there is a "rather straightforward inverse relationship between the two over time" (Luckenbach & Sharpe 2007: 31).

Based upon the chart compiled by Luckenbach and Sharpe combined with the evidence of previous dating tools employed for this project (a date in the 1670s), it appears as though the Salisbury assemblage should show significantly more trade bowls than belly bowls. The ratio of trade bowls to belly bowls climbs the later on in the decade you are. When applying the pipe bowls recovered from the Salisbury Site, it appears as if it correlates to Luckenbach and Sharpe's trend seen somewhere in between 1661 and 1670. Salisbury has less belly bowls and more trade bowls than are suggested in the 1661 proposed ratio but more belly bowls and less trade bowls than are seen in the 1670 ratio. Thus, a date in the late 1660s is reached when using the Luckenbach and Sharpe technique. This date is enveloped by the maker's marks temporal frame as well as Harrington's bore-stem dating technique. It is slightly earlier than Binford's and Mallios' technique.



(Fig. 34) Belly bowl pipe (e) and trade bowl pipe (f) (Luckenbach & Sharpe 2007).



(Fig. 35) Seriation of belly bowls and trade bowls (Luckenbach & Sharpe 2007).

To summarize, the pipes recovered from the Salisbury Site have been useful in a number of ways. First, the assemblage has allowed for the use of various diagnostic tools, including JC Harrington's and Lewis Binford's classic techniques as well as Seth Mallios' and Luckenbach and Sharpe's new methods for dating pipe bowls. Using Harrington's technique, the site dates to between 1650 and 1680. The date of 1677 is reached when using Lewis Binford's formula of regression. When dating the bowls by form using Mallio's technique, I arrived at the date of 1672. Among the newest methods of dating pipe bowls, Luckenbach and Sharpe's model dates the site in the 1660s.

This assemblage was also dated through the research of stem and bowl design. By dating stem decoration, the pipes date from 1640 to 1689. Based on bowl decoration, the pipes range from 1635 to 1740.

From the six diagnostic techniques used to date the Salisbury Site pipes, it seems that each method has been close to the Smith occupation (ca. 1677 – ca. 1689) of the Salisbury Site that has been established by intensive archival and historic research. The most accurate measure of the site's pipe assemblage has been reaffirmed by Lewis Binford's formula of regression, which nailed the commencement of the site's likely occupation (1677). Mallios' date was slightly earlier, at 1672.

Other techniques, like Harrington's model, Luckenbach and Sharpe's new system, and dating through stem and bowl decoration, have been useful as they have established a broad frame of site occupation. This is useful to archaeologists because they consider a range of dates. Out of these ranging methods, Harrington's technique has been the most helpful, as it considers the decade of the 1670s. However, Luckenbach and Sharpe's technique yielded a more specific date (1660s). Despite this, Luckenbach and Sharpe's date did not directly correlate to the 1670s and 1680s, the decades which most archaeological materials recovered from the site date to.

Although six techniques have been used, it is evident that the classic models of dating pipes developed by Harrington and Binford remain the most accurate when dating the Salisbury Site. Although not unusable, newer techniques and dating assemblages through décor or motifs have been slightly less accurate or too broad.

Based upon this extremely useful and important information, it seems that John and Sarah Smith are represented by this data. The couple occupied the site from ca. 1677 to 1683. After John's death in 1683, Sarah likely lived alone until she wed James Read before 1689. Between 1683 and

1689, the Smith house was burnt along with their belongings. This fire justifies the char damage on a number of pipes recovered from the site.

Although tobacco was not grown in New Jersey, site occupants apparently purchased and smoked a considerable amount of tobacco that was produced in colonial Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. The Smith's likely acquired these smoking pipes from local trading posts which dotted the coastline of the Delaware River. The vast majority of 17th century pipes were brought over from the Netherlands and England. Although early colonists, like John and Sarah Smith were settling in a New World, a virtual wilderness, they were far from isolated from the rest of the world. However, some pipes were locally manufactured out of local red clays within the colonies. Only one local pipe was recovered from the Salisbury Site. The rise of locally produced goods, like smoking pipes, is a second stage of cultural development which begins to take off in the 18th century as American culture grows into its own niche, moving farther away from Europe.

It should be considered that the Salisbury Site contains among the most 17th century pipe fragments found in New Jersey (Veit Personal Communication 2008). The collection is also unique in that several designs have proved difficult to contextually associate with other archaeological sites. This relatively large and unique collection recovered by Dr. Cross helps us to refine our knowledge of the 17th century. The collection has allowed the application of several diagnostic tools that were not available to Cross. The Salisbury pipes, corroborated with historical documents, help to humanize the Smith family and portray them as relatively well-to-do colonials in the 17th century who were tied to their European homeland across the Atlantic, tobacco producing southern colonies, as well as the local economy of the Delaware Valley and Gloucester County. Undoubtedly, the Smith's were innately tied to a growing global system which strongly influenced New World culture.

Roof Tile

The second type of artifact from the Salisbury Site that has been located at the New Jersey State Museum is a fragment of a ceramic roof tile (Figs. 37 - 39). It is a rusty dark terra-cotta color approximately 3 inches long and 1 ½ inches wide. The concave side of the roof tile is covered with black soot, suggesting it was exposed to fire. Tiles, such as the one in this collection, may have once roofed an early structure at the Salisbury Site.

The tile is similar to the examples found at a late 17th century archaeological site first dug by C.C. Abbot at Burlington Island, New Jersey and fragments found by Paul Huey at the 17th century Ft. Orange Site (Veit 2002: 25). In the middle of the 17th century, Burlington Island was a Dutch trading post which was later turned into a community (Veit 2002: 25-26). The presence of these roof tiles “hints at Dutch occupancy” and is generally an “early marker” (Veit 2002: 29, Veit Personal Communication, 2008). Such tiles, however, may not be confined to use by the Dutch, as building techniques and material culture were shared by early settlers in 17th and 18th-century New Jersey. Pan tiles have also been recovered at the Burle’s Town Land Site in Anne Arundel County, Maryland (Moser et al 2003: 206). Moser et al state that there have been relatively few documented examples of domestic earthfast structure bearing pan tile roofs. Pan tiles were often reserved for public facilities.

A map drawn by E.J. Morton dated November 29, 1936 illustrates the remains of a house in the vicinity of the excavation. However, Cross does not mention any attributes of the house, which may have played a role in determining whether or not this tile was from those remains. As with most of the colonial material, Cross failed to mention where, in the context of stratigraphy, the tile was discovered.

Based upon a personal communication with Alan Mounier, Mounier mentions that the foundation mentioned above is made from schist and likely dates to the 18th century. These remains are likely associated with the Aborn family who occupied the site from the mid to late 18th century. The house, however, probably stood into the late-nineteenth century may have be linked to the Salisbury occupation as well. Mounier mentions that masonry material used in the construction of the dwelling foundation is generally typical of structures built in the 18th century in this part of New Jersey. Thus, this tile is most likely not associated with this foundation as it is generally dated to the 17th century.

Like the pipe assemblage, evidence points to the likelihood that this tile is associated with the Smith occupation of the site from ca. 1677 to ca. 1689. The blackened side of the tile signals char, which speaks to the Smith’s house and reaffirms the historical record. Although Veit states that these pan tiles can be loosely associated with a Dutch presence, it seems that the Salisbury Site is an exception as the surname Smith is of English origin. Although the tile is most likely not associated with a Dutch occupation, Veit’s interpretation of these tiles sheds light onto the fact that the Smith’s

obtained these tiles through trade with the Netherlands. Like the pipes, the tile reaffirms the fact that the Smith's engaged in a trading system with their homeland across the Atlantic and internally within the New World.



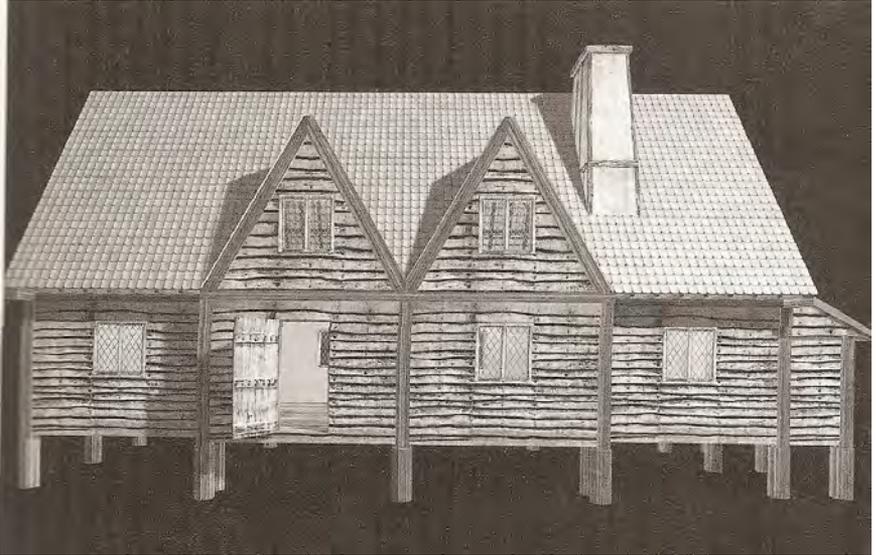
(Fig. 36). Convex side of roof tile



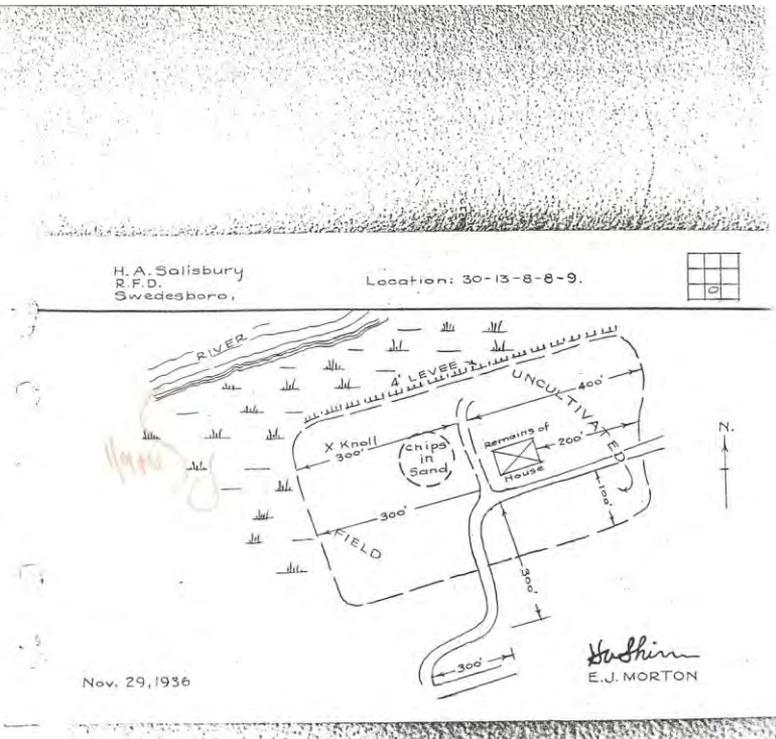
(Fig. 37) Concave side of roof tile.



(Fig. 38) Roof tile.



(Fig. 39) Artist's reconstruction of the earthfast Robert Burle house based upon archaeological data (Moser et al 2003). Note that the structure is roofed with pan tiles.



(Fig. 40) Map of the Salisbury Site. Note remains of house. Drawn by E.J. Morton (On file at the New Jersey State Museum).

Historic Features: Pits as Earthfast Structures

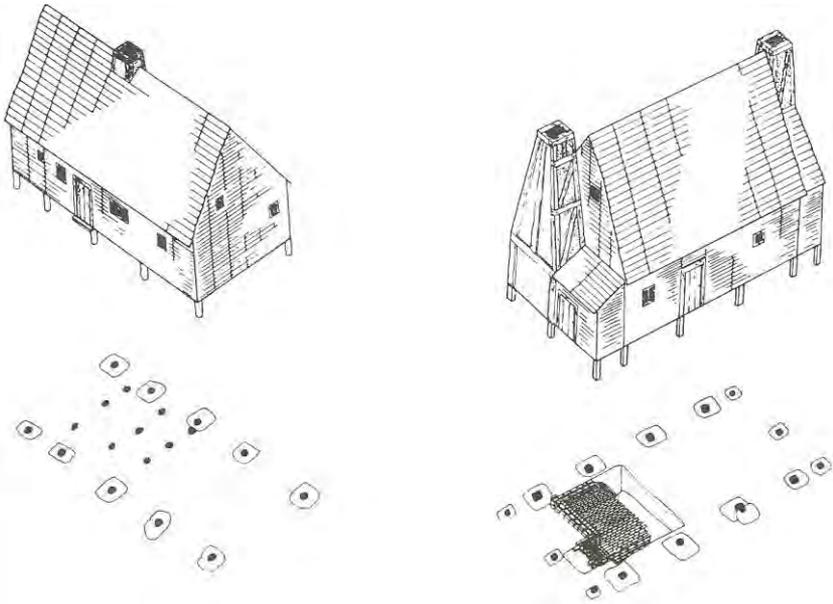
One might expect that the house occupied by John Smith and other outbuildings used by Smith to have been built with earthfast architectural methods. Such methods consist of placing the posts or sills of a structure directly on the ground without the use of masonry foundations, which often require additional money pay for the services of a mason to lay brick or stone foundations. Some of the buildings that may have stood at the Salisbury Site during the Smith occupation may be evidenced by some of the notably large pits identified by Cross.

As discussed above, Cross identified seven pits at the Salisbury Site, most of which were associated with prehistoric Native Americans. Three, however, may represent the cellars or cold storage pits below former structures at the site. These included Pit II, Pit III, and Pit IV. Pit II measure 20' x 12' with a depth of 5'. The pit contained "a large number of" pipe fragments, hand-wrought nails, charcoal, along with other Native American artifacts (Cross 1941: 54). The historic material was encountered within the upper 3' of the pit. Pit III measured 15' x 10' in diameter with a depth of 54". Again, historical material was encountered, including hand-wrought nails, pipes, and ceramic. Native American lithics and ceramics were also discovered. According to Cross' interpretation of the findings, two hearths were excavated which flanked Pit III. Lastly, Pit IV had dimensions of 20' x 7' and measured 54" deep. Cross states that Pit IV's stratigraphy was very complex. Artifacts she uncovered include historic pipes, animal bones, oyster shells, charcoal, as well as both lithic and ceramic Native American remains. Unfortunately, the location of these pits on the Salisbury Site could not be found. The data may have been lost or perhaps Cross did not think to record this information.

One interpretation of the pits is the possibility that they represent cold storage pits or cold cellars associated with 17th-century earthfast structures. This hypothesis is speculative given the sparse information provided and level of documentation of the large pits. However it should be considered as it was a dominant building method in the American colonies during the 17th and early 18th centuries.

The methods of earthfast architecture were brought by colonists to the New World from England (Deetz 1996: 146). Also called post-in-ground structures, these dwellings dominated 17th century architecture in the New World, particularly in the Chesapeake region where they were "pervasive"

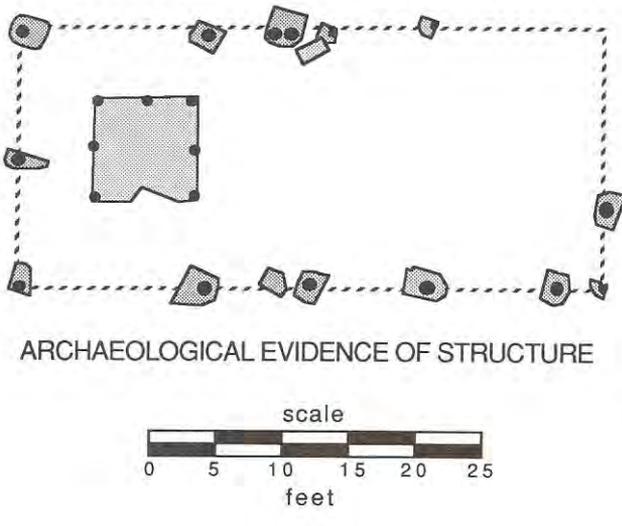
(Deetz 1996: 20, 32, 146, Moser et al 2003: 197). Several examples have been excavated in Virginia and Maryland, most notably at the Flowerdew Hundred site (Deetz 1996: 32, 146). Earthfast structures were timber-framed “on posts buried directly in the earth” (Deetz 1996: 20). The lower frame rests “directly on the ground or are supported by earth-set wooden posts” (Moser et al 2003: 200).



(Fig. 41) Reconstruction of two earthfast houses excavated at the Kingsmill Site based upon archaeological evidence (Kelso 1984: 66, 69 and Cranmer 1990: 55).

Despite the fact that earthfast structures have been predominately excavated in the Chesapeake, there is evidence of their existence farther north. In 1972 an earthfast structure was found in Kingston, Massachusetts (Deetz 1996: 146). Further evidence of earthfast structures has been recovered from the Cushnoc Site in Maine on the Kennebec River (Crammer 1990).

When preserved in the archaeological record, one will find soil or post mold stains, which often have low visibility in the field (Deetz 1996: 20) (Fig 43). Usually, archaeologists will encounter residues which have been reduced to “patterned stains in the subsoil” (Moser et al 2003: 202). When earthfast post molds are visible, they appear to be roughly rectangular (the fill from digging and securing the post in the ground) and contain smaller, darker stains in the center (actual remains of the wooden post) (Deetz 1996: 20). Deetz mentions that “houses that burned in place have higher visibility and focus” than those that did not suffer trauma from fire (Deetz 1996: 129). Most of what we know about earthfast architecture is from archaeology due to the fact that these structures have largely escaped the historical record (Deetz 1996: 32).



(Fig. 42) Plan view of archaeological evidence for an earthfast structure found at the Cushnoc Site (Crammer 1990: 61).

Besides soil stains, other artifacts may speak to the presence of earthfast architecture. For example, quantities of wattle-and-daub remains speak to the possibility of a chimney which may have been part of an earthfast structure at the Broadneck Site (Moser et al 2003: 202). The small amount of hand-wrought nails at this site alludes to the possibility of wattle-and-daub walls. At Town Neck, the presence of red and yellow brick combined with quartzite “foundation stones” is evidence of this type of 17th century structure (Moser et al 2003: 204). Furthermore, fragments of leaded windows and lead glazed floor tiles at this site help us paint a picture of how the structure may have been finished. At Burle’s Town Land, fragments of roof pan tiles were discovered a long with bricks, window leads, and floor tiles (Moser et al 2003: 206). It should be noted that few domestic earthfast structures have been found with pan tile roofs as usually public buildings featured this type of finish. At Homewood’s Lot, yellow bricks, floor tiles, window leads, and a large quantity of hand-wrought nails made up the material profile of an earthfast structure (Moser et al 2003: 207). At the Cushnoc Site, a trading post, architectural remains include daub and one-thousand hand-wrought nails, which may be evidence of a clapboard exterior (Cramner 1990)

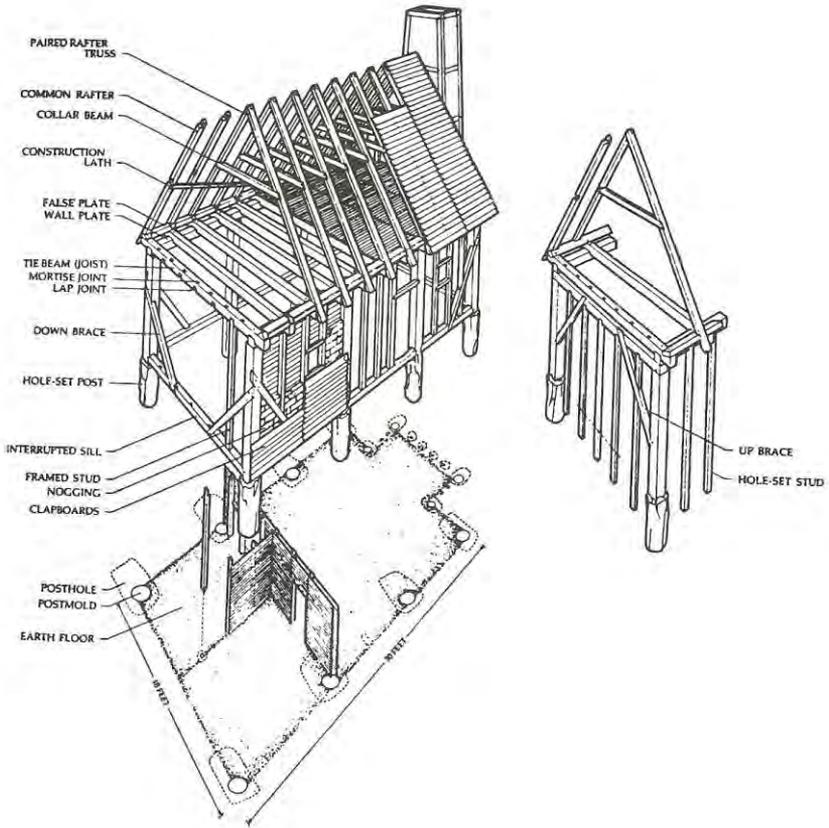
Cary Carson points out that earthfast structures in the Chesapeake region were linked to tobacco farming. Due to the fact that raising tobacco is quite labor intensive, southerners’ priority lay in maintaining this crop, not in the elaborance of their homes (Carson et al 1981: 135-196). Deetz tells us that the “diversified economy” of the north explains why earthfast structures were not used as often as in the south (Deetz 1996: 132). Because the north was not a monocrop culture, these colonists could put more of their time into maintaining and building their permanently established dwellings. As Cranmer mentions, earthfast structures were ideal for making a quick buck in the New World and then returning back to Europe (1990: 54). There was no need for permanent housing.

When compared to other styles of architecture, earthfast structures were “impermanent” yet highly “economical” (Moser et al 2003: 200). As a result, earthfast structures endured a relatively short period of time, roughly 25 years without heavy maintenance. This building style is often referred to as impermanent architecture, as the foundations of earthfast buildings usually rot from insect or water damage within a few decades of being constructed. Although such buildings required the same level of carpentry craftsmanship employed on frame structures with masonry foundations, they seemed to

have been preferred as a quick and cheaper building form during the period of early colonial settlement.

By the 18th century, this architecture began losing its footing in places like the Chesapeake. This was mainly due to a “higher standard of living”, population changes, and agricultural diversity (Moser et al 2003: 200). In New Jersey, evidence suggests that the tradition of earthfast architecture continued to some extent into the second quarter of the eighteenth century for dwelling construction and even later for the construction of outbuildings (Gall et al. 2007, In Press A and B). This was mainly due to a “higher standard of living”, availability of cheaper masonry material, and greater access to wealth.

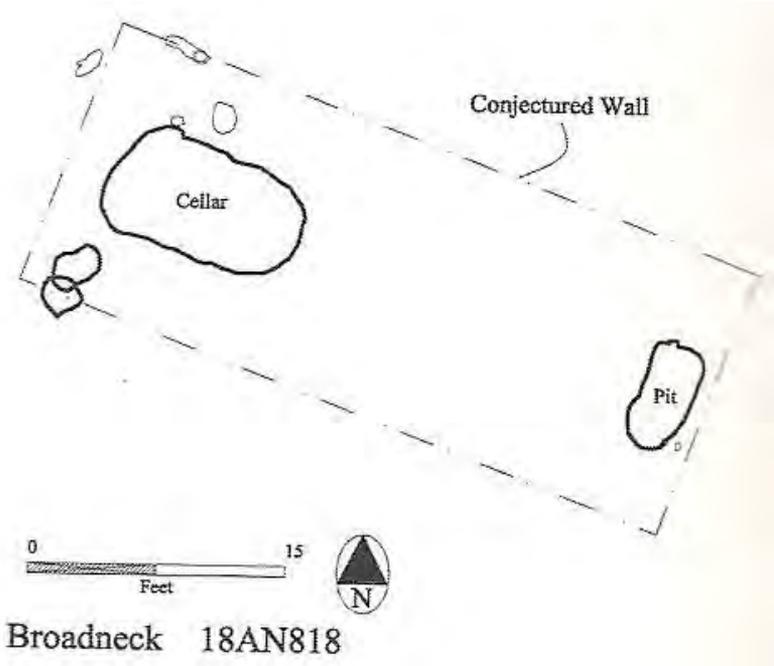
Research has shown five types of earthfast construction methods: post-in-the-ground, sill-on-ground, buried-sill, frame-on-block, and interrupted-sill (Moser et al 2003: 201, Cranmer 1990: 57). It is unclear, which, if any, of these methods may have been used by John Smith to construction the building at the Salisbury Site during the late 17th century. Post-in-the-ground construction involves driving posts two to four feet deep into the earth. Walls were partially prefabricated before they were raised and adjoined to eachother. Sill-on-ground, (also called no foundation construction (Cramner 1990: 57)) refers to sills resting directly onto the earth. Posts were inserted directly onto the sill (Moser et al 2003: 201). Post mold stains are absent in the archaeological record. Continuous sills may have been shallowly buried, identified in Cranmer as a separate type of earthfast architecture which can be labeled as buried-sill (1990: 57). Sills may also rest on blocks which are set in holes, called frame-on-block construction (Moser et al 2003: 201). It is likely that this type of earthfast architecture experienced less decay as the wood did not rest directly on the ground. The frame-on-block style may have also been a way to recycle or reuse sill-on-ground materials. Lastly, earthfast structures may have rested on an interrupted sill (Cranmer 1990: 57). This sill was married with vertical posts. Some of these features are shown in Fig. 43.



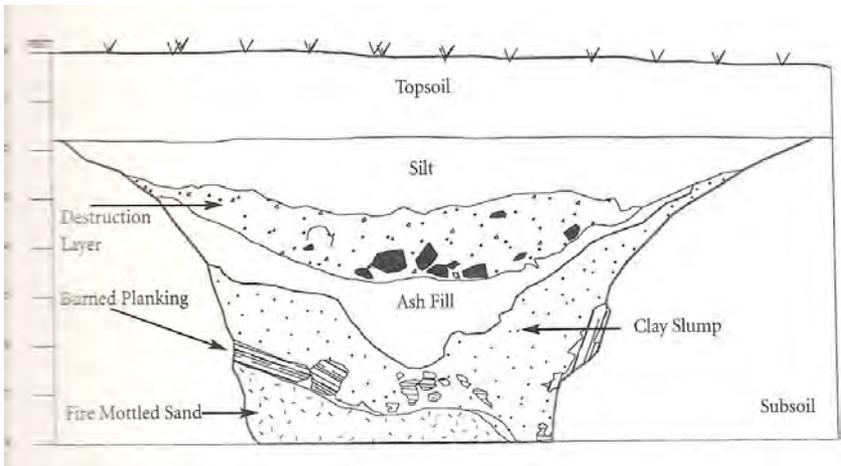
(Fig 43.) Reconstruction of the earthfast structure described in the pamphlet, *Information and Direction to Such Persons as are inclined to America* (1684) (Carson et al 1981: 143, Cranmer 1990: 60).

Some earthfast structures may have had cellars while other did not (Deetz 1996: 21, 146). For example, the earliest house at the Powell Plantation site in Kent County, Delaware, dating from 1691 to 1721, measured 18 feet square, rested on a ground laid sill, and lacked a cellar hole (Grettlar 1995: 89). No cellar was present at the 15' by 30' post-in-ground dwelling at the Richard Whitehart Plattation site, which dated from 1681-1701 (Grettlar et al. 1995: 86). When cellars were analyzed, researchers found that they varied in size from small root cellars to larger finished or floored cellars. The placement of the chimney or hearth on the earthfast structure also slightly differed. Chimneys were typically constructed out of wattle-and-daub with brick being an exception (Moser et al 2003: 200). The 17th century structure found at the Kingston Site in Massachusetts measured 20' x 22' (Deetz 1996: 146). The earthfast structure excavated at Cushnoc, ca. 1640s, measured 20' x 44' with a 7' x 7' cellar (Cramner 1990: 46). In Anne Arundel County, Maryland, four earthfast structures were recovered at Broadneck (ca. 1650s), Town Neck (ca. 1680s) , Burle's Town Land (ca. 1650 – ca. 1680), and Homewood's Lot (ca. 1650 – ca. 1670) (Moser et al 2003). At Broadneck, the cellar measured 10' x 6'. The structure's dimensions were 36'-40' long and 16' wide. The wood-lined cellar found at the Town Neck Site measured 12' x 15' in length and 8' deep. The Burle's Town Land earthfast structure, one of the larger ones, measured 60' x 20'. Lastly, the feature excavated at Homewood's lot had a 10' x 6' cellar or pit which was 2.5' deep. The structure itself was slightly larger, at 8' x 12' in dimension.

The above examples show that a number of earthfast structures were equipped with cellars, which were smaller than the structure which rested above. In fact, in the archaeological record, remnants of cellars may be all that is left of earthfast structures, particularly sill-on-ground structures that appear to have been prevalent in New Jersey and Delaware during the colonial period. Unfortunately, without knowing the location, orientation, or distribution of the probable cellar holes at the Salisbury site, it is impossible to determine how many structures with which they may have been associated.



(Fig 44) Plan view of Broadneck Site in Anne Arundel County, Maryland (Moser et al 2003: 202).



(Fig. 45) Stratigraphic profile of cellar excavated at the Town Neck Site in Anne Arundel County, Maryland (Moser et al 2003: 203).

The exterior of earthfast structures were often covered with clapboards (Moser et al 2003: 200). Plaster lathing usually finished the interior walls. Most structures had windows that were encased in lead. Floors may have been earthen, wooden, or tiled.

When compared to the archaeological record of well-documented earthfast structures, the three largest Salisbury pits (Pit II, III, and IV) share similar dimensions. All three pits contain diagnostic historic material which point to a 17th century colonial occupation, also the time when earthfast structures were predominately used. To further the argument for the presence of this architecture at the Salisbury Site, hand-wrought nails were also recovered in Pits II and III. Flanking Pit III, the hearth identified by Cross may have been the remains of a hearth or chimney that was associated with an earthfast structure. Pit IV produced 2 cobbles (7'' x 7'' x 10'') which may also indicate the presence of a chimney or hearth. Due to the depth of these pits, all three may have contained cellars. The complex and rather confusing stratigraphy encountered in Pit IV shows the greatest amount of evidence of a cellar. When the earthfast structure was destroyed, colonial demolitionists

may have taken soil that was rich in Native American artifacts from surrounding areas to fill in the cellar.

Although there are some similarities between Pits II, III, and IV and earthfast structures, there are several differences. The absence of post-mold stains in all of the pits seems to argue against the possibility of this early form of American architecture. Excavating nearly seventy years ago, Cross may have been unaware of post mold stain features and may have overlooked them. Unfortunately, this data is unrecoverable and we will therefore never know if these post molds were present on the site. However, this would not hold true if the footprint of the structure went beyond the footprint of the cellar. The posts or sills could be located outside of the cellar and may not have been excavated.

The lack of hand-wrought nails in Pit IV also seems to suggest that an earthfast structure never existed. However, like masonry foundations of later years, it was not uncommon for nails to be robbed from dwelling remains and reused in the construction of other buildings. The absence of any data that would suggest the presence of a hearth in Pit II also argues against the possibility of these structures. Pit II's function may not have been as a domestic living space, but as an out building that did not require heat.

It is certainly possible that there were three earthfast structures on the site during the 17th century colonial occupation. The presence of hand-wrought nails and the pan tile fragment coupled with hundreds of colonial small-finds artifacts suggest that a 17th century structure did exist on the site. A re-evaluation of the data presented by Cross strongly suggests that the Salisbury Site contained a number of late 17th-century structures, which were not originally correctly interpreted. Three probable cellar holes identified may have been associated with earthfast structures constructed during John Smith's occupation of the site before 1683. However, the use of earthfast architecture by Smith in the construction of buildings on his property is purely speculative, though probable, without more supportive archaeological data. Historic documents indicate that Smith's home was destroyed by fire sometime between his death in 1683 and 1689 when his widow's new husband, James Read, sought to sell the property. Evidence of burning in the form of charcoal in the soil excavated and charring of tobacco pipes and the Dutch roof tile, support the 1689 document.

Discussion and Interpretation

Despite Cross' lack of attention to historical artifacts at the Salisbury Site, a number of important interpretive observations can be made. From exploring the historical record, we know that the area was inhabited by the Naraticon Indians, probably until the early 18th century. The Dutch explored the Raccoon area in the 1620s and set up trading posts along the Delaware, such as the one on Burlington Island. Shortly after the Dutch, the Swedes permanently settled the Raccoon area and purchased the land directly from the Indians in the 1640s. After the English's arrival, the 1670s saw the Delaware River and Raccoon Creek waterways grow to be leading trade routes that could easily access Philadelphia. In the late 1670s, the Salisbury Site was first settled by colonials who purchased the land directly from Cohansey Native Americans. Shortly after, John and Sarah Smith settled the land for several years until 1683 or 1689. The Smith's probably utilized trading posts which dotted the Delaware Valley, such as the post on Burlington Island, to acquire and sell goods. Also during this time, much of Gloucester County was purchased from native inhabitants as evident through the land deeds.

John Smith, original settler of the property, likely purchased the land from one of the colonial gentlemen listed in the September 27, 1677 deed. John Smith lived on the property until his death in 1683, where he passed the land onto his wife, Sarah. Unfortunately, archival research has not revealed information regarding John Smith's occupation. If Smith's occupation was known, we would be able to discover additional information regarding what kind of activities took place on the site. Despite this, a court affidavit from 1689 informs us that the Smith's house was burnt, along with official documents and presumably other goods. Also by 1689, Smith's widow, Sarah Smith, weds James Read. It is unclear if or for how long the newlyweds lived on the property for as by 1689 they resided in Pennsylvania.

After the Smith's, the site fell into the hands of a number of individuals over more than 300 years. In particular, the Aborn erected an 18th century house on the site, which is likely marked by the schist foundation and cellar remains. This is probably the same foundation identified by Cross in her excavation. The land fell into possession of the Salisbury family throughout the 19th and part of the 20th century, having the longest occupation on the site.

Beyond information provided by researching the site's history, the archaeological analysis has also yielded new and important information. The

mean date of the Salisbury pipe assemblage was 1677, which coincides with John and Sarah Smith's occupation on the site. A number of smoking pipes showed significant char damage, suggesting they were exposed to fire. Like the recovered pipes, the roof tile exhibited signs of burning, further suggesting a fire took place at the site after Smith's death. The number of pipe fragments recovered clearly indicates that the site's occupants heavily engaged in tobacco use. Further, they were part of a market system established by colonial powers and merchants that spanned the Atlantic Ocean.

By engaging in this market, Smith was able to purchase tobacco grown in the southern colonies from trading posts established by colonial merchants overseas. Smith and other site occupants were able to purchase smoking apparatus, such as white ball-clay tobacco pipes, produced in both England and the Netherlands, as well as some that may have been made within the colonies, represented by terra cotta pipes, manufactured from local clays. The posts also supplied pan tiles, an infrequently used roofing material in the New World, as most colonials covered their roofs with straw, clapboard, or shingles. In fact, the roofing tile and significant number of smoking pipes may be reflective of Smith's wealth, who also owned at least 400-acres of well watered land along the Delaware River, south of Raccoon Creek. Other materials, such as bottle glass, a pen knife, and nails, would have been imported from Europe and sold at trading posts.

Evidence from the pits identified by Cross suggest that Smith's complex consisted of at least three buildings associated with three probable cellar holes represented by Pits II, III, and IV. The general absence of stone noted by Cross also suggests that the structures that stood during Smith's occupation of the site were erected with earthfast architectural methods and thus did not rest on masonry foundations. Such foundations were probably more costly to construct and extra time was needed to procure the necessary masonry material. Therefore, it seems probable that Smith, like many other colonial settlers at the time, opted for a less expensive and more impermanent building method found in earthfast architecture. If used at Smith's complex, such buildings would have required little maintenance or repair for the short duration in which they stood. Such is the case at the Salisbury Site, when the Smith's complex was abandoned in the 1680s after the house was destroyed by fire.

While Smith's house and outbuildings may have been built with impermanent construction methods, the presence of European ceramics (only

accounted for in the site report) help to suggest that Smith intended to have a permanent settlement. Cross does not mention any attributes of the glass, besides the fact that it was colored. Given the time period, it is possible that these fragments were once vessels that contained rum or wine. The most prevalent type of artifact, smoking pipes, may also speak to this permanent settlement.

Beyond documentary information that suggests Smith established a house on the site, the artifact assemblage suggests that the site type may not have been restricted to that of a plantation, particularly the high quantity of tobacco pipe fragments recovered from such a short occupation period. (reference the pipe data from the Powell and Whitehart sites as comparative evidence for the high pipe count). In fact, it is possible that Smith may have also operated a tavern or perhaps a trade post on his property,. Besides serving as a place to drink and smoke, taverns and trade posts also sold food. Due to the overwhelming amount of pipes and presence of ceramics and glass liquor vessels, this possibility is certainly one that should be considered. Unfortunately, Cross does not specifically locate faunal remains. Therefore, it is difficult to determine if Europeans or Native Americans exploited these animals. Pit 4 illustrates that oyster shells were found in the same stratigraphic layer as pipes. Other remains, like deer, whale, and small animal bones, could not be located. The mean date of the pipes, 1677, coincides with a time of noticeable growth and expansion within the area. A tavern would have been a welcomed and needed accompaniment to the colonial development of the Raccoon Creek area. However, this hypothesis is not fully supported due to lack of information regarding these materials.

Beyond functioning as a plantation, the second most plausible function of the 17th century colonial occupation of the Salisbury Site is a trading post. Like Smith's house, this post may have been an earthfast structure. According to the deeds, smoking pipes and smoking accessories were among the most widely traded items, with liquor a close second. Both were widely used by settlers and native inhabitants alike. It is possible that this post may have once stored these items, discarding any of these objects that may have broken over time. Certainly, the mouth of Raccoon Creek and Birch Creek would have been a strategic place for a trading post at this time. The 1670s were a time of buying land from natives and saw the birth of the Raccoon and Delaware as main travel arteries. A trading post would have been useful where these two waterways intersect. The absence of cooking vessels and cutlery reflects that domestic activities were not conducted here,

furthering the possibility of a trading post. Could such a post have eluded the historical record? Perhaps, particularly if it too was destroyed by fire along with Smith's house, or if it did not function long enough to have been documented in surviving records. Without knowing the occupation of John Smith or conducting another archaeological investigation, we can only speculate at this possibility.

The presence of the roof tile suggests that a Dutch structure may have once stood on the Salisbury Site. When reviewing the pits recorded by Cross, it seems feasible that earthfast structures may have once stood on the site. Archival research has proven that the Smith's owned a house on the site which was burnt sometime between 1683 and 1689. This fire explains the char that has been observed on a number of the artifacts.

Based on the artifact assemblage and historical research, John and Sarah Smith's relatively short occupation on the site has been uncovered.

The most plausible function of the 17th century colonial era Salisbury remains is a trading post. This post may have been an earthfast structure. Could this post have eluded the historical record? According to the deeds, smoking pipes and smoking accessories were among the most widely traded items, with liquor a close second. It is possible that this post may have once stored these items, discarding any of these objects that may have broken over time. Certainly, the mouth of Raccoon Creek and Birch Creek would have been a strategic place for a trading post at this time. The 1670's were a time of buying land from natives and saw the birth of the Raccoon and Delaware as main travel arteries. A trading post would have been useful where these two waterways intersect. The absence of cooking vessels and cutlery reflects that domestic activities were not conducted here, furthering the possibility of a trading post.

Amateur archaeologists Kier and Calverly mention that the neighboring Raccoon Point site contained hand-wrought nails, ceramics, colored glass, pewter cutlery, a cast-iron stove, and gunflints (1957: 84). Some of these materials, including nails and ceramics, parallel those found at the Salisbury Site, while some artifacts do not. Due to the fact that no smoking pipe fragments were found at Raccoon Point, the plausibility of a tavern site seems diminished. The presence of cutlery and a stove gives way to the possibility that Raccoon Point was a domestic settlement, possibly part of the first Swedish settlement along the Creek.

Kier and Calverly's work at Raccoon Point helps place Salisbury as a trading post. If they too can be dated to the last quarter of the 17th century,

these contrasting artifacts serve as an opposition model. Despite some similarities, the Raccoon Point Site and Salisbury Site have different assemblages, attesting to the fact that each site had a different function. Located only a little over a mile a way, it makes sense that a settlement would want to be located relatively close to a post.

Further Research

Reexamination of the 17th century component of the Salisbury Site certainly helps refine our understanding of early American culture, a poorly understood period in the Delaware Valley (see Veit & Liebeknecht MAAC: 2008 for more on 17th century sites). However, this project has opened many avenues for further research. Because the site contains a substantial amount of European smoking pipe fragments, a study could be conducted experimenting with various dating techniques developed since the time of Cross' 1941 publication. With this refined data, a typology could be proposed. Furthermore, studying the similarities of the Salisbury pipes may also lead to a better understanding of colonial pipes, both in their manufacture and the market for domestic and foreign produced pipes in colonial New Jersey. Additional research on the relationship between the colonial Raccoon Point and Salisbury Site material would be another research possibility to further enhance our understanding of 17th century sites along Raccoon Creek. It would also be valuable to compare well documented trading posts and plantation sites with the Salisbury Site. This study would help determine whether or not Salisbury's colonial occupation was used as a trading post or simply, a large plantation, or some other function note discussed herein. It would also refine our knowledge of trading posts and perhaps develop a typology or theory behind these venues.

Another archaeological excavation at the Salisbury Site would be ideal, with a focus on locating the footprint of the house mentioned by Cross in her site notes. It would also be valuable to locate the signatures of other structures as well as cultural colonial features, such as wells and refuse pits, that would help determine the colonial function of the Salisbury Site. However, due to the looting at the Salisbury Site for well over fifty years, results may be inconclusive and data may be limited.

Conclusion

A re-analysis of recovered artifacts and Cross' notes through the lens of newer data enabled a re-interpretation of the Salisbury Site that was focused on 17th century materials overlooked by Dr. Cross. This was probably due to the fact that the data was simply not available to Cross at the time of her excavation nearly 70 years ago. While the site is clouded by many unknowns, information regarding the early settlement of Gloucester County, New Jersey, as well as the New World, can be gleaned by what is known.

Based on the historical research and artifact assemblage, it seems likely that the Salisbury Site was a strategically located plantation and perhaps a trading post located between Birch Creek and Raccoon Creek along the east bank of the Delaware River during the 1670s and 1680s. Through intensive archival research, we learn that the Smith's are associated with the vast majority of the colonial artifacts recovered by Cross. Following the Smith's, the land was occupied by a number of other early colonials as well as the Aborn and Salisbury families in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. The Salisbury Site may in fact represent two families, the Smith's during the 1670s and 1680s and the Aborn's in the later 18th century, giving the site additional archaeological and historical value. Historical research has also revealed the history of the land, chronicling colonial and Native American relations characterized by trade as well as the European development of this dynamic part of the New World.

Artifact analysis has corroborated the historical record, as well as filled in gaps which history does not reveal to us. Partly due to the significant amount of smoking pipe fragments recovered from the site, we can be fairly certain that John Smith was one of the wealthier 17th century colonials in this area. The roof tile and size of the property may also attest to the Smith's affluence. The site appears to contain multiple cellar holes dating from the 17th century which are likely associated with the Smith occupation of the property as well. This occupation ended with the devastating event of a fire that destroyed the Smith house, the couple's belongings, and possibly other buildings at the site.

The site certainly warrants even additional research. Additional investigation into the artifacts coupled with further, scholarly or academic-based archaeological excavations at the site may help provide additional data regarding this important, yet poorly documented, period of colonial New Jersey. Additional archaeological work at the Salisbury Site is necessary to

refine our understanding of this crucial and fundamental period of history which shaped the formation of an American culture.

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