

SUMMER 2011

TANGENTS

THE JOURNAL OF THE
MASTER OF LIBERAL ARTS PROGRAM
AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY



IN THIS ISSUE...

Essays by Brad Bauer, Emily Goldberg,
Ken Jensen, Nancy Krajewski,
Lauren McElhatton, Pat Nicholson

Fiction by Andy Grose

Poems by Sarah Anne Cox, Katherine Orloff,
Dwain L. Sparling

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VOLUME 10

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PUBLISHING NOTES

This publication features the works of students and alumni of the Master of Liberal Arts Program at Stanford University.

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Front Cover: Dorothea Lange Collection, Oakland Museum. The full caption reads: “Hayward, California. Two children of the Mochida family who, with their parents, are awaiting evacuation bus. The youngster on the right holds a sandwich given her by one of a group of women who were present from a local Church. . . .”

Back Cover: Dorothea Lange Collection, Oakland Museum. The full caption reads: “Woodland, California. Ten cars of evacuees of Japanese ancestry are now aboard and the doors are closed. Their Caucasian friends and the staff of the Wartime Civil Control Administration stations are watching the departure from the platform. Evacuees are leaving their homes and ranches, in a rich agricultural district, bound for Merced Assembly center about 125 miles away.”

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

We are proud to present the tenth edition of *Tangents, The Journal of the Stanford Master of Liberal Arts Program*. This issue presents a diverse group of works by students and alumni that deal with the following questions:

- ✦ How did the Federal Government attempt to control publicity about the Japanese-American internments?
- ✦ How did some ordinary German citizens protest against the Nazi government?
- ✦ How was a very questionable medication considered a universal panacea for hundreds of years?
- ✦ How did the civil rights movement affect the development of jazz?
- ✦ Is the Google Book Settlement inherently evil?
- ✦ How did Brecht and Eisler express their anti-war sentiments?

We are also pleased to offer a short story and three poems.

✦ ✦ ✦ ✦

We have been able to continue publication through the generosity of individuals. If there is a group of MLA alumni “angels” who would like to take *Tangents* under its wing, please contact the MLA office.

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We hope that *Tangents* will continue to showcase the varied talents of the MLA participants in the years to come.

DOROTHEA LANGE'S INTERNMENT PHOTOGRAPHS: SCULPTING AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION THROUGH CENSORSHIP DURING WORLD WAR II

by Lauren McElhatton

Executive Order 9066, issued in 1942, forced all Japanese Americans from their homes and into government custody. Dorothea Lange chronicled this exodus with her prescient photographic eye, already made famous in her Farm Security Administration (FSA) work during the Great Depression. Curiously, the American government hired Lange to record the "relocation," yet censored her photographs. Only in 2006 were any of her internment images released for publication. Lange's photographs contain tales of American military authority and governmental manipulation of public opinion, all in the name of security. They expose an ugly juxtaposition between progressive American ideals and political realities in World War II. The solemn message of the imagery is striking, particularly in light of the tension between Lange's perspective and her employer's.

Acknowledging a disparity between the administration of President Roosevelt and her own ideas, Dorothea Lange believed that the critical content of her images would be self-evident. She felt she could command subtext through composition, and she did so masterfully. The Oakland Museum of California Lange collection notes, "Dorothea Lange found deep



FIGURE 1

relocated on their way to the internment camps. In the same catalog, Japanese-American students salute the American flag in San Francisco public schools before evacuation, and are also pictured learning in relocation camps' crude unfurnished or outdoor classrooms. Juxtapositions like these would have made for a disturbing gallery exhibit or newspaper article, something the government at the time avoided, but Dorothea Lange longed to publish. Lange's

meaning in the tilt of head, a facial expression, or even a detail of posture." She certainly exploited all three to weave narratives into her images, which were disappearing at best. Her meaning endures today. Lange's compositional dexterity is one of the most undeniable reasons Lange's images were suppressed. Thus, the content of her censored images is important; the difference between these concealed images and the published internment photographs of others highlights what the government tried to conceal.

As a collection, Lange's photographs weave a horrifying narrative about the internment. Her photographs of families in their homes prior to evacuation are listed in the National Archives alongside images of horse stalls used to house the

images hauntingly confirmed the injustice that the interned Japanese Americans faced. The images show the infirm and ill left in sparse or even "outdoor" hospitals, and long food lines reminiscent of many Lange images from the Dust Bowl and Depression. Lange also chronicled the devastation by recounting the story of Dave Tatsuno, a friend and her husband's former student, whom she photographed prior to internment and kept in touch with after the camps closed. Tatsuno's infant son died of exposure in a Utah internment camp.

Identification tags were another major motif the government sought to censor at the outset of the internment. Images featuring Americans, labeled like old luggage, were contrary to the picture that the government intended to paint. The tags were racial identifiers, a type of branding, and a hallmark of the impounded images. Once again, it is revealing that government publications were all but devoid of photographs featuring tagged Americans. Also, Lange's photography concentrates on youth, contrasting the government's focus on working age internees in the images chosen for publication. Small and innocent Japanese-American children were tagged in the exact same way as the potentially "treacherous" adults emphasized in government-released imagery.

Figure 1 contains a myriad of themes that persist in the impounded photographs. First, a white social worker leans out of a doorway, directing three Japanese Americans to a waiting bus. His emphatic motion echoes the swift effect of Executive Order 9066. The racial delineation present in the photo, a white man versus the young evacuees, is a familiar thread in Lange's impounded images. This racial contrast, a white person's power next to the haplessness of Japanese internees, is tellingly absent from War Relocation Agency (WRA) and Office of War Information (OWI) pamphlets concerning the relocation. A government official castigated Lange when she leaked an image showing a similarly racially-charged photograph of a Japanese American handing his relocation paperwork to a white official (Gordon, *Impounded*). She was almost (but tellingly not) fired.

The Japanese-American family in Figure 1 is clad in American fashion. These three family members look like part of a quintessentially American family; the young boy is even wearing a baseball cap. Many of Lange's images contain Japanese Americans near their western-architectural homes, their American-made cars, and wearing clothes that are unmistakably American. In contrast, the WRA and OWI pamphlets

depicting interned Japanese Americans are devoid of such cultural markers, in favor of more universal dress. These pamphlets were designed to allow and encourage the "us" or "them" polarization that the government found beneficial to their early wartime agenda. When the official government stance on internment later changed, and officials wanted to create a vision of the Japanese Americans as loyal, the photographs they released allowed such American dress and themes in newly-captured photographs.

Typifying Lange's style, the particular composition of Figure 1 seems to focus intently on a single face, the eldest's. Her expression in the photograph perfectly encapsulates the bewilderment experienced by Japanese Americans, as their own nation excluded them from society. The sign behind the family, with one word (station) obscured, reads "CIVIL CONTROL." What could more adequately characterize the internment than the ominous term control? The photo shows another facet of the internment the government sought to hide: forceful control, namely military control, over the camps.

Military presence is a significant, recurring theme in the photographs censored by the Wartime Civilian

Lange's photographs weave a horrifying narrative about the Japanese internment.

Control Agency. It is no coincidence that so many of Lange's impounded images feature men in uniform supervising the exodus to camps (see Figure 2). Many photographs show these officers towering over young children, holding alarming looking rifles (with bayonets!), or standing at attention in front of vulnerable Japanese Americans, who appear both smaller in stature and far less threatening than the military officials. However, in the Government-published images showing members of the military, the officers appear almost as if their presence is coincidental; they are never shown in imposing postures.

Dorothea Lange knew the military's daunting presence in the camps all too well. In the course of her work, she was met with official distaste and suspicion, and frequently ran into a brusque Army officer, Major "Bozo" Beasley. Beasley's crusade to get Dorothea Lange fired¹ indicates the Wartime Civilian Control Agency's agenda: to maintain "security" by bolstering only positive conceptions of the internment. The army's handling of Dorothea Lange demonstrates,

yet again, that her imagery was feared as propaganda, for the army prevented her from visiting relocation centers during riots, precluded her speaking to certain key internees, and carefully guarded her photographic negatives (Gordon, *Impounded*).²

The story of government manipulation becomes obvious when Lange's confiscated images are compared to the authorized internment images taken and published by Ansel Adams. While the photographs Lange took at Manzanar remained locked in the vault, the WRA approved Adams's images from the very same California relocation center. Prior to publication, Dorothea Lange told Adams his was a book of great importance, but when it was published she felt that the work fell far short of a sincere critique (Hammond 3). Adams's book emphasizes the landscape's serenity at Manzanar, the normalcy of life there, and the smiling faces of the internees. His pictures contrast poignantly with Lange's body of work at the camp, and his compositions show that life for an internee was entirely ordinary. He focused on the natural setting of the camp as peaceful, and missed the signs of government oppression. Lange's images, on the other hand, show faces that seem sullen, questioning,

The images indicate deception, injustice and slipshod incarceration.

uncertain or even frightened. Where Adams shows a newborn in a well-dressed nurse's arms, Lange shows a half-dead Japanese American, bedridden in a makeshift outdoor hospital. No wonder the government authorized Adams's book. Adams's only overtly negative sentiment concerning the relocation is buried in the text of the book, "I trust the content and message of this book will suggest that the broad concepts of American citizenship, and of liberal, democratic life the world over, must be protected in the prosecution of war..." (9). That message is ineffectual without the impact of the photographs. Adams's book seems more to condone the internment than to vilify it,³ and merely indicates that the internment ought not be permanent. This seemingly mildly disapproving position was one the government itself began promoting as early as 1942 in the WRA's second quarterly administrative report.⁴ Such newly-benign messages are common to the contemporaneously published internment images, differing sharply from the critique shown in Lange's earlier photographs.

Lange's images implicate the American government in a profound, forceful, and perceptible way. Part of the disparity between Adams's imagery and Lange's is a chronological difference, as Adams captured his images later into the internment. Adams concentrates on the smiles and productive capacity of the Japanese Americans. His images are obliging (even helpful) to the government-sponsored ideas of internment, and Adams was glad to be of service. Later in the war, the War Relocation Authority and the Roosevelt administration used photography to sell their changed perspective that internment should end, but without publicly airing the wrongs of Order 9066. They relied on friendly images like Adams's (and images from other WRA photographers, like Clem Albers), but Lange's photographs remained locked away.

Publication of some Lange images and repression of others indicates government awareness and insecurity about public opinion. Her work reveals truths counter to the message of contemporaneous propaganda.⁵ Roeder writes of WWII propaganda, "In wartime imagery the United States destroyed only bad things" (84). Yet, in Lange's photographs, the government destroyed domestic family bonds, the hard-earned fruits of decades of Japanese-American labor and property accumulation, the cultural and educational socialization of Japanese-American children, and the livelihoods of thousands. Some scholars argue that Lange's employers were unaware of her past prowess and empathetic style, but this is fallacious. Lange's husband said directly that the WRA administrator who hired her "knew Dorothea and me, knew her work and got her onto his staff." (Taylor, Reiss interview pp. 289). Those who "knew her work" realized why it was effective. The same person who hired her was among a number of former Farm Security Administration officials who transferred to the War Relocation Authority. These workers were no doubt aware of the fact that Lange's imagery brought fame and legitimacy to their FSA projects only a few years prior to the creation of the WRA.

Given that Dorothea Lange's images reflected negatively on government action, the motive behind their confiscation is logical. But if the government had an axe to grind with Dorothea Lange, why did they continue to keep her on the payroll after she gave negatives to a pacifist publication?⁶ Public relations spin was an integral mission of the WRA. In a report titled "Administrative Highlights of the WRA Program", director Dillon S. Myer wrote, "... the entire staff was engaged in public relations in a true

sense." (Administrative Highlights). In interviews, Myer proved himself both aware of the importance of media communication and willing to manipulate it. The organization gained considerably by utilizing the press and controlling the release of internment images. The WRA benefited particularly from friendly photographs, securing congressional funding through image-laden reports, and stood to gain even more by using a photographer trusted by the public. Lange's authenticity, her public credibility, was valuable. Dorothea herself said, "They wanted a record, just not a public record" (Lange, Reiss interview pp. 189).

The WRA went on to become part of the Office of War Information, the propaganda juggernaut of the Second World War. The OWI was the very same organization producing slogans like "BYE, BYE JAPS!" that appeared on billboards in the west. Being the very heart of the propaganda machine, the OWI certainly knew how to use a photograph to its advantage. They employed numerous photographers and published various pamphlets about the relocation, which clearly publicized the "even-handedness" of the camps, even the government's generosity in paying for food and accommodation (Relocating Japanese Americans). Press material conveniently did not mention that the government froze internees' bank accounts, constrained American citizens like prisoners, and seized Japanese Americans' hard-earned assets. The Executive Order also explicitly forbade the interned Japanese from taking photos (Alinder 1), confirming a definitive governmental knowledge of imagery's potency.

The government wanted a record, but a record that they could sculpt. Careful scrutiny over subject matter and deliberately reworded captions ensured that published images portrayed the WRA/OWI, and the government on the whole, in a positive light. As Jasmine Alinder points out, the WRA employed clerk-stenographers within the photography section, tasked with markedly

editorialized caption writing. Even though Lange (and many of the other WRA photographers) diligently included captions alongside photographs, the government ensured that those captions could be read in a favorable way. Clerks were instructed to make certain that a caption contained only "appropriate content;" they shortened, stripped of substance, or even removed captions from Lange's photographs (Alinder 36). For instance, the WRA-generated caption on Figure 3 reads, "The family unit is kept intact in various phases of evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry ... The family unit is likewise preserved in War Relocation Authority centers where evacuees will spend the

duration." But, Lange's image emphasizes an individual child, not a family (Alinder 37). As Alinder notes, the caption also ignores the young boy's cap, which reads "Remember Pearl Harbor." It is unlikely the perceptive photographer was unaware of message on the hat (Alinder, 37). Instead, the redacted caption seems out of place, and not in keeping with Lange's meticulous habit of writing specific captions. On other images, where the photographer focuses on land, farms, or other property abandoned during the internment, the captions contain messages about the internee's ability to maintain hobbies or skills inside the camps. One government-supplied caption reads, "Young workers of Japanese ancestry picking peas on a farm in Alameda County, before evacuation. Evacuees of Japanese descent will be housed for the duration in War

Relocation Authority centers where there will be opportunities to follow agricultural and other callings."

The caption ignores the substance of Lange's image; the Japanese family will have to leave their livelihood behind. Such irrelevant captions were symptomatic of a concentrated effort to control the substantive message of internment photographs.

Precisely because she was hailed as a social documentarian, Lange's images were more valuable to the



FIGURE 2

OWI; her imagery assumed integrity in the public eye. In *The Censored War*, Roedner wrote: "Governments at war use the truth whenever it serves their purposes" (Roeder, 81). This was the case with Dorothea Lange's photographs; the truthful photographer's work was only published when advantageous to the government cause. The Wartime Relocation Authority faced a large public relations problem, acknowledged in various reports located in the National Archive (Community Analysis and Trend Reports). Photographs offered a solution; the WRA brochures showed the internment in a positive light.

It is erroneous to assume that the OWI remained ignorant as to the value of photography, or of Dorothea Lange's reputation. Likewise it is incorrect to presume that documenting the relocation was simply in fashion at the time, as Linda Gordon does in her Lange biography. This dismissal is shortsighted. The Civil Control Authority was, in fact, quite insecure about its public image and ensured that Lange was bound by a notarized non-disclosure agreement. Also, the Roosevelt administration had the full cooperation of other famous photographers, like Ansel Adams. He was delighted that his WRA photography could lend a hand in the war effort (Robinson 24). At one point, the California government was even alerted to the fact that a famous Japanese American photographer, Toyo Miyatake, was making photographs on the inside (Robinson, 43). The government could have easily confiscated Miyatake's illegal photos for use in their pamphlets, or appropriated Adams's to achieve the same artistic quality. Yet, even after Lange's view on the internment became clear (after she and her husband put together the trenchant article *Our Stake in The Japanese Exodus*), the OWI retained Dorothea Lange. They continued to employ her as a photographer because her reputation for integrity was advantageous to them. In her book



FIGURE 3

on photography during the incarceration, Jasmine Alinder notes "... establishing a practice of documentary photography gave the WRA an appearance of transparency" (Alinder, 41). Indeed the practice of photographing the internment was an exercise in swaying public opinion, just as it had been at the FSA. Hiring Lange and the other WRA photographers was not simply trendy record keeping; it was the schema of a propaganda machine.

Because Lange was an avid new-deal supporter, the WRA and OWI may well have believed that she would cooperate more willingly with government interests than she did. But, by maintaining control over her access to the camps and publication of her negatives, they asserted careful control over her work. Even when war ended, the government still did not release Lange's negatives. They were too powerfully damaging to an administration espousing progressive ideals while locking away its own citizens. The images indicate deception, injustice and slipshod incarceration. It is profoundly ironic that the government hired Lange, a social activist, to cast a rose-colored hue on internment.

Dorothea Lange felt her images accomplished nothing in the 1940s because censorship prevented them from duly impacting on panic-born policy. The American mind became, and sadly still becomes, vulnerable when facing real or imagined threats to domestic security. A voice like Lange's is imperative in such a difficult climate. Thus, her photographs deserve an important place in American history, especially as fear of terrorism begins to erode the civil liberties of minority groups. Yet, Lange's internment images remain obscure and under-utilized. These photographs warrant perhaps even more distinction than the 1930s-era photos *Migrant Mother* or *White Angel Breadline*. For, unlike her more famous works, Lange overcame serious constraints to add "seditious" social commentary to her internment photographs.

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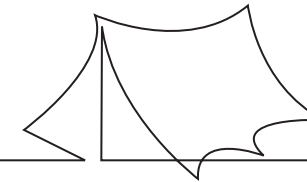
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NOTES

- Paul Taylor mentions Beasley in two separate interviews with Suzanne Riess.
- Military censorship surrounding the internment seemed to create a tension parallel to many homeland security measures imposed post-September 11th. This resonates with contemporary American anxiety surrounding measures like racial profiling in surveillance. Lange's impounded images then, have much to teach the modern viewer.
- Adams said "I believe that the acrid splendor of the desert, ringed with towering mountains, has strengthened the spirit of the people at Manzanar" (9). He is more accepting than critical.
- Report scanned and online at the Truman Library. <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/japanese_internment/docs.php>
- Repressed images included crying internees, staunch-looking soldiers, or images of mistreatment or shortage, among others.
- Lange allowed UC professor and pacifist Caleb Foote to publish her images. Major Beasley fumed, but the image had appeared in a congressional report and was technically within the public domain. However, there are more than one of Lange's images in Foote's pamphlet, and it remains a mystery as to whether Beasley knew that more than one image was Lange's.

The Circus Tent of Déjà Vu

by Andy Grose

There really wasn't any yard at all between the house and street. Which made it more amazing to him as he watched the woman from his window—had he seen her somewhere before?—rolling out the white—what the hell was it?—where there should have been grass.

What little yard you might imagine sloped sharply, and she fell each time she wrestled with the folds of what looked like an old white parachute. She cursed and strained to free it from itself, and he could see that it was more like the sort of thing they use to cover houses, a house-shroud, he thought, for fumigating everything inside. Or was it?

Then she turned and looked right at him as he stood there—full-naked, framed in his front window, in full view of anybody standing in the no-yard, which was usually nobody, because it sloped off so steeply toward the street. But there she was, staring hard, straight into his eyes, and not shifting her gaze from them for what seemed like an eternity. Which in a way was good, he thought, since he had not dressed a stitch, having planned to take the day's first beer back to bed.

Then it hit him where he'd seen her. She was that woman from the bar. That nun-like woman—that nut-case—from the bar last night. At least she should have been a nun. She seemed to be the kind of woman who had been a nun back in the days when everybody had a place to be. A woman of great passion all held in, too shy for life, lust foaming over into constant prayer. Back then she would have been cloistered, properly boxed-up with the rest: a sardine soul, locked up at night and causing nobody trouble. Now? She was a bar-nun, come to haunt the Déjà Vu Bar. Kneeling at that communion rail of alcohol and cigar smoke, full of fantasies of rescuing lost souls. He knew the type, their little black books of addresses and prayers and spells, sitting around in bars and wandering the streets trying to be saints.

Impossible hallucinations, he thought.

Somewhere else, some other time, there must have been another scene like this, some other nun-nut, some would-be saint, and some poor sucker much like him, fallen upon. An unwilling witness to some farce that could be passed off as a miracle. The deaf shall hear. The blind shall see. The drunk shall sober up. He could not remember getting home, or much about his last few drinks. But he could remember that she was keeping up with him pretty well for quite a while. She must have trained on altar wine, he could remember telling her that.

"I never should have talked to her," he said to himself. The little bits that were already coming back made the hair on his neck stand up, because he knew that when he talked in bars like that to strangers—and God knows she was strange—he said too much. A bar was to him the night train, the red-eyed flight across a stormy land, gently rocking on the bar stool, feeling the loosened rails of memory, humming, soothing, and then jarring until all his guts were slowly poured out for whoever was sitting next to him to study, an augury by someone you could trust to never look you in the eye. On the night train of alcohol you always look straight ahead, even when you try to look back, and the conversation falls behind with all the other flashes and flickers of the darkness outside.

"Oh, God!" he said out loud, to no one but himself, because he was in fact alone, "She's going to pitch a tent." And as he sipped his first beer of the morning, he thought it could be interesting to watch.

He considered putting on some clothes, but figured that she had most likely seen it all. And for his part he'd seen enough of her—more than enough—so he just pulled the blinds and went on sipping the beer, trying to wash away the furriness of his morning mouth. If you could call it morning at half-past two on a sunny afternoon.

"Never dare a nun," he thought. Who said that? Him? Her? Dare her to what? He was trying to remember last night, and the beer was helping. His mouth was feeling better.

He found a robe. Seeing himself in the closet mirror, he thought he looked, if not respectable, at least not like a bum. After all he had stolen the robe from a first class hotel.

He opened two more beers and unlatched the front door.

She was still standing there, staring at the closed curtain as if she were an honest to God statue, right there in his front non-yard.

"Don't you ever blink?" he said. At which she drifted toward him slowly.

"Join me for a little lunch?" he said. He held out one beer and nearly dropped it as she took it from him, never taking her eyes off the window curtain. She held her head back taking half the Dos Equis down without a breath.

"What did you say your name was?" she asked, without looking at him.

"Doesn't matter, does it?" he said. "And anyhow, you're not whoever you called yourself—Sister Glorium? Are you?"

"Not in the day time," she said, "that's another life, my night life."

"You really think you can get that ugly thing to stay up?" he said.

"I'll do what I said I would," she murmured, "last night." And now she was staring straight into his eyes again.

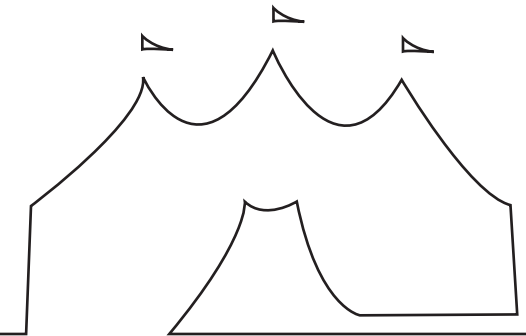
"Damn," he said and went inside.

He got dressed and even took a shower before he came back to the window, dragging a kitchen chair and a cold six-pack. Looking across the street he saw his old neighbor bringing in the paper and pretending not to watch the goings-on. Not even looking up when his butt-ugly dog ran over to smell at the ground around and under the tent thing. The yapping dog left small wet spots of urine on the ground as it always did. It ran all over the tent, then back to the old man, who played his game—just looking at the dog, not at the tent, or at the woman standing in the front yard. Acting as if they were not even there.

He dropped another empty bottle on the floor. He felt as if he'd run as far as his legs would carry him, they ached just watching her. He closed his eyes, maybe only for a minute, but when he looked at her again the tent was half-way up and he could see black stencils—U.S. Army—poking through garish 60's peace signs—those chickens' footprints—painted over them. And faint shadows of the stripes and colors of a circus tent that he

... she turned and looked right at him as he stood there

— full naked ...



had once seen, ablaze with bright lights in a midnight town that flashed past—burst and vanished—in the window of a flying train.

He might have called the police, but that would be most sadly out of place. What was her crime? Impersonating a nun? And anyhow, he might have told her she could camp awhile, forgetting in the joys of conversation at the Déjà Vu that he no longer lived out in the country. That there were no more horses in the pasture. That the creek no longer ran down from the mountains to the east, no longer ran across the open spaces out beyond his wide green lawns and lilac rows.

But she sure as hell knew that or she would not have found him at all.

And there she was.

He had a little trouble opening the last beer and when he finally looked up it was getting dark and she was coming out of the tent in what looked for all the world like a nun's habit, black and neatly pressed, and with a radiant white fluted band around her face, her hands somehow different, not the sweating hands that had taken a death grip on his cold beer, but a white porcelain pair of hands that made him want to reach out, hold them, warm them.

He opened his front door to take a closer look.

"How long you going to stay?" he asked.

"Until the miracle," was what he thought she said, and with the feeling that usually came over him with a full load of beer, he sat down on the front steps to think. This was all getting beyond his grasp. He watched her go, holding himself as steady as he could until she had floated out of sight on down the darkening street, as silently as she had floated up to his bar stool in the Déjà Vu.

God, he wondered, was it just last night?

He tried to take his mind back to last evening, sorting through the stale smells and shards and twisted straws. He thought she said her name was Sister Glorium. But she laughed a most unholy laugh when he called her that, and asked him to listen as she said, slowly, holding her warm finger to his parted lips, "sic transit"—Sister?—"gloria mundi"—Glorium?

"Sure, call me that," she laughed. "Sister Glorium."

He made her say "Hans hauled his huddled, howling slaves so Hanna'd have a handsome house in Holland," to test her fitness for another drink.

They'd exchanged observations on life. How young men have wet dreams and dry farts, while old men get it backwards. They shared wisdoms. Most men need stability more than success. Experience does not respect authority. Nothing serious that he could remember.

He told her that he was a "recycler." That he recycled old ideas, sending them to places they had not occurred. Or better, to where they had once been important, but were now lost, forgotten. To pay his bills he looked for

lapsed patents and expiring trade names that were still needed for orphan franchises. He haunted the deadlines posted in the legal pages, stalking the renewal dates for "doing business as" fictitious names and pouncing on them himself.

"All for small, shall we say, rewards," he said.

"Like kidnapping," she said. "For proper ransom?"

"Not nice, maybe," he said, "but ..."

"Sounds a lot like me," she said. "I take things, too. I restore them."

They spent the whole evening playing with drinks and words. She laughed a lot. She told him she was from a place where the rats gave each other poison, and old ladies paid to watch. Once when that porcelain look of hers took hold, she told him that it was all very complicated, like a graveyard of dead metaphors. Which had not made much sense to him at all.

Then—did he remember right—they were having sex. Or were they? Where had it been? In the bar? Back here? After—but after what—they talked about women who fish for men with strings of pearls. How good teeth are very sexually exciting. That a woman who wanted a man bad enough might just pitch a tent in his front yard and wait.

His head was feeling anything but clear and he had half-decided—being out of beer—that he would head back to the Déjà Vu himself. But he stopped on his front porch.

He could see his squatter coming back up the street, arm-in-arm with a much younger man, a man with an old fashioned collar and a broad-rimmed black hat, talking loudly in a voice that rang through the empty street. The tones and accents were musical or maybe foreign. As they drew nearer he could recognize his father's voice. Then the happy yelling of children. A crying baby. The ringing of church bells—hundreds of them—mixing with the lovely, off-pitch singing of some chorus.

He felt dizzy. But even with his eyes closed he was spinning.

Somehow the tent had grown larger, enormous. A man on stilts drew back the flaps. Inside he could see his old army buddies, scores of them. And the red-haired peacenik girl who had tried to love him. The place was packed, the circus in full gear. He could smell the popcorn. Seals were barking. A lion roared. A dozen clowns were riding unicycles among twice as many jugglers. A midget seated on a purple elephant was waving to him.

Sister Glorium stopped and held out her porcelain hand. Together they walked into the tent. As he glanced back through the closing flaps he could see a new foal splashing through the brilliant cold stream, racing across his wide green front lawn.

EPISTOLARY SUBVERSIVES: LETTER WRITING AS RESISTANCE TO HITLER

by Brad Bauer

Introduction

Since its appearance in English translation in 2009, Hans Fallada's novel *Jeder stirbt für sich allein*—alternately titled *Every Man Dies Alone* or *Alone in Berlin* in its English versions—has been enthusiastically hailed by many reviewers and readers as a lost classic. Although written while Fallada was hospitalized during the last months of his life, and published shortly after his death in 1947, this work was anything but unknown to German readers, and has long been acknowledged to be a vivid depiction of wartime Berlin and the actions of those who chose to defy Hitler. The late Italian writer and Auschwitz survivor, Primo Levi, once referred to it as “the greatest book ever written about the German resistance to the Nazis.”¹

The plot of this novel revolves around the stories of the inhabitants of one apartment building in a working-class district of Berlin and, in particular, on the actions of Otto and Anna Quangels, a factory foreman and his wife whose only son, a reluctant army recruit, is killed during the early months of the war. Galvanized by this loss, the Quangels turn their grief into outright defiance of Hitler by writing and disseminating anonymous postcards calling upon their fellow Germans to resist the regime through a variety of means. However, most of the people who happened upon these postcards, fearful of being caught with them, immediately turned them over to the authorities. These postcards in turn were delivered to Detective Escherich, an agent of the Gestapo who had been assigned to track down these “postcard phantoms,” and who kept a map of Berlin in his office that was carpeted with red push-pin flags, each one identifying the location where one of these subversive cards had been found. As the story of Escherich's pursuit and the Quangels's continued resistance unfolds, the tales of the Quangels's neighbors are woven into the narrative. These tales provide a compelling look at the hard choices faced by people living in a totalitarian regime, as well as the varied responses of accommodation or resistance to it.

In reading the novel, one is tempted to ask how characteristic the Quangels's actions were of ordinary

Germans' responses to the Nazis. In the atmosphere of deep fear and mistrust engendered by the Nazis' reign of terror, was it possible for citizens to resist, and beyond the well-known examples—such as the Munich university students Hans and Sophie Scholl, or Claus von Stauffenberg, the military officer who attempted to assassinate Hitler—were there many others who resisted as well? As it turns out, Fallada based his novel on the real-life story of Otto and Elise Hampel, a Berlin couple whose postcard campaign was documented in a Gestapo file that Fallada was given access to by the Soviet occupation authorities after the war, and Fallada's account of the Quangels follows very closely the actual events of the Hampel case. Some recent readers of Fallada's novel, though, have felt uncomfortable, thinking that in creating characters like the Quangels, he was trying to exonerate Germans from the crimes committed by the Nazis.

Given this concern, it is fitting to look for other examples of resistance to Hitler among ordinary Germans, and for the student or scholar at Stanford, one does not have to search far to find primary source material that relates to this question. In particular, one small archival collection in the Hoover Institution Archives provides an interesting glimpse of actions that echo those of the characters in Fallada's novel. This collection is a series of documents from the Nazi propaganda ministry, the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*, among which are listener letters sent to Hans Fritzsche, one of the regime's chief propagandists and the host of a fifteen-minute radio review of current affairs that was broadcast three times a week, titled *Politische Zeitungs- und Rundfunkschau* (“Political Newspaper and Radio Review”). Fritzsche, a journalist who began broadcasting in 1932, eventually produced between 900 and 1000 such programs, becoming in the process “the most prominent spokesperson of Nazi radio broadcasting, and after Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels, certainly the best known voice of the Third Reich.”² The letters in the collection at Hoover, which number in the hundreds and date mostly from 1941, reflect a variety of responses to Fritzsche's broadcasts, which

ranged from full-throated approval of the contents of his program, to appeals for help, critiques of his speaking style, and at times, outright disagreement with his message and the government that he represented.

A Sampling of Correspondence

There are many discernible themes that run through the listener correspondence that Fritzsche received, in both the laudatory letters and the critical ones. Given that the primary target of Fritzsche's broadcasts were the British, he received many letters supporting his attacks on them. One listener from the northern city of Cuxhaven congratulated him for his “unrelenting fight against the British-Jewish band of criminals,” writing to Fritzsche that “Almost daily, you flagellate the English lies, in a hard and convincing manner, as only you are able to.”³ Others sought to poke fun at the British, and contributed jokes or verse that they hoped Fritzsche could use on the air, such as the woman from Stettin, who offered one of her poems in the hope that it would show that “the German sense of humor has just as few boundaries, as that of the British island kingdom, the proud home of Mister Winston Churchill.”⁴ There were still others who responded to the anti-Semitism in various Fritzsche broadcasts, such as the listener in Salzburg who urged Fritzsche to continue his attacks on Jews, fearing that if they were cleared out of Germany “through the front door,” they would still find ways to return “through the back door,” something which Fritzsche, in his reply, assured him would never happen under the leadership of the new Germany. Other listeners sought to enlist Fritzsche's help, ranging from several would-be listeners who wanted him to help them obtain radio receivers, to a number of women who wrote to him seeking assistance in locating their husbands or sons, who were missing in action as soldiers on the front. In some of these cases, Fritzsche forwarded their letters to various officials and agencies in an effort to seek assistance for his fans.

On the other hand, the correspondence to Fritzsche also contains a surprisingly large number of letters and postcards that were critical of his broadcast—approximately one hundred and sixty, or about a quarter of the letters in this collection. Some of these letters stopped short of calling for the overthrow of the government, and appeared to criticize only specific aspects of it, or to critique the content of Fritzsche's broadcasts (including his pronunciation and speaking style). Such letters were written anonymously as the authors presumably feared a knock on

their door from the authorities for voicing even this fairly mild type of criticism. However, a number of the letters went much further and expressed sentiments that would have earned their authors at least a prison sentence if their identities were revealed, and in some cases even a death sentence. By the spring and summer months of 1941 when many of the anonymous letters were sent, a number of specific grievances were being raised repeatedly by these letter writers.

Dissenting views about Britain

Chief among these was that, despite Fritzsche's repeated ridicule of the British and predictions of their demise, they appeared to be gaining the upper hand in the war, especially according to those huddled in air-raid shelters as waves of R.A.F. bombers swept over their cities. In particular, many listeners noted that although Fritzsche repeatedly made much of food shortages in Britain, German civilians were in fact worse off. One Berliner, writing on January 15, 1941, began by thanking Fritzsche for his “boring blather about what the English eat, drink, and so on,” and referred to a broadcast in which Fritzsche apparently said that there were only ten cases of oranges in all of London for Christmas. In contrast, “we Berliners didn't have a single orange at Christmas, and only now we receive some that are either completely frozen or spoiled.”⁶ A listener from Essen, in a letter postmarked June 3, 1941, commented on Fritzsche's remark that the British were trying to determine their future by reading tea leaves, or as the German colloquial expression says “from coffee grounds.” This listener then added, “Through your comments you actually praised the British, since you confirmed that at least they have coffee over there, which isn't the case here.”⁷

British bombing raids on German cities were also a frequent topic mentioned by these anonymous letter-writers. One particularly trenchant letter, from a writer in Düsseldorf in January 1941, noted that she was writing from an air-raid shelter, and gave vivid descriptions of the hours spent in cold cellars, unable to do anything but worry about the safety of one's family. “It is worst for us women,” she added, demanding



that “this cowardly air war has to stop” as “it doesn’t serve us well at all when London is continually bombed, since those bombs will come back to us and our children” and when countless lives are lost in Britain, “we will bear the consequences here.” Asserting that if men were incapable of stopping the air war then women would step up and do so, she wrote that “this should not be seen as a threat,” but that “we will find a way to do so, and the Propaganda Ministry can count on that,” a line that the recipient underlined in blue pencil.⁸ Another writer from nearby Essen, in a letter postmarked July 25, 1941, noted that in bombing raids, it was peculiar that working class districts were hardest hit while those of the wealthier classes were spared. Furthermore, those latter districts had the best air-raid shelters, while this writer’s neighborhood had none, leading the writer to comment that “anybody who thinks about the matter realizes that what they [the authorities] want to do is to create a mass grave, in order to save the survivors the expense of a funeral.”⁹ The disparity between the privileged and the working classes is another theme that recurs in these letters, and one that led to more direct criticism of the Nazi elite.

Exposing Nazi corruption and hypocrisy

As the ridicule of English plutocrats was a common feature of Fritzsche’s broadcasts, several listeners took aim at this caricature, painting convincing pictures of how members of the Nazi elite lived extravagant lifestyles in marked contrast to the privations endured by the common people in Germany during wartime. The Berliner quoted in the letter above from January 15, 1941, commenting on German food rations in comparison to the British, asked “Don’t you think that we would be much more interested in knowing what Dr. Goebbels and Field Marshal Goering ate on the occasion of the latter’s birthday?” The writer further says that it was ludicrous to imagine that Goering “with his figure” (or as it literally reads in the German, “with his front porch,” an allusion to his ample stomach) could get by on only 62.5 grams of butter a week.¹⁰ Another Berliner, writing on May 17, 1941, singled out additional members of the Nazi hierarchy for criticism, in particular Robert Ley, head of the German Labor Front (DAF), who had an especially well-known reputation for corruption. Noting that a married couple was forced to survive on 48

Reichsmarks a month, this writer added that “Ley can spend 148 RM on cocktails with women he has picked up off of the street,” while another prominent Nazi, Wilhelm Kube, “does his job so well that the chambermaids rave about him” as he “gives them 20 RM each time they let him place his hand up their skirts.” Given these examples of extravagance and depravity contrasted with the sacrifices ordinary Germans were forced to make, this listener hoped Fritzsche would “understand why thousands tune out your broadcasts, and why the people are dismayed and depressed.”¹¹

The events of the spring and summer of 1941 gave listeners added ammunition against Fritzsche and his propaganda, first with the defection of deputy Führer Rudolf Hess to Britain, where he piloted a plane on a self-proclaimed mission of peace, and then with the Nazi invasion of its erstwhile ally, the Soviet Union, in late June. The Hess event triggered numerous letters mocking Fritzsche’s rosy picture of Nazi Germany which Hess’s mission seemed to belie. Typical of the many letters Fritzsche received on this topic was the ending of the afore-mentioned letter of June 6, 1941. The writer concluded with the hope that Hess would “tell the English how the Germans here are worked like slaves” so that “England will finally be able to win the war,” adding that “I would rather live under English servitude than under the constrained circumstances that we—like all subjugated peoples—live in here in Germany.”¹²

Prior to the invasion of the Soviet Union, some listeners ridiculed Fritzsche for the Nazi party’s inconsistent propaganda relative to that country. One listener from Meissen wrote on June 11, 1941—a little over a week before the surprise invasion of the Soviet Union—saying that Nazi propaganda was “like a weather vane, since at first Russia was characterized as being the land of atrocities, and now it is seen as the favorite child, and Stalin is viewed as a statesman.”¹³ A February 1942 letter from Hamburg asked why Fritzsche never explained the differences between Nazis and Bolsheviks, and in a series of rhetorical questions, pointed out their actual similarities, noting that “in Russia, they have People’s Commissars, here we have the Gestapo, in Russia they have Siberia, here we have the concentration camps.”¹⁴

In the files within this collection, there are not only listener letters, but also some of Fritzsche’s responses. Of particular interest are 13 carbon copies of letters that Fritzsche attached to listener mail and forwarded to his contact at the Gestapo headquarters in Berlin, often with suggestions that these listeners be made the subjects of police investigations. In this role, Fritzsche’s

The letter writer then describes how the Nazis had made the German people into an organized band of murderers, thieves and arsonists.

response recalls those of a number of characters from Fallada’s novel, such as the apartment dwellers who hurriedly turned the subversive postcards over to their block wardens, or the character of Detective Escherich, seeking to piece together clues about the identity of the writer of these messages. Just as Otto Quangel’s postcards were described as being written in large, block letters, in a very simple style characteristic of one with little formal education, so Fritzsche remarked on one occasion about the “primitive” style of writing on some of the anonymous letters he had received “which ... despite their primitiveness, could perhaps provide some clues about enemy agitation cells.”¹⁵

Striking at the heart of the system

The most striking letters—and those that Fritzsche likely shared with the Gestapo—were the ones that called outright for Hitler’s death and the collapse of the government, and, in doing so, moved beyond complaints about scarce foodstuffs or the hypocrisy of officials, calling instead for the wholesale destruction of an irredeemably corrupt and evil political ideology and form of government. One lengthy letter from Hamburg, dated April 5, 1941, begins “Fritzsche! Your narcotics are losing their effect,” and predicts that as “the leading pen-pushing member of this band of criminals,” he would eventually join them in “hanging from the gallows.” This writer noted a headline in a local newspaper that cried out about an allegedly “infamous U.S. breach of law,” which he then compared to the actual deeds carried out by the Gestapo and “the infamous and greatest theft of all time, namely, the theft of the property of people” who have moved abroad. Next to this the reader—either Fritzsche or the Gestapo—wrote “Jews!” in blue pencil in the margin of the page. The letter writer then describes how the Nazis had made the German people into “an organized band of murderers, thieves, and arsonists,” and that as the Nazis had always lived by murder and theft, the curse of such actions would be visited upon them as well.¹⁶

Another letter, from a listener in Frankfurt dated May 23, 1941, focused primarily on the Hess affair, comparing him once again to a rat jumping from a

sinking ship. It begins by asking “Who is the worst criminal?” and answers that it was “none other than Hitler, who despite the most serious warnings, committed the criminal attack on Poland which unleashed the world war and brought not only the German people, but many other peoples into nameless misery” and concludes that Hitler and his clique should be flogged, tarred, feathered, and finally, burned at the stake. To this final point, the writer added that “to ensure the thoroughness of this procedure, innocent people who are languishing in concentration camps and prisons—such as Catholic priests, soldiers, people from occupied countries, Britons, involuntary members of the party, and last but not least, Jews—should be invited to take part.”¹⁷ In a postcard from Dortmund dated January 1941, the writer addressed Fritzsche as his “dear record-playing terrier,” and then suggests that he tell his listeners in the next broadcast that “after the collapse of the Nazi dictatorship, there won’t be any sunglasses and nice pensions offered to the cronies and the officer clique, but rather, the noose and the mass grave.” This writer thought it would be fitting if there would “be deportations to the countries formerly occupied by the Nazi gangsters” so that the “Nazi swine could clear away the rubble, or according to the desires of the inhabitants, be used as fertilizer instead.”¹⁸

Conclusion

In summary, what is the significance of the type of resistance documented in the letters that were sent to Hans Fritzsche or in the anonymous postcard campaign immortalized in the characters of Fallada’s novel? After all, the majority of Germans acquiesced to the rule of the Nazi regime, whether in agreement with its aims and actions, or, as was likely the case with the majority, out of fear of what would happen if they did not. Roger Moorhouse, in his recent history of Berlin during the war, characterized the population of that city as being made up of “minorities of active Nazis and active anti-Nazis [that] flanked an ambivalent majority, who were often simply motivated by self-preservation, ambition, and fear.”¹⁹ It is evident that just as the postcard campaign that was fictionalized in Fallada’s novel won few, if any, converts to the fight against Hitler, that likewise the letters and postcards

... a remnant remained and spoke out anonymously as witnesses to the truth that would eventually prevail.

sent to Hans Fritzsche failed to make an impact on him, or change the tone and nature of his broadcasts. He remained an active Nazi to the very end, was present in Hitler's bunker at the end, and, being taken prisoner by the Red Army in May 1945, was able to confirm to them that Hitler and Goebbels had indeed committed suicide.²⁰

Although few people actually resisted Hitler's regime and they had a minimal impact, this archival collection of correspondence and Fallada's novel both present a more textured and varied picture of the thoughts, feelings, and fears of those who lived under Hitler's rule. In the after-word to the American edition of Fallada's book, Geoff Wilkes interprets the actions of the Quangels, along with other dissident characters in the novel, as being symbolic of the "righteous few" who redeem the nation, and who, in doing so, provide a link to the hope and reconstruction of a post-war world.²¹ Wilkes also noted that throughout Fallada's work, as in this novel, the word *anständig*, which can loosely be translated as "upright" or "decent," is commonly employed and, in the case of the Quangels, is repeatedly used to describe their motivations and actions. Even when faced with the near-certainty of death if captured, they persisted in their post-card campaign, since with most other avenues of dissent closed off, how else could they respond to their conscience? Likewise, the dissident writers of letters to Hans Fritzsche could also have sought to salvage some sense of decency and to vent their feelings of outrage at the injustices that surrounded them, injustices that led to the deaths of millions of their fellow Germans and fellow Europeans. As Fritzsche's contacts with the Gestapo demonstrate, these letter-writing actions too, while anonymous, were not without risk. In his conclusion, Wilkes contrasts Fallada's novel with Hannah Arendt's non-fiction *Eichmann in Jerusalem* by noting that while the latter analyzed the "banality of evil," the story of the Quangels instead "comprehends and honors the banality of good."²² In a similar way, those listeners who sent Fritzsche letters that dissented with the party line showed that, despite the seeming triumph of Nazism in 1941, a remnant remained and spoke out anonymously, as witnesses to the truth that would eventually prevail.

NOTES

¹ Dalya Alberge, "Hans Fallada's Anti-Nazi Classic Becomes Surprise UK Bestseller," *The Observer* 23 May 2010. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2010/may/23/hans-fallada-thriller-surprise-hit?intcmp=239>.

² Martin Hartwig, "Die bekannteste Stimme des Großdeutschen Rundfunks: Biographie über Hans Fritzsche, 16 April 2007, *Deutschlandfunk* (website for Deutschlandradio), accessed 1 February 2011, translation of present author <http://www.dradio.de/dlf/sendungen/politischeliteratur/615830/>.

³ Klaus Reinecke to Fritzsche, 13 June 1941, Listener correspondence to Hans Fritzsche, alphabetic, "R," Box 3, Germany. Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Miscellaneous records, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University (hereafter referred to as Listener correspondence to Hans Fritzsche). With all of the original correspondence cited in this paper, the translations are provided by the present author.

⁴ Agnes Pahl, to Fritzsche, 27 October 1941, Listener correspondence to Hans Fritzsche, alphabetic, "P-Q," Box 3.

⁵ Rupert Helleis to Fritzsche, 8 September 1941, Listener correspondence to Hans Fritzsche, alphabetic, "H," Box 2. Helleis also identified himself as one who had been blinded during the First World War.

⁶ Listeners' correspondence to Hans Fritzsche, anonymous, 1941, January-March, Box 3.

⁷ Listeners' correspondence.

⁸ Listeners' correspondence., 1941, January-March, Box 3.

⁹ Listeners' correspondence., 1941, June-July, Box 3.

¹⁰ Listeners' correspondence., 1941, January-March, Box 3.

¹¹ Listeners' correspondence., 1941, April-May, Box 3.

¹² Listeners' correspondence.

¹³ Listeners' correspondence., 1941, June-July, Box 3.

¹⁴ Listeners' correspondence., 1942, January-March, Box 3.

¹⁵ Fritzsche to Keller [?], 3 November 1941, Hans Fritzsche, official correspondence, Box 4.

¹⁶ Listener correspondence to Hans Fritzsche, anonymous, 1941, April-May, Box 3.

¹⁷ Listeners' correspondence.

¹⁸ Listeners' correspondence., 1941, January-March, Box 3.

¹⁹ Roger Moorhouse, *Berlin at War: Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939-1945*. London: The Bodley Head, 2010. xvi.

²⁰ "Goebbels Dead, 'Suicide with Hitler'—Statement to Red Army Captors," *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)* 3 May 1945, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, The Guardian and The Observer (1791-2003), ProQuest. Web. 1 Feb. 2011.

²¹ Geoff Wilkes, afterword, *Every Man Dies Alone*, by Hans Fallada, trans. Michael Hofmann (New York: Melville House, 2009) 522.

²² Geoff Wilkes 527.

OLD LOVE

by Katherine Orloff

You are an old romance. And an old love.
Sprung from a lineage of life and lives,
Having prior lived elsewhere,
Or not lived at all.
In the kin of those lives we began.
In the offspring of spheres we loved each other once.
Ours – a romance that saw other suns, and called them something else.

An unrarried arrival, your spirit precedes you.
Our looking eyes have not spoken sight of each other.
But my heart's lids, fleshy and unfurled,
Recognize the long ago sight of you.
You, I have loved already.
This, I have seen before.

I asked for you, but you chose another.
Did your hearing not hear my fervent calling?
I wrote you down, yelled you in streets, and spoke you softly to friends in corners of kitchens and hallways:
"She's coming"
Yet now, the weight of your coming may be my end.
What I could not foresee:
That you are large. And starving. Hungry from your journey.
Ready to consume another.
What will it feel like? To be eaten by the unseen?

You! That I have loved already. This! That I have seen before.
Let me be soul only – the occasion for your feasting.
Let you be the without that lies deep in my throat,
Showing me what nowhere looks like
And giving me nothing that wants to be even less.
Swallow me and you swallow this, your inheritance:
A nothing so big the universe has not palms to contain it.

Soon I will become these less-thans. These nowheres and nothings.
When I do, I might resemble something like this day.
I might resemble the outline of your soul,
Plucked from the offspring of spheres,
And illuminated by a sun I cannot name.
But one that rushes your blood forth
And shifts my bones back into a placeless place.
Into offsprings and elsewhere,
Where Nowhere has a sun,
And lineages of love, long ago, were sprung.

From Theriac to Treacle:

*How an Ancient Snake
Oil Survived Centuries
and Came to Tea*

by Emily Goldberg



An apothecary publically preparing the drug theriac, under the supervision of a physician. (Woodcut, W. Brunschwig, 1512)

Today the word “treacle” calls to mind saccharine sentiments and desserts sweet enough to make one’s teeth ache. But from the Middle Ages through the nineteenth century, the word treacle referred to an oral or topical remedy. Less than two hundred years ago, treacle was still a regulated pharmacological substance, believed to be both a powerful antidote to poison and a therapy beneficial against disease and infirmity. Medicines labeled “treacle” were compounded with the flesh of snakes, along with numerous herbs and substances not found in a typical dessert. The traditional English dessert, treacle tart, is a direct descendant of this herpetologically infused herbal elixir, originally called “theriac.”

Theriac, derived from the Greek “theriake” meaning “antidote for poisonous wild animals” (Watson 4), was an ancient antidote that survived the cultural shifts of nearly eighteen centuries, despite a lack of real medicinal value. It lasted because it succeeded in fulfilling a variety of roles in diverse times. Theriac was a chameleon, adapting to every culture that embraced it. The Enlightenment finally brought the spirit of scientific skepticism and clinical observation to bear upon the compound and revealed its true nature.

Ancient cultures looked to magic and religion to relieve their ills and calm their fears. Deadly encounters with venomous snakes and insects were a common hazard, and poisoning was a real threat to prominent figures in public life. Antidotes of complicated compounds, created from plant, animal and mineral substances, were ritualistically applied topically or ingested. Incantations were believed to add important powers to the healing ritual. Precursor potions to theriac met a spiritual and medical need to confront perceived threats.

As the art of poisoning became more prevalent and refined, those in power looked to ancient knowledge for cures. Mithridates VI, King of Pontus in Asia Minor from 120 to 63 BCE, was so preoccupied with both his fear of poison and his desire to make use of it for his own political gain that he invested great energy and enthusiasm in creating various combinations of toxins and remedies to develop “the mother of all antidotes.” A variety of compounds had been catalogued in texts composed during the last centuries before the Christian era. Nicander of Colophon, Asclepiades, and Apollodorus all described a variety of remedies through poetry and prose (Watson 13-20). Building on this knowledge, Mithridates tested various versions of “mithradatium” on condemned criminals as he sought a single preparation that would offer universal protection from all possible poisons and venoms.

More than a century later Nero, another despotic ruler with a passion for poison, prevailed upon his physician, Andromachus, to continue Mithridates’s quest. Andromachus altered mithradatium a bit, most notably adding the flesh of the viper. He also increased the opium content and named his creation “Galene” for the tranquil effect it produced. However there



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was nothing tranquil about the manufacture of Galene. Preparation required forty days as a lengthy list of special substances were collected under precise conditions and then compounded carefully. The resulting concoction was believed to reach prime potency after at least two decades, and then dwindled in power after fifty or sixty years. No wonder the drug was typically manufactured in high volume. This compound fulfilled the desire of tyrants to wield power over their adversaries, and provided physicians the means to offer vehicles of that power to the rulers they served. Galene, later more commonly referred to as the “Theriac of Andromachus,” was the specific compound that survived into the Middle Ages and beyond. But why did this particular drug survive above nearly all others?

The Theriac of Andromachus met the needs of Greek medical theorists, such as Galen and Aetius, as they sought to promote ideas about health and disease. Because there was no scientific method for testing the validity of theriac at the time, specific claims of cures were not rigorously examined. Instead, ancient texts were relied on as evidence of the worth of cures.

If a cure could be made to fit developing modes of thought, it became a part of that system. In particular, Galen connected his system regarding the complexion of human physiology with the supposed action of theriac. Theriac was believed to act on the human body’s “humors” as it brought them back into balance or kept them in balance, whichever the situation required. Galen promoted the rationalist idea that healing occurred through remedies that provided qualities contrary to the sufferers’ symptoms (Bishop 24-25).

If the problem was fever, offer substances classified as cold. If symptoms were of dryness, offer a wet therapy. The bite of a viper was thought to be cold, and theriac brought heat to counterbalance the venom (Bishop 4). Galen’s theories were for the most part rationalist, but the empiricist line of reasoning also found its way into his texts. Theriac, as formulated by Andromachus, was an empirical cure by similarity: viper was a necessary component to promote natural healing after envenomation. This concoction fit several different medical viewpoints—magical, rational, empirical, and herbal. Thus theriac became a central therapy of the times that grew in popularity throughout the Roman Empire. When the Empire crumbled, however, theriac did not vanish.

While the religious beliefs, power structures and culture of the early middle ages were quite different than those of the Roman Empire, theriac was ideally positioned to be adopted into a new society. The therapy was a prominent remedy in the texts of Galen that were translated into Latin, beginning in the fifth century CE (Siraisi 6). Therefore by the eighth century, both Greco-Roman healing doctrine and medicine survived, becoming firmly entrenched in clerical and monastic communities (Siraisi 10). Monks of an herbalist bent readily accepted theriac as a legitimate therapy from tried and true ancient texts. Since the church wielded great authority over knowledge and truth, the traditions of Galenic medicine were actively put into practice by healers. Theriac’s position of importance in society was therefore not only saved, but also enhanced. Furthermore, these Latin translations became central to the curriculum within the growing university system. As these translated texts traveled throughout Europe, so did knowledge of theriac.

This spread of knowledge was not limited to the monasteries and universities, for there was a great need for medical expertise throughout Europe. The population suffered from low life expectancy, high infant mortality, widespread malnutrition, and overcrowding. Monks, clergy, and university-educated physicians all put their faith in the compound as they attempted to aid the sick. Since men of the church and men of learning promoted the use of theriac, the drug was validated both spiritually and medically in the minds of the people. Theriac quickly spread throughout popular culture because it provided hope in a time of desperate need. The difficulties inherent in its production did not hinder its reception. To the contrary, the fact that theriac was the product of an extraordinarily complex process probably enhanced its value in communities still in touch with magical beliefs from their pagan pasts.

The difficulty and expense associated with the manufacture of this precious therapy also allowed it to fill other important roles in the changing medieval social and political structure. Not just anyone could make it, so successful manufacture of theriac gave power and status to those that could. As population growth, urbanization, and economic changes in the Middle Ages created more opportunities for trade and social mobility, theriac became an even more important article of commerce to individuals and communities struggling to gain and maintain power. By virtue of its complicated compounding process and its widespread appeal, theriac's monetary value soared and it became

a considerable economic force.

By the twelfth century, theriac was also commonly known as "treacle" and was being imported from several cities (including Venice, Padua, Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Constantinople and Cairo) to other areas of the continent and England. In particular, Venice treacle was highly prized and therefore exorbitantly expensive. This widespread trade provided yet another way in which theriac's importance in society was validated and its reputation enhanced. Since costly goods were prime targets of fraud, theriac soon became a subject of dispute.

Ironically, being a subject of dispute further enhanced the image of theriac and increased its political and social status. For it was not the efficacy of theriac as a drug that was in question, but rather the accuracy and purity of the compounding. When theriac failed to deliver protection or a cure, the quality of the dose administered was held suspect. Given the extremely complex nature of both the ingredients and the preparation, this was an obvious explanation for lack of effect. Therefore it became vital that the process of producing this drug be controlled and accomplished in such a way that the public was confident of its purity.

The ingredients were displayed for public inspection for a certain number of days, and then the actual cooking, drying, and compounding took place in full view of the public. Civic and religious leaders, some-

times accompanied by royalty, monitored the production. Being the focus of such prominent oversight increased theriac's social, political and financial strength. Social because the production of theriac was an important community event attended to with great "pomp and ceremony" (Griffin 318). Political because appearing publicly to control theriac production enhanced the image of power of civic and religious leaders involved. Financial because theriac created under such circumstances was able to maintain its reputation of authenticity and presumably command even higher prices and greater market share. Theriac's cultural position of importance was amplified by the obvious concern for its purity by significant members of the elite power structure, while the drug's importance to the economy was underscored. Theriac became further embedded in the culture, just in time to be presented by its greatest challenge yet, the Black Death.

As the continent was beset by repeated waves of plague, and particularly devastated by the Black Death in the fourteenth century, theriac was frequently prescribed to prevent infection and to cure victims. There is no definitive evidence that theriac provided the relief citizens sought. Fabbri, in *Treating Medieval Plague: The Wonderful Virtues of Theriac*, claims that the significant quantity of opium and honey included in the compound may have provided relief of symptoms to some victims. Shapiro and Shapiro in *The Placebo Effect* dispute Fabbri's theory. The authors claim that the quantity of opium in the preparation could not have provided even modest relief of symptoms, much less a cure. Despite theriac's lack of real therapeutic effect, its use spread as desperate citizens searched for cures and comfort. The medication offered a remedy for the profound sense of hopelessness as the plague spread, but did nothing to reduce the mortality rate.

The costly nature of the product probably contributed to the belief that it was an authentic treatment. The rich and prominent members of the population enjoyed better health and survived pandemics in greater numbers than the malnourished poor. Since the rich were able to afford theriac, it appeared that their survival was due to the drug. In reality their survival resulted from superior health and living conditions enjoyed before illness, as well as their financial ability to procure continued nutrition and rest during the pestilence. Theriac got credit for cures that were borne of demographic reality, not from any biological effectiveness. The drug remained popular due to the misattribution of cures of the wealthy, the power of the placebo effect, and for the simple fact that nothing else succeeded against the plague. Without

another treatment to take its place, theriac remained king of the cures for a time.

Powerful shifts in human thought, not a new and more capable remedy, eventually removed theriac or treacle from apothecary's shelves. The Age of Enlightenment birthed the scientific method. Questions were asked about long-held practices and beliefs, and doubts were explored through direct clinical observation. In 1745 William of Heberden, an English classical scholar and physician, wrote *Antithetica, Essay on Mithradatum and Theriaca*. The pamphlet outlined the history of theriac and presented a rational and coherent argument asserting that the drug was a fraud (Watson 136). Despite this evidence presented by a reputable source, the London Pharmacopeia did not remove theriac from its list of approved therapies until 1788. The long-standing and powerful reputation of this medicine made it particularly difficult for the conservative medical community and the general population to give up the treacle habit. Germany and France took even longer to remove theriac from their pharmacopoeias, not until 1872 and 1884, respectively (Watson 150).

Theriac threaded its way through claims of magical remedies, philosophical texts, changing economies and political structures, and medical catastrophes from ancient times to modern. In each instance theriac provided something culturally valuable: spiritual support, power, wealth and hope. In the end, this substance played perhaps its most lasting and important cultural role. Theriac provided the early scientific method an excellent subject against which to test its powers of reason. Even though the remedy was no longer considered a necessary prophylactic for good health or a powerful cure, people were unwilling to abandon it entirely. I suggest that the two primary reasons for treacle's survival were tradition and sweetness of taste.

First, the belief that the medication was an important daily component of one's diet, necessary for maintaining good health, was firmly entrenched in western culture. As early as the second century, Galen promoted theriac's prophylactic use (Watson 47) and this specific advice was repeated over the coming centuries. The early medieval Persian physician and philosopher Avicenna wrote that both food and medicine were necessary for maintaining good physical health (Siraisi 121). By the Middle Ages "food and medicine shaded into each other" (Siraisi 121). For instance, in 1348 the Medical Faculty of Paris recommended a little theriac be taken routinely with meals (Watson 100). Therefore treacle's leap from remedy to repast was a short one. Since deeply held traditions

are cherished, theriac was a tough habit to break, even for enlightened European cultures.

If the snake and reptile-heavy recipes had prevailed over time, it is doubtful that treacle desserts would be found on a single menu in Britain today. Although earlier theriacs were heavier on herbs, with wine and honey nearly always included, by the third century BC animal-derived substances predominated in the compound. Over time medicines were commonly made more palatable by the addition of sugar. During the seventeenth century the application of the name "treacle" to simple sugar syrup probably arose from this widespread practice of "sugaring the pill" (Olver). Meanwhile, the therapeutic use of treacle to treat a wide variety of symptoms and diseases predominated in England well into the eighteenth century. The sweeter remedy must have had significant appeal for, although theriac is no longer available at the chemist's today, it is still held dear at tea as treacle tart.

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CALL AND RESPONSE: CIVIL RIGHTS AND JAZZ

by Pat Nicholson

Stolen from their villages, force-marched to the sea, chained leg-to-leg in filthy, cramped ship-holds for months on the voyage across the Atlantic—the African men and women, who endured the Middle Passage and arrived on the shores of the New World, had been stripped of much of their personal and cultural identities along the way. The enslaved Africans suffered extreme physical and emotional deprivation at the hands of their captors, who treated them like troublesome, but lucrative, commodities. Those who survived the tortuous voyage were sold at auction, where families were often split up amongst the many bidders. Through this process, many slaves were also separated from their tribal bonds. The slaves fed into the tobacco and cotton industries of the American South were not from a uniform ethnic group; they were Senegalese, Yorubas, Dahomeans, and Ashantis, who possessed different languages and cultural traditions.

Despite all these forces of dehumanization and dislocation, important cultural memories survived. For example, music, which was central to all aspects of life in West Africa, was a common cultural heritage shared by slaves from different tribes. As opposed to the European musical tradition, where melody and harmony prevailed, African music was distinguished by rhythm. Over several centuries, African drum choirs had refined sophisticated, overlapping rhythms through religious rituals. African culture regarded music as always present and active in life. Thus, there were music and rhythms that were appropriate to all aspects of human experience, from courtship, to gossip, to worship, to war (Fordham, 12). These rhythms were often overlaid with a verbal pattern of call and response, in which a leader would call out a phrase and the community would respond. Call and response was pervasive throughout West Africa as a basis of civic and religious participation. This African heritage surfaced in the Americas in the form of *work songs* sung by the slaves during their labors. In the fields, the percussion of pick-axes and shovels digging in unison served in the place of drums. And a slave song leader would call out a phrase on the beat to which his fellow slaves would respond as they labored. As a common cultural experience, music was pivotal in helping slaves from different tribal backgrounds establish a shared identity.

In this oral tradition, songs were passed down and modified through successive generations. At one level, these songs, known as spirituals, served as a coping mechanism for slaves by encouraging endurance and the belief in an afterlife, where long suffering would be rewarded. Overseers viewed these spirituals as a harmless concession to their slaves and a boon to productivity in the fields. But on another level, spirituals provided a sophisticated system for embedding coded messages and instructions that could pass undetected by slave owners and overseers. For example, "Follow the Drinking Gourd," refers to the Big Dipper and the North Star at the end of its handle, which points the way to freedom.

From the advent of slavery in the Americas through the Civil War and until the present, music has been active and present in the formation of African-American identity and the struggle for freedom. This was true for slaves in the 1850s, prior to emancipation, and it was still true in the 1950s, as the Civil Rights movement gained

momentum in the quest for equality. Prior to the 1950s, African-American music mixed with European influences to evolve through several musical hybrids including blues, ragtime, and the early styles of jazz like Dixieland and swing. Then from the early 1950s up to the middle of the 1960s, jazz music went through a period of profound aesthetic innovation and vitality that closely paralleled the developments of the civil rights movement and Black Nationalism.

This essay asserts that the art of jazz, and the realm of politics were engaged in a figurative form of call-and-response. One cannot understand the history of jazz in this period without understanding the larger political and social context in which it developed. Within this context, we can trace the aesthetic responses of jazz which, in different forms, ranged from resistance to activism to celebration to reconciliation. Conversely, through the political response to jazz, we gain deep insights into the changing attitudes and perspectives on black identity and culture in America.



EARLY 1950'S – NOT THE SAME OLD SONG AND DANCE

On May 17, 1954, under the new leadership of Earl Warren, the Supreme Court voted unanimously in *Brown v. Board of Education* to overturn the "separate but equal" doctrine established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. The key finding of the court was that even in cases where the facilities and teachers were of equal quality, the separation of black students was in itself harmful and perpetuated significant psychological and social disadvantages. The decision electrified the nation and would ultimately have far-reaching implications as it provided the legal framework to challenge segregation in all aspects of society.

While the *Brown* decision promised new possibilities, it did not produce immediate change in American society. In the music business in particular, the forces of segregation

were largely the same the day after the *Brown* decision as they had been for decades. As historian Timuel Black notes, many black musicians "who had been the star in the front room, couldn't get anything to eat or a place to sleep" in the same hotel where they were playing. Duke Ellington famously rented two Pullman cars for his orchestra, where they would return after gigs to eat, practice, and sleep to avoid the insult of segregation (Ward 198). But it is a popular misconception that the poor treatment of black entertainers was limited to the South. Up through the 1950s, black musicians commonly were faced with back door policies, segregated dances, rules against fraternizing with white customers, and difficulty with hotel bookings and seating in restaurants in places like New York, California, Kansas City, Las Vegas, Boston and Chicago (Monson 31).

What is even less well understood, but was more pervasive, was economic segregation in the music industry. First, the copyright system rewarded broadcast royalties only to songwriters and publishers, not performers. For musicians who left their indelible fingerprints on popular songs through improvisation, this copyright structure did not properly value their intellectual property. Additionally, the terms of standard recording contracts were calculated as the retail price minus taxes, duties, and percentages for packaging. Because the artist was liable for so much of the cost, and royalty rates only ranged from 5 to 10 percent, it was common for well-known artists to be in debt for their recordings. Monson cites the example of Charles Mingus receiving a bill for \$1,644.81 from Columbia records for the difference between his royalties and the costs incurred in recording and distribution (30). Finally, the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) had segregated locals. In the AFM contracts with broadcasters, the white locals determined who got the plush jobs working sponsored radio programs. During the swing era, these radio programs provided steady income and were pivotal in establishing the reputations and record sales of white bands. Black bands, such as those of Duke Ellington and Count Basie, only received occasional radio coverage from live performances in clubs.

Midway through the twentieth century, race remained the single most important cultural, legal, and economic boundary marker in American society (Monson 11). Race weighed heavily on musicians' minds and factored significantly in their creative process. And, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, this fostered a spirit of resistance in the musicians who were creating bebop and laying the foundations for modern jazz.

The pioneers of bebop honed their craft in late night jam sessions at Minton's Playhouse in New York City. The Playhouse was a venue that was all about the music, not dancing and entertainment. In this setting, in which a young Thelonious Monk and Kenny Clarke formed the house rhythm section, the musicians sought to

free their music from the tyranny of popular taste (Ward 334). In contrast to the organized, resonant, and highly danceable compositions of the swing era, bebop was scrambled, dissonant, and was openly hostile to dancing. While swing music would feature highly orchestrated big band arrangements, bebop music highlighted improvisation. A bebop tune would state the melody (or head) at the start and finish of the tune, and feature fast and intricate improvisation in between. In swing music, the rhythm was maintained by the bass drum over which the soloists syncopated to give the music a bouncy, rolling feel. In bebop, the bass took on a time-keeping role in the music, freeing up the drummers to emphasize off-beats. Over the top of this racing, shifting rhythmic foundation, soloists would deploy their phrases inside and outside the rhythmic and harmonic structure, creating a feeling of tension and release that gave the music a sense of forward motion.

The innovators of this new form, like Dizzy Gillespie and Charlie Parker, possessed modern artistic sensibilities and aspirations. Ralph Ellison, who frequented Minton's, recognized the revolutionary nature of this new music when it was still largely unknown to the rest of America.

At Minton's Playhouse. . . It was an exceptional moment, and the world was swinging with change. . . Usually, music gives resonance to memory. . . but not the music then in the making. . . Its rhythms were out of stride and seemingly arbitrary, its drummers frozen-faced introverts dedicated to chaos. And in it the steady flow of memory, desire, and defined experience summed up by the traditional jazz beat and blues mood seems swept like a great river from its old, deep bed. We know better now and recognize the old moods in the new sounds, but what we know is that which was then becoming. (Ward 292)

Bebop players often took popular tunes and fed their melodies into the blender. When a soloist would occasionally make a fleeting allusion to the original melody, it was both an act of humor and a call for recognition. Improvisation of this sort required tremendous technical mastery and creative imagination. Deconstructing melodies and reassembling them in their many permutations was an aural version of what cubist painters were doing in the visual arts. The leading bebop players were aware of the respect accorded to the major figures of modern art and music, like Stravinsky and Picasso, and they wanted their form of African-American music to be given the same serious attention.

By casting themselves as modern artists, jazz musicians were trying to break out of a race-based, second-class citizenship through appeal to merit and genius. Bebop's virtuosity and indifference to popular taste fit the prevailing ethos of the modern artist. The recognition jazz received from critics and the art world fostered a colorblind philosophy in which individual talent was paramount and race didn't matter. Miles Davis is quoted as saying, "Music has no color: It's a raceless art. I don't care if a musician is green as long as he's talented" (Monson 82). This colorblind view was consistent with the politics of integration and appealed to both black and white musicians and their critics.



LATE 1950'S - TEMPERATURE RISING

Following their victory in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the NAACP set the ambitious goal of achieving complete desegregation by 1963, at the one-hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. To advance this goal, the NAACP and other organizations such as Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) began strategically challenging segregation laws and practices in the South. In December 1955, the refusal of Rosa Parks to move to the back of the bus sparked the Montgomery bus boycott. The boycott, led by Martin Luther King, resulted in a 1956 Supreme Court ruling that the Montgomery laws requiring segregated buses were unconstitutional. In 1957, as part of a national effort to register black students in formerly all-white high schools throughout the South, the NAACP registered nine black students in the Little Rock Central High. Several segregationist groups staged protests and threatened to physically bar the black students from entering the school. And on September 4, 1957, the first day of school, Governor Orval Faubus deployed the Arkansas National Guard to deny the students access to the school. The television images and newspaper photographs of nine black kids being turned away from school by armed soldiers and the subsequent news coverage showed white adults, both men and women, crowding in on the black youths, shouting and spitting at them, with faces twisted by hate. On September 24, 1957, President Eisenhower sent in one thousand soldiers from the 101st Airborne to

maintain order. The segregation crisis at Little Rock was one of the first media events to rivet the country and expose the intensity and brutality of racial hatred that was still very much alive. The incidents at Little Rock were a preview of where the civil rights movement was heading.

In the latter half of the 1950s, the debate amongst the musicians of the era was "where is jazz heading?" The main musical styles included "Cool" (also called West Coast and Third Stream) and "Hard Bop." This debate about which style was better had clear racial overtones and exposed mounting tensions between those who aspired to a universal, colorblind music and those who wanted to retain the ethnic identity of jazz. Cool jazz, with its thinner timbres, relaxed rhythm, and use of American popular song melodies, was generally color-coded white. Hard bop, with its heavier timbres, blues inflection, and hard, driving rhythms, was generally color-coded black.

The quintessential Cool recording is Miles Davis's *Birth of the Cool*.¹ The tunes were performed by a variety of integrated combos who came together under the leadership of Miles Davis and Gil Evans. One of the goals of the group was to develop a musical style that retained the immediacy of improvisation, but provided a more seamless integration between the written and improvised components of the arrangement (Monson 81). Upon its release, Leonard Feather wrote that the album "marks a logical and desirable outcome of the jazzman's attempt to achieve musical maturity" (Deveaux 546). This was ambivalent praise. For musicians who adopted the colorblind goal of elevating their jazz music to the level of modern classical masterpieces, it was validation. The Modern Jazz Quartet, an embodiment of this aspiration, played their "discrete, gently swinging tonal structures. . . in black tuxedos in concert halls for respectful audiences" (Deveaux 546). However, the desire to be judged on the merits of the music alone really meant the desire to be judged by the standards of European classical music. For jazz to be accepted as classical music it would mean the music would have to outgrow its origins as a folk music tied to a particular ethnic subculture. If jazz were to follow this path to its logical end, the spontaneity, informality, and rhythmic excitement that had originally marked jazz as distinctive—those qualities that marked it as African American—would be recast as liabilities. While many advocates of this direction had no conscious hostile agenda, this direction was implicitly problematic for many black musicians.

In opposition to this colorblind philosophy, many African-American musicians in the late 1950s strove for a music that drew attention to its blackness. This trend was labeled "hard bop." The assertion of ethnic identity was fueled in large part by a shared sense of outrage and a new sense of black political power in the wake of civil rights victories. But it was also driven by a desire to play the music people wanted to hear and would buy. Bebop had achieved cult status, and established jazz as a high art form, but it didn't sell many records. Many of the musicians who led the hard bop movement had paid their dues and their bills by coming up through rhythm and blues bands. And in hard bop, they combined the hard driving rhythms, the blues inflection of rhythm and blues (R&B), and the instrumental artistry and harmonic sophistication of bebop.

Hard bop is actually a very broad category of musical styles that range from the soulful jazz of Horace Silver, Hank Mobley, and Cannonball Adderley to the more experimental jazz of Charles Mingus, John Coltrane, and Thelonious Monk. What united all these artists and their music was a conscious effort to celebrate and advance black culture and politics in their music. The feel of the music and the titles of the songs and albums—"Moanin'," "The Sermon," "Freedom Suite," "Cornbread," "Africaine,"—invited the listener to contextualize the music in relationship to African-American culture. In this way, hard bop reflected a growing sense of pride in African-American cultural heritage amongst musicians and in the larger community.

With his song, "Fables of Faubus," Charles Mingus took things a step further and responded directly to the political events in Little Rock, Arkansas. Though it wasn't recorded with lyrics until 1960,² Mingus actually wrote and began performing the tune with the following lyrics in 1957.

One cannot understand the history of jazz in this period without understanding the larger social context in which it developed.

Oh, Lord, don't let 'em shoot us!
 Oh, Lord, don't let 'em stab us!
 Oh, Lord, don't let 'em tar and feather us!
 Oh, Lord, no more swastikas!
 Oh, Lord, no more Klu Klux Klan!
 Name me someone who's ridiculous, Dannie.

Governor Faubus!
 Why is he so sick and ridiculous!
 He won't permit integrated schools.
 Then he's a fool!

Boo! Nazi Facist Supremists!
 Boo! Klu Kux Klan (with your Jim Crow plan)

Name me a handful that's ridiculous, Dannie Richmond
 Thomas, Faubus, Russell, Rockefeller, Byrd, Eisenhower
 Why are they so sick and ridiculous?
 Two, four, six, eight: They brainwash and teach you to hate.

H-E-L-L-O—Hello

The song's title and the mocking nursery rhyme cadence of the music strongly suggest Mingus's intent. But the addition of the lyrics leaves no doubt that "Fables of Faubus" is a protest song. Equating the segregationist to Nazis and implicating the white power structure, as represented by Rockefeller and Eisenhower, was radical, especially by 1957 standards. Mingus, always outspoken on the bandstand, in his liner notes, and through his music, heralded the forthcoming politicization of jazz and the use of music as a cultural weapon in the larger struggle for political and cultural recognition.

EARLY 1960'S - JAZZ ACTIVISM

If the fuse of the civil rights movement was lit in the 1950's, it exploded on February 1, 1960, when four African American students from North Carolina A&T, a historically black college, took their seats at the segregated lunch counter of Woolworth's department store in Greensboro. The manager hoped that by ignoring them, they would eventually just leave. But each successive day they returned with more students until the protesters numbered three hundred. On February 5th, a bomb scare cleared the store and the owner shut down for two weeks to avoid further escalation. But within a week, sit-ins occurred in other small North Carolina towns. The movement quickly received help from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and, within a two-month period, sit-ins had occurred at lunch counters in fifty-four cities in nine states throughout the South (Monson 161). In contrast to the carefully selected and orchestrated protests of the 1950s, these sit-ins were a grass-roots viral phenomenon. The speed and effectiveness of these direct,

mass-action, nonviolent techniques drew national media attention and led to desegregation policies and laws in several instances, including Greensboro, North Carolina, where it had all started.

In September of 1960, Max Roach and Oscar Brown Jr. released the album *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*. The album cover depicts three young African American men seated at a lunch counter sit-in to make the connection between the music in the *Freedom Now Suite* and the events from the preceding months. The liner notes begin with a quote from A. Phillip Randolph.

A revolution is unfurling—America's unfinished revolution. It is unfurling in lunch counters, buses, libraries and schools—wherever the dignity and potential of men are denied. Youth and idealism are unfurling. Masses of Negroes are marching onto the stage of history and demanding freedom now!

The musical suite itself follows the narrative of black struggle from slavery ("Driva' Man"), to emancipation ("Freedom Day"), to the then current civil rights movement ("Triptych: Prayer, Protest, Peace"), to the wish for African independence ("All Africa" and "Tears for Johannesburg"). Building on the example of Charles Mingus, with whom Max Roach collaborated musically and in business,³ the work is explicitly political in every aspect. The liner notes, written by Nat Hentoff, explain that the work originated from a request by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) for Roach and Brown to compose a long work to be performed at the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation events in January of 1963. But as the title suggests, the events on the ground could not wait for historical milestones, nor could the music.

This sense of urgency and impatience is emblematic of the growing tensions between the ideas and prescriptions of Black Nationalism and those of the mainstream civil rights movement. When Ingrid Monson conducted interviews with Max Roach and Oscar Brown in 1998 to discuss their collaboration on the album, both men commented on the political arguments they had amongst themselves during the composition of the *Freedom Now Suite* (174). In addition to his art, Oscar Brown recognized the progress that had been made during the 1950s and was committed to the philosophy of non-violence advocated by Martin Luther King Jr. Max Roach, on the other hand, had become a Black Muslim and was committed to the vision of black unity and self-determination that was represented by Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam. Their arguments became so heated that their collaboration was aborted near the end of their work in 1959.

The version of the work that was recorded by Candid records in 1960 was finished by Max Roach to fit his political vision. As a Black Muslim, Roach would have been familiar with and influenced by Elijah Muhammad's position on integration, as stated in article nine of "What Muslims Believe."

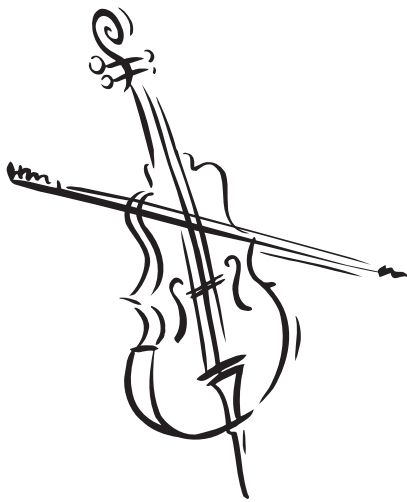
WE BELIEVE that the offer of integration is hypocritical and is made by those who are trying to deceive the Black peoples into believing that their 400-year-old open enemies of freedom, justice, and equality are, all of the sudden, their friends. Furthermore, we believe that such deception is intended to prevent Black people from realizing that the time in history has arrived for the separation from the whites of this nation. (Muhammed)

The *Freedom Now Suite* does not advocate separation but it is infused with the spirit and worldview of Black Nationalism. This is felt most clearly in "Triptych: Prayer, Protest, Peace," located in the middle of the suite and dedicated to the current civil rights struggles. During "Protest," Abbey Lincoln performs a series of screams that lasts for more than a minute. The liner notes explain "'Protest' is a final uncontrollable unleashing of rage and anger that have been compressed in fear for so long that the only catharsis can be the extremely painful tearing out of all the accumulated fury and hurt and blinding bitterness. It is all forms of protest, certainly including violence." In describing "Peace," the liner notes state that Max explained the spirit of the music to Abbey as "the feeling of relaxed exhaustion, after you've done everything you can to assert yourself. You can rest now because you've worked to be free." Roach pointedly rejects the philosophy of non-violence and integration advocated by Martin Luther King and the mainstream civil rights organizations.

After its release, the *Freedom Now Suite* was performed at a number of fund-raising events, the most common form of political participation by jazz musicians in the 1960s. The fund-raisers were held for many causes, including civil rights. But civil rights events that grabbed national attention, like the sit-in movement, mobilized the musicians and audiences to the cause. The jazz musicians who participated represented a full range of styles and political views. In fact, Oscar Brown and Max Roach reunited for performances of the *Freedom Now Suite* at a benefit for CORE and at the 1961 annual convention for the NAACP in Philadelphia. Despite their ideological differences, they shared a commitment to help advance the cause of black self-determination. The *Freedom Now Suite* did not create a wave of overtly political jazz albums, but it did mark an inflection point in the politicization of jazz music that would intensify with the successive social events of the 1960s.

MID 1960'S - FREE JAZZ

The year 1963 marked the one-hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation that would prove to be a watershed year in the civil rights movement, as a succession of dramatic and violent events arrested the attention and conscience of America. These same events would also divide civil rights activists and black intellectuals concerning the best path forward. With Project C, in Birmingham, Alabama, the SCLC employed the lessons learned



in Little Rock and Greensboro to intentionally provoke a violent response to their peaceful protests. The images of black demonstrators being assaulted by “Bull” Connor’s police dogs and high-powered fire hoses drew international attention and sympathy for the civil rights cause. One year later, following the events in Birmingham and the March on Washington, Martin Luther King Jr. was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. As a result of the public relations success, the mainstream civil rights movement saw a huge influx of white liberal participation and money. Many black leaders were concerned about the growing influence of whites in the movement. This issue would be hotly debated and would become a wedge issue within the movement. And despite the success

In many cases, it was the political movement that elicited a response from jazz.



of non-violent direct action, many young African Americans, both inside and outside the movement, were outraged by the white violence and wanted to fight back. Both of these factors drove more attention to the ideology of militant self-preservation and self-determination espoused by Malcolm X. In response to King’s Nobel Peace Prize, Malcolm is quoted as saying, “If I’m following a general, and he’s leading me into a battle, and the enemy tends to give him rewards, or awards, I get suspicious of him. Especially if he gets a peace award before the war is over” (malcolm-x.org). Of course, there are many other quotes and sources that reveal a mutual respect between the men and a shared commitment to the ultimate objective of freedom. The majority of African

Americans at the time fell somewhere in the middle, looking to both Martin Luther King and Malcolm X for leadership. But in the wake of the events of 1963, the politics within the civil rights movement itself became increasingly polarized and divisive.

As the ideas from Black Nationalism gained mindshare and momentum, jazz became a symbol of black cultural pride. Jazz music, whose roots extended back to slavery, was now internationally regarded as a high art form and an example of black excellence. By the 1960s, jazz had become a domain in which African Americans set the aesthetic standards by which all other musicians would be judged. For these substantive reasons, the political and intellectual proponents of Black Nationalism embraced jazz as an emblem for their cause. However, in the process of political appropriation, the line between activism that originates in the music and propaganda that is imposed on the music would be blurred.

The style of jazz most strongly associated with Black Nationalism was “free jazz,”⁴ which eschewed the preceding conventions of popular song forms, instrumentation, tonality, and the explicit statement of the beat (Deveaux 50). The Black Nationalists portrayed the history of jazz as a process of removing the encumbrances of tradition so that the music could arrive at its essential nature. This view fit the ideology of black essentialism, which held that black men and women could not become free and authentic until they rejected the white traditions and identifications that had been imposed upon them (Baskerville 485). This conflation of freedom from musical conventions and freedom from oppressive political structures was artful, and it politicized the debates within the jazz community. Musicians like Charles Mingus and Max Roach had been affected by the struggle for freedom and had tried to influence it through their music. Now the tables were turned and political forces were trying to mold the interpretation of the music to fit their ideology of freedom. But on closer examination, the music and ideas of leading free jazz musicians, like Ornette Coleman and John Coltrane, do not line up neatly into these ideological boxes.

Ornette Coleman’s debut recording was titled *Free Jazz* and featured Jackson Pollack’s painting *White Light* on its cover. These were bold statements, but no packaging could prepare the contemporary listener for Coleman’s radical new aesthetic. There were no chord changes. Instead the combo advanced the music reflexively, shifting keys, harmony, and rhythm by picking up each other’s ideas (Fordham 42). The music itself can be better understood as the logical, if unsettling, end to the modern experimentation that began with bebop. Like bebop, Coleman’s music was more a critical phenomenon than a popular one. Like much modern art, an intellectual investment is required to obtain any emotional meaning or satisfaction. As such, it wasn’t widely listened to

by blacks or whites of the time. While the connotations of words like free, radical, and “no structure” fit the rhetoric of Black Nationalism, Coleman’s music, itself, was clearly more motivated by aesthetic considerations than political ones.

There also is no evidence that Coleman personally advocated the ideas of Black Nationalism. His core trio was integrated; the bass player, Charlie Haden, is white. And in an interview with Art Taylor, Coleman shares his views on race and his own African-American identity:

I grew up in a white society with white rules and a white philosophy, but I grew up with a black conscience. My consciousness of myself as a black man makes me realize that unless I can be integrated into white society and its values, I can’t achieve the wealth they have created. (Tones and Notes 40)

In opposition to the colorblind philosophy, Coleman recognizes that as a black man, he stands outside of the mainstream white culture. But his response to this situation is pragmatic support for integration.

John Coltrane is another jazz musician often associated with the Black Nationalist movement. In 1966, Frank Kofsky published *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*, which featured a contemplative John Coltrane on the cover. Kofsky focuses on Coltrane as the musician who best represents the close relationship between jazz and Black Nationalism. He draws many comparisons between Coltrane and Malcolm X—both were extremely articulate (each in his own way), driven, strong African-American men. But the political connection is tenuous. When pressed by Kofsky on racial politics, Coltrane responded.

Sometimes people like my music or don’t like it, no matter what color they are. . . It seems to me that the audience, in listening, is in an act of participation, you know. And when you know that somebody is maybe moved the same way you are, to such a degree or approaching the degree, it’s just like having another member of the group. (Kofsky 226)

Coltrane studied Islam along with the other major religious traditions of the world and fostered the careers of politically radical musicians like Archie Schepp and Pharoah Sanders. But his personal philosophy and approach to music was inclusive and expansive and did not fit neatly under the labels of either integrationist or separatist.

In the latter stages of his career, Coltrane was deeply spiritual and his music was heavily influenced by his studies of the music and religions of Africa and India. In both of these cultural traditions, the divine is present and active in all aspects of life, and music and other artistic endeavors become sacred expressions of life. Coltrane explains, “Music, being an expression of the human heart, does express just what is happening. I feel it expresses the whole of human experience” (Kofsky 225). For Coltrane, creating music was a spiritual practice and performance was a form of prayer. And for him the only thing that was ultimately essential was God, not race or politics. This spirit of inclusion and deep human feeling can be heard in recordings like *Alabama*, which was inspired by the Birmingham church bombing and Martin Luther King Jr.’s eulogy for the four girls who were killed. In the liner notes to *Live at Birdland*, where *Alabama* was first recorded, Amiri Baraka notes, “There is a daringly human quality to John Coltrane’s music that makes itself felt. . . If you can hear, this music will make you think of a lot of weird and wonderful things. You might even become one of them.” This human quality is what drives so many people—integrationists, separatists, blacks, whites—to identify with Coltrane and his music.



CONCLUSION

As African American people and artists situated in American society in the middle of the twentieth-century, all black jazz musicians had to deal with race politics in one form or another. The early beboppers tried to transcend the limitations of race through appeal to merit and genius. The hard boppers embraced and celebrated their ethnic roots. Artists like Charles Mingus and Max Roach confronted racism through explicit activism. In turn, political activists appropriated jazz as an emblem for their ideologies and causes. And John Coltrane appealed to higher powers and our shared humanity. These examples are by no means comprehensive, but they illustrate the relationship between jazz aesthetics and social activism in this period of history.

Considering that both jazz musicians and civil rights activists were responding to the same social conditions, it is easier to appreciate the many parallels between the aesthetic trends within jazz and the political issues within the civil rights movement. But what is more remarkable is the dialogue and reciprocal effect that these

two cultural forces had on one another. In many cases, it was the political movement that elicited a response from jazz and, as the civil rights movement intensified, jazz became more and more politicized. But it was a two-way street, and jazz was a major force in shaping the way America identified with black culture and the struggle for equal rights. For African Americans, jazz became a source of esteem, as well as a source of entertainment and inspiration. Jazz had enjoyed a large white following ever since the swing era. But for the younger generation of white listeners, who had witnessed the television coverage of white racists brutalizing civil rights demonstrators, jazz music took on new meaning. Many white Americans recognized the profound intellect, emotion, and humanity behind the music and valorized it. As a result of these cultural forces, for the first time in this country's history, mainstream white America was consciously looking to African-American leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. for moral authority and artists like John Coltrane for cultural identity.



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NOTES

- ¹ The tracks were recorded in 1949 and 1950, but were not released as a collection until 1957.
- ² "Fables of Faubus" was originally recorded on the album *Ah Um* in 1959. The producers at Columbia records deemed the lyrics too inflammatory and would not permit the recording or liner notes to include the lyrics. In 1960, Charles Mingus signed with Candid Record, headed by Nat Hentoff. In that same year, he recorded the "Original Fables of Faubus," with lyrics on the album *Charles Mingus Presents Charles Mingus*.
- ³ Charles Mingus and Max Roach founded Debut records in 1952. It was a groundbreaking attempt for musicians to take the reins of production and distribution.
- ⁴ The term free jazz was used primarily by jazz enthusiasts, whereas critics originally called it "avant-garde jazz." The musicians who developed the music referred to it as "the new thing."

MOTHE ROSE

by Dwain L. Sparling

From the soft earth you rise
on a slender tendril of verdance,
hovering in the warm orchestra
of our Master's lush garden.
The thirst of your fingers—
a legacy of strength, endurance—
penetrates the dust of our ancestors
deep, to nourish me.

With the swell of springs hence,
your fertility in vulnerable submission
was kissed by the pollen of fleeting promises:
Two buds in two toils beget,
Mother inside a couplet.
Then, high above the dandelions
you carried me to unfurling skies;
on your crown of seven-sepaled wisdom
you surrendered me to the light of the Son.
Now, the lamp that burns bright for golden day
has ridden across the sky in countless chariots;
the moon has been filled,
an orb of silver purified times seven.

And so the Divine season authors
a dark night;
pitch billows on the horizon
as stars trace wandering paths on a revolving canopy.
It is here that I am tested.
At the fulcrum of Time's mysterious wend,
I dance on the edge of a fall
as I ripen on a lonely arc.

Still, I yearn to unfold my truest shape,
hidden inside a teardrop wrapped with Love.

Many of the same forces that set in motion the printed book seem to be evident in propelling the e-book forward.

From Gutenberg to Google: From hand-set type to the digital book¹

by Ken Jensen

With the advent of e-books and other electronic technologies delivering content to the reading public, the second decade of the twenty-first century holds the promise of inexpensive dissemination of information. A reading system that, after a front-end investment in a portable reader technology, provides relatively low-cost access to the latest Steig Larsson crime novel, is already enjoying significant commercial success. According to trade sources, Amazon expects to sell 12 million Kindles, an impressive 69% increase over the 2010 sales figure (Frommer). A scenario where a rancher in Wyoming views at no cost a digital version of Shakespeare's *First Folio* on his laptop, conjures up a vision of a world relatively free of budgetary constraints on the transmission of knowledge and ideas.

Is the digital book of the early twenty-first century a similarly disruptive technology to that of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century? Gutenberg's technology, combining moveable type with a modified winepress to impress type onto vellum or paper, transformed labor-intensive manuscript production into the relatively efficient text production process that has characterized print culture for the last five hundred² years. Will the emerging digital technology of today replace the physical book or will they coexist, as the book and the manuscript coexisted during the fifteenth through the early seventeenth centuries?

Many of the same forces that set in motion the printed book seem to be evident in propelling the e-book forward. Looking back to the early years of the development of the printed book provides some insight as to what can be expected over the next few years, as digital technology takes hold and begins to actively compete with the "analog" book. It was not technology alone that characterized the early development of the book. A number of legal and managerial innovations were critical in placing the printing and publishing sector in the vanguard of the Industrial Revolution. However, achieving the goal of making books available at a reasonable cost to consumers was fraught with institutional obstacles.

In England, for example, book publishing was built upon the medieval manuscript "industry" that had thrived for a thousand years as a cottage industry, typically ensconced in a monastery's scriptorium. Twenty-five years after Gutenberg's invention of moveable type and the printing press in Germany, the first English printer, William Caxton, set up his printing press in London in 1477. Thus began London's ascendancy to what by the eighteenth century would be its position as the center of book production for the English-speaking world, a position it would hold until New York City surpassed it in the early twentieth century.³ In the early days of publishing in England, the most important entity was the Stationers' Company ("the Company"), established by Royal decree in 1557. The introduction of the printed book presented a challenge to a closed society such as England's with its strong religious and state institutions. The Company provided critical support to these institutions, serving as the censor of all manuscripts prior to their initial printing and publication. This vital censorship role ensured that potentially heretical or seditious books would not see the light of day.

In addition, the Company was creating the basis for the long-term financial success of its member printers and booksellers through the establishment of a monopoly on book publication and distribution throughout England. Critical to this financial success was the ability to control *copyright*, a fundamental ownership concept.⁴ Copyright was an ownership right in perpetuity from the original date of publication of a given book, providing the publisher with permanent republishing rights. Copyright allowed the Company on behalf of its members to maximize the revenue from the sale of books and other printed material. Being a member of The Stationer's Company was a monopolist's dream come true—eliminating competition for publishing a given title or book forever!

At this early stage in the evolution of the concept of copyright, it was a right held by the Company and its member publishers. Copyright is fundamental to understanding the evolution of the printed text as a transmitter of ideas and knowledge, not only through the eighteenth century but also into modern times. At first, the notion was that only the tangible product, the printed text, had value, and because it was the product of the printing process, the rights to earn money rested with the printers and publishers, not with the author. At most, the author would receive modest compensation for his or her intellectual property. *Copyright in perpetuity* provided the Company with immense power over the book market in England and later in the colonies. During the almost 150-year period from the Company's founding in 1557 until the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 ended its role as the censor of printed text, it prospered. The loss of this role left it with only two *raison d'être*: maintaining control over book publications through mandatory registration of all new manuscripts at Stationer's Hall and ensuring that perpetual copyright would remain in the hands of its member booksellers and publishers (Feather, *British Publishing* 57). Even these purposes began to be questioned by those in power. In spite of the Company's history as an important ally of the government, by the 1690s Parliament had grown increasingly concerned about monopolies in general and the Company specifically.

John Locke, in particular, complained to several members of Parliament about the Company's role in controlling the printing and publishing sector of the English economy:

He [Locke] complained about the monopoly which the stationers exercised over the 'ancient Latin authors,' the poor quality and high cost of their publications, and the deleterious impact it was having upon the work of scholars. Most of his vitriol was reserved for the 'lazy, ignorant Company of Stationers,' those 'dull wretches' who abused the registration for their own gain, and whose monopoly of all the Clasicke Authors' resulted in the production of books which were 'scandalously ill printed... , for which charged 'excessive rates.' *Locke rejected the idea that anyone should have a right to print any book in perpetuity as being 'very unreasonable and injurious to learning.'* (Deazley, 2004 3, emphasis added)

Having lost its role as the government's censor, the centerpiece of its position of power, copyright in perpetuity was now being threatened. The dwindling support in Parliament, evidenced by the concerns expressed by Locke and others, required a significant change in strategy on the part of the London publishers and booksellers to sustain their book trade monopoly. Because of the waning influence of the Stationers' Company itself, members moved rapidly to shift their strategy away from reliance on the increasingly impotent Company.

The members began to form private cartels outside the Company's control to manage book pricing and distribution. These book cartels became known as *congors* by critics and cynics: "eels that swallowed up all small underwater life within reach... Like those Marine creatures, such combines fattened and grew off their neighbors, picking up copyrights for very little at trade sales" (Sanjek 204-5). The *congors* sought to restrain trade in books by controlling access to authors, jointly arranging ownership shares in manuscripts and managing channels of distribution through their own network of booksellers.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, while the *congors* were continuing their successful efforts at controlling the book market through perpetual copyright, the dynamics of the relationship between

authors and publishers began to change. Previously, authors had few rights in publication. As the demand for text of all types grew with the increasing affluence and rising literacy of the population and as the supply of professional "scribblers" expanded to meet this growing demand, authors sought better compensation.

Access to copyright protection for writers grew in importance as a means of ensuring a return on their creative efforts. It was Daniel Defoe in *An Essay on the Regulation of the Press* and other works who has been credited with promoting the idea of placing ownership of copyright with the author and not the publisher (Rose, *Authors and Owners* 35). His tireless advocacy made the London publishers recognize that the historical emphasis on their control of the ownership of copyright did not represent the tenor of the times. The publishers realized that to remain in *de facto* control of copyright, they needed "a new strategy for pursuing their own interests." This new strategy was to acknowledge, albeit reluctantly, that the author had the right to an ownership stake, however modest. In theory, this meant a major transfer in "rights in copy" from the publisher to the author. Although there were some notable exceptions, in reality authors were no match for publishers in terms of negotiating contracts, especially with members of the London congers. The *status quo ante* prevailed.

By the early eighteenth century, Parliament and the Crown were becoming increasingly disenchanted with the tight control the London congers continued to have over the printing and publishing sector. The passage of *The Statute of Anne* (*Anne*) in 1710, often termed the first copyright law, would deeply affect the relationships between and among the publisher, the author, and the reading public.⁵ Three provisions of *Anne* represented major defeats for the London cartels: (1) strict time limits for copyright were specified; (2) ownership of the text was vested with the author instead of the publisher or bookseller; and (3) if an author was still alive after the initial fourteen years of copyright protection for his text, "the sole right of printing or disposing of copies shall return" to the author. For the first time since the granting of the Royal Charter to the Stationers' Company in 1557, both copyright in perpetuity and control of that copyright by the London congers were under threat.

Parliament's allowing the *Licensing Act* to lapse in 1695, eliminating pre-publication censorship, and the passage of the *Statute of Anne* in 1710 limiting the length of copyright and making the author the focus of some copyright protection should have opened up the book trade to publishers beyond the London congers. Instead, they closed ranks, ignored the provisions of *Anne*, and successfully postponed the realization of a more open, competitive book market for another sixty-five years. It would take the landmark decision in the case of *Donaldson v. Becket* in 1774 to finally remove the shackles on the British book market. This time, the London booksellers had a more formidable opponent in Alexander Donaldson, a wealthy Scottish bookseller/publisher who had long presented difficulties for the cartels. Over the previous twenty years, he had assaulted the London booksellers' seemingly impregnable fortress of protected copyrights by publishing inexpensive reprints from the London cartels' back list, by continually litigating in chancery court, and by being an ongoing irritant to the congers.

The case was before the House of Lords for nearly three weeks when, in February 1774, a majority of the peers voted in favor of Donaldson, affirming the principle that copyright should be limited in time and that the provisions of *Anne* should be upheld (Rose, "The Author as Proprietor" 51). The case was a shock to the London cartels and a *cause célèbre* in London's literary circles. Samuel Johnson mused to Boswell, "The question of Literary Property is this day in the House before the Lords. Murphy drew up the Appellants' case, that is, the plea against the perpetual right. . . . *I would not have the right perpetual*" (*Life of Johnson*, 557 emphasis added). Johnson, along with other authors, recognized the importance of the decision in limiting the power of the London publishers and booksellers and reaffirming the provisions of *Anne* by establishing finite copyright terms and vesting copyright with the authors.

The *Donaldson* decision was a decisive blow against the London congers' monopolistic control of the sector. It permanently changed the book market in Britain and the North American colonies, setting the stage for the dramatic expansion of printed book publication and readership that continued through the

nineteenth century to the present. *Donaldson* also established the basis for modern copyright law in Britain and ultimately in the United States (Rose, *Authors and Owners* 41). The change in the legal environment and its effect on copyright transformed forever the relationship between author and publisher and between the publisher and the growing reading public.

With the opening up of the English-language book market to competition as a result of the *Donaldson* decision, fundamental changes occurred in the book publishing industry. First, printing technology was significantly improved, spurred by the incentive to reduce production costs to meet rising book demand. These innovations were in contrast to only minor technological improvements in the basic printing technology during the 350 years between Gutenberg and the *Donaldson* decision. Second, copyright protection for intellectual property was strengthened for authors and their assignees. Building upon the ownership protections achieved earlier, in recent years even more benefits (some would say excessive) to authors have accrued. As recently as 1998, the Copyright Term Extension Act retroactively lengthened copyright by twenty years, increasing the term of copyright to life of the author plus 70 years, and for works of corporate authorship, copyright life was extended to 120 years (David). Finally, the monopoly over the book industry held by the London congers fell apart, opening the floodgates of book production in the English-speaking world that continues to this day.

Digital book technology promises to alter today's publishing industry in ways strikingly similar to that of the transforming power of the printing press in 1450. Then the printed book competed with the manuscript for the reading public's attention. Today the competition is between the printed book and the digital book. Many of the same institutional issues that shaped the post-Gutenberg publishing industry will determine the level of acceptance of this new reading technology. The emerging digital projects, ranging from the mammoth undertaking by Google to scan all existing titles in libraries around the world, creating a digital database of millions of titles, to the development of personal hand-held technologies such as Amazon's Kindle, will be significant game-changers. In theory, the output from the new digital technology should dramatically expand access to an almost unlimited amount of knowledge. A relatively inexpensive process of digitization converts a printed text to digital file form. In turn, the reader downloads the file and views the resultant text on a readout screen (or prints it out) under a variety of formats. The process eliminates many of the steps required in traditional book production, reducing labor and material costs.

To highlight how this digital technology could affect the existing relationships among the various entities that produce, supply, and use reading material, the lessons from Google's dramatic push into book publishing are extremely instructive. It was a major shock to the publishing industry's equilibrium when Google placed its massive technological and financial resources behind its thrust into the book industry. In 2004, Google began digitizing books from research libraries throughout the English-speaking world, including Stanford's, providing full-text searching and making books in the public domain available on the Internet at no cost to the viewer. Two years later, a group of authors and publishers brought a class action suit against Google, alleging violation of copyright. After lengthy negotiations, in 2008 an agreement was achieved, termed the Amended Settlement Agreement (ASA), between Google and the class-action participants.⁶

However, on March 22, 2011, three years after the ASA had been agreed to, a federal district court judge rejected the tentative agreement concluding that it was not "fair, adequate or reasonable."⁷ The decision dealt Google a significant blow to its hopes for implementing its digital book project. It was also a setback for the Authors Guild and the Association of American Publishers who had sued Google in 2005 and had spent the last several years negotiating the ASA with Google. While leaving the door open for a revised settlement, the decision will, no doubt, result in additional suits and countersuits as the various interested parties attempt to shape the final settlement to their liking.

The Amended Settlement Agreement would have created an enterprise known as the Book Rights Registry designed to represent the interests of the copyright holders. Google would sell access to this data bank (fifteen-million books digitized at latest count) composed primarily of copyrighted, out-of-print

books, while accessing those titles out of copyright would be free. Colleges, universities, and non-profit organizations could subscribe by paying for an “institutional license” providing access to the data bank. A “public access license” would make this material available to public libraries. Individuals would be able to access and print out digitized versions of the books by purchasing a “consumer license” from Google. It remains to be seen whether Google and the other parties to the rejected ASA will attempt to come to a new agreement that will satisfy the court.

As we saw earlier, eighteenth-century writers and observers saw monopoly as the main obstacle to the diffusion of knowledge—in particular specific monopolies such as the Stationers’ Company and the London congers. The same concern about the establishment of a book monopoly, in this case by Google, that would give it a significant advantage over competitors, resulted in this recent court decision to reject the agreement. Robert Darnton, the head of libraries at Harvard and a leading historian of the book, is convinced that, in spite of the various safeguards placed in the now rejected agreement, monopolistic abuse by Google was still a very real possibility. This recent decision by the court appears to vindicate his position. In a series of articles over the last several years in the *New York Review of Books* on the societal implications of Google’s digitization investments, Darnton has expressed his concerns:⁸

While the public authorities slept, Google took the initiative. . . . scanning books in libraries; and it scanned them so effectively as to arouse the appetite of others for a share in the potential profits As an unintended consequence, Google will enjoy a monopoly—a monopoly of a new kind, not of railroads or steel but of access to information And having settled with the authors and publishers, it can exploit its financial power from within a protective legal barrier. . . . [T]he settlement creates a fundamental change in the digital world by consolidating power in the hands of one company. Now Google Book Search promises to create the largest library and the largest book business that have ever existed. . . . If we get the balance wrong at this moment, private interests may outweigh the public good for the foreseeable future, and the Enlightenment dream may be as elusive as ever. (Darnton)

Ironies abound in this situation. Some 240 years after competitive forces in the industry were unleashed as a result of the Donaldson decision, the possibility exists that the new digital technology, as implemented in the book industry, could result in the reestablishment of a book monopoly. Reminiscent of the London congers, it could raise prices and reduce choices for consumers. In contrast, it is possible that enough options exist within the overall book market so that any attempt by Google to reestablish a monopoly will fail. The industry is in such a state of flux that we are left with a number of questions as to the short run future for the technology and the reading public.

The latest critique of the book industry comes from a forthcoming book by Siva Vaidhyanathan, a media specialist at the University of Virginia. He appears to agree with Darnton, although he doesn’t consider Google inherently evil. In an interview with *Publishers Weekly* he was asked about the scanning project to digitize books at major research libraries:

Libraries got used, universities got used. I think the scanning program is one of the biggest examples of corporate welfare from universities in history. Universities collectively spent millions, billions of dollars on their collections, on metadata, and then they just gave it to Google for a profit-making venture. It’s astounding. Libraries and universities looked at their short-term needs, instead of the long-term public interest, and so what we will end up with is a platform that is not as free and open as we might have hoped, and many librarians are heartbroken about this. It’s just a huge missed opportunity. (Albanese)

“Fear of monopolies,” “Who controls copyright?,” “What about access to reasonably-priced ‘books’?” These headlines echo the heated debates held in the London coffeehouses of the eighteenth century. Whether Darnton’s pessimistic vision of the book market is realized or a more hopeful prospect of abundant choice among media forms prevails, the simple pleasure of taking down a well-thumbed volume from a shelf in a library and leisurely perusing the pages may never be the same.

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NOTES

- ¹ The first part of this essay, dealing with the early British publishing business, is based upon my MLA thesis, “From Patronage to Profit: William Strahan and the Rise of the Publishing Entrepreneur During the British Enlightenment.” Diss. Stanford University, 2010.
- ² Several books provide background for the early years of English-language publishing including Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*; Feather, *A History of British Publishing*; and Johns, *The Nature of the Book*.
- ³ Much of the discussion on the role of the Stationers’ Company is based on Blagden 19-240 and Myers and Harris 81-124.
- ⁴ Several sources provided analyses of the various aspects of copyright law and its evolution over time, in particular Feather’s *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*; Deazley, *On the Origin of the Right to Copy*; and Rose, *Authors and Owners and The Author as Proprietor*.
- ⁵ This represents a summary of the Act found in “Appendix I: The Statute of Anne 1709” in Deazley’s *On the Origin of the Right to Copy*, pp 234-238.
- ⁶ The settlement argument and the current status of litigation and court decisions are available at <http://www.googlebook-settlement.com/>.
- ⁷ The Author’s Guild, Inc. et. Al. v. Google Inc., Case No. 05 CV 8136 (S.D.N.Y.). 22 March 2011.
- ⁸ The entire series of Darnton articles, letters, and exchanges in the *NYRB* can be found at <http://www.nybooks.com/contributors/robert-darnton/>.

... the simple pleasure of taking down a well-thumbed volume from a shelf in a library and leisurely perusing the pages may never be the same.

FROM MEDEA

by Sarah Anne Cox

In the scheme
he wavers handsome and despised
it was already decided
no returns no give backs
a bit of dirt on his shining skin
weary
paralyzed
we watch the scene unfold

Beginning with sea trip
fantastic lark and times when he would break down and
weep for himself
his statelessness, his curse, his lucky sandal damned
by Hera loved by Chiron
Pelion Wood

When it rained on the ship we huddled
under tented hides
wet fleece soaking through
later the sun would dry us out brittle
cracked earth, cauldron
the cup rolled from side to side with the tilt, empty
head over the side
could see forever to the bottom
see our own wreckage resting
down there
couldn't dive deep enough to reach it

always floating just below the surface
that's how fate survived unchanged

The sea air makes even the dry seem wet
grains between the fingers melt
left bitter salt
and cork screw hair
we jettison the we for the I
"When I came here from Iolkos," he says "as a stateless exile, thwarted." et cetera
I see myself in him
stateless and
ruined
the wretched who pull themselves
up on the backs of friends

BERTOLT BRECHT, HANNS EISLER, AND THE *GUIDE TO WAR*¹

by Nancy Krajewski



Figure 1

EVERY PHOTOGRAPH AND EVERY POEM IS A BRIEF, INTENSE INDICTMENT OF WAR.

George Orwell famously said, “all art is propaganda,” and political thinking has driven many works of art, none more so than the works of the playwright and poet, Bertolt Brecht, and the composer, Hanns Eisler. Toward the end of their long careers in literature and music, they produced two politically-motivated works in East Germany, the book *Kriegsfibel (Guide to War)* by Brecht, and a song cycle called *Bilder aus der Kriegsfibel (Pictures from the Guide to War)* by Eisler. These two works, inspired by the destruction and misery of World War II, are intentionally political and didactic, opposed to war, pacifist in outlook. Both works are remarkable for the collaborative way in which they came to be created, for their artistry in small formats, and for their use of combined media.

The *Guide to War* is a collection of news photographs, each with a four-line rhyming poem that is essentially

the combined work of anonymous photojournalists and the poet Brecht. Eisler’s song cycle, fifteen brief songs with texts selected from the poems in Brecht’s book, is the last of his many musical settings of Brecht’s poetry. These two works depend upon the power of brevity in photographs, concise poems, and songs to evoke unforgettable images in the reader or audience. Finally, these two works combine artistic media—photography, language, and music—in a way that was new in the 1950s.

Brecht’s large collection of newspaper photographs that became the *Guide to War* began during his long exile from Nazi Germany (1933 to 1947). While living in Scandinavia in the late 1930s, he began to clip out news photos and to write four-line, rhyming poems for many of them, and he continued this practice during his years in the United States. By the end of 1949 when

he returned to Germany, he had accumulated a large collection of photographs with accompanying poems, and he selected seventy from this collection for publication. After several years of struggle to find a publisher and difficulties with the censors who considered it too pacifist, the *Guide to War* was finally published in East Germany in 1955 (Fuegi 583). The book is roughly 10”x 12”, not large for an art book, and the photos with their poems, or “Foto-epigrammes” as Brecht called them,² appear one to a page in black and white (really a sort of charcoal/sepia tone) on a black ground. The poems are printed below the photographs in white.³ The only other texts are a short foreword and several paragraphs on the dust jacket endflaps by Ruth Berlau, Brecht’s sometime assistant and mistress, and a few notes on the photographs written by Brecht.⁴ The effect of this is to offer the entire book and each photogram (photograph and poem) as an integral work of art not needing further elaboration or explanation.

The *Guide to War* has never been translated from the German, though it is cited often and some of the poems exist in English translations in the secondary literature. An understanding of German is, however, not absolutely essential to understand the general thrust of the book: the photographs are strikingly memorable and Brecht many times left the captions intact. On the other hand, the poems add quintessential Brechtian irony to the impression of the photographs, and the didactic purpose is largely missed if the poems are not understood.

Brecht worked out his photograms with great attention to their political meaning as he notes in 1944 in his diary:⁵

20 jun 44
working on a new series of photo-epigrams, as i look over the old ones, which in part stem from the beginning of the war, i realise (sp) that there is almost nothing i need to cut out (politically nothing at all), proof of the validity of my viewpoint, given the constantly changing face of the war . . . the work offers a satisfactory literary report on my years of exile. (319-21)

This remarkable statement—that he found his viewpoint as expressed in the photograms to be valid as events unfolded—continued to be true even after his return to the Soviet sector of Berlin in the late 1940s. Ruth Berlau points in her succinct introduction, only two brief paragraphs, to the hieroglyphic and didactic

effect of the book. Through the “dingy” photographs collected 10-20 years before and the short poems, the book teaches the art of learning from pictures so as not to forget the past. As the reader pages through the book, reading the German poems or not, s/he cannot escape the striking impression of misery and horror made by these old, faded photographs. There are no pictures of victory, no ticker-tape parades, no flags waving, no people smiling. Every photograph and every poem is a brief, intense indictment of war.

Like Brecht, Hanns Eisler lived in exile from Nazi Germany from 1933 until 1948, spending the last six years of his exile in Los Angeles. Also like Brecht, he returned to Europe and settled eventually in East Germany. He had an uneasy relationship with the East German government, another situation that he and Brecht shared because of their Marxist past, but he lived and worked in the Soviet sector of Berlin until his death in 1962. When the *Guide to War* was published in 1955, Eisler decided to compose a song cycle based on selections from it. Brecht was in very poor health at the time, suffering from the debilitating effects of advanced heart disease, and it is possible that Eisler wanted to honor him by once more writing music for his poetry, as he had done so often in the past. The result was *Pictures from the Guide to War*, which was not completed until 1957, a year after Brecht’s death.

In his fascinating book about modernism in music, literature, and the arts, *Untwisting the Serpent*, Daniel Albright devotes several chapters to the obsession of certain twentieth-century writers and composers with hieroglyphs. He defines a hieroglyph as “a visual sign that speaks [providing] an instantaneous grasp of meaning, defying the division between the pictorial and the linguistic, between space and time.” (37) While Brecht usually used the term “gestus” in his writings on theater, he meant to create the same instantaneously meaningful moment, a theatrical hieroglyph, “a bodily pose or gesture that speaks; . . . a whole story (gest) contracted into a moment” (101). Albright observes that during World War II Bertolt Brecht was a “conscious hieroglypher” in his collection of photograms. The photograms unite words and photograph in one artistic unity. When Hanns Eisler later set these poems to music, he transformed the photogram into a “phonogram—a rare triplet, in which a poem, a musical composition, and a photograph combine to effect a single punch.” (137) Eisler himself was, therefore, also a “conscious hieroglypher,” and, like the *Guide to War*, the song cycle is a consciously

hieroglyphic and deliberately political work.

The *Guide to War* and *Pictures from the Guide to War* are mixed media; they combine genres: photography, poetry, and music. Albright characterizes these works as modernist “attacks” on genre:

One of the major sources of Modernist amazement is a peculiarly intense application of an old theory: that art is ultimately one, and that the division of art into poetry, music, painting, and so forth is arbitrary and harmful . . . This is . . . the point of view that understands music and poetry and painting as interchangeable, a set of easy, fluid transforms. (37-38)

Brecht and Eisler both saw music, poetry, and the visual arts to be part of a continuum of artistic media. Eisler clearly intended his musical settings of the photo-epigrams to be *songs with pictures* as is clear from his choice of title: *Pictures* [not “poems”] *from the Guide to War*. Furthermore, Günter Mayer’s notes to the Berlin Classics CD (Eisler Vocal) indicate that Eisler had planned musical interludes between the songs. Perhaps the purpose of these would have been to allow for changing of a projected image, a slower process in the 1950s, if the photograms were to be shown on a screen for a performance of the song cycle. The centrality of the photogram to each song in the cycle means that Eisler created a new structure—in Albright’s happy phrase “a rare triplet”—that would lose its significance if any one of the elements were omitted. The music deepens the instantaneous effect of Brecht’s photogram intellectually and emotionally (but never sentimentally), and the result is a whole that takes place over a time span of measurable duration but with a direct and immediate effect, so that picture, poem, and music are one unified work of art.

Pictures from the Guide to War is scored for a small wind and percussion ensemble with double bass, accordion,⁶ and voice, variously soprano, tenor, baritone, men’s chorus, or combinations of these. The score also includes a keyboard accompaniment so that the work can be performed by a smaller number of musicians. The entire song cycle takes just over ten minutes to perform with each song taking less than one minute to sing. Two of them are only twenty seconds long, matching the brevity and economy of the photograms. The songs are composed in twelve-tone serial technique, an atonal method of composition that ignores the traditional tonality of a home key, like C major for

example, and the music is typically dissonant. Albright notes that in modern music:

There is a dissonance within music, such as the minor second or the tritone; but there is also a dissonance *between* music and painting or poetry—or other arts. The study of Modernist collaborations even suggests that there is a *law of conservation of dissonance*: when the music is dissonant, then the relations . . . between music and painting or poetry tend to be consonant, and vice versa. (29)

In most of the songs the music is dissonant, and in these songs the music reinforces, or is consonant with, the sad images and the ironic bitterness of the poems. On the other hand, Eisler’s work sometimes observes Albright’s concept of the “conservation of dissonance” in the second way: when the music is “consonant,” that is, what we think of melodic and/or harmonious, the relationship to the text is often dissonant. In these songs, the text is saying something entirely different from the effect of the music, and this dissonance between music and text intentionally disturbs the musically beguiled listener.

Despite their musical dissonance, these songs are nonetheless very moving, though one must remember that emotion in modernist music is not necessarily *felt* so much as it is *apprehended*. Theodor Adorno notes in his book *Philosophy of Modern Music* that modern music often fails the general listener because “The appetite of the consumer is . . . less concerned with the feeling for which the work of art *stands* than with the feeling which it *excites* . . .” (emphasis added), and modern music does not offer what Adorno calls “mere culinary enjoyment.” (12) In listening to *Pictures from the Guide to War*, and indeed to much of Eisler’s music, we must not look for our emotions to be aroused so much as we must allow the experience of music to enlarge our understanding of the lesson in the text and the music together. Given this understanding, however, the combination of the song and its accompanying picture is, particularly in this song cycle, tremendously moving and even emotionally draining.

The photograph of Figure 1 is reproduced on the front of the dust jacket of the 1968 edition of the *Guide to War*, and it is the photograph and poem that are the first song in Eisler’s song cycle. The German soldiers are retreating in western Russia during the winter of 1943 after the battle of Stalingrad. The German Army was, like Napoleon more than a century earlier, slowly and agonizingly defeated by the sheer numbers

THE ACCOMPANIMENT IS...MENACING BUT CURIOUSLY LIGHT, REINFORCING THE ALMOST COMIC IRONY....



Figure 2

of Russian soldiers, the vastness of the Russian landscape, and the frigid Russian winter. The photogram concerns a theme found in many of Brecht's war poems: the plight of ordinary soldiers. Generally young, conscripted, trained in disciplined obedience, marched to exhaustion, for the Marxist Brecht, they were a kind of tragic proletariat. This clipping is from an American newspaper (Brecht lived in Santa Monica from 1941-1947), and this caption, "the farther they got into Russia, the less they liked the cold and the ample room to die in, etc.," is an example of the derisive and scornful tone the American press often adopted toward the enemy during World War II. The photograph has an entirely different meaning for Brecht.

See here our sons, deaf and blood-spattered
Unbuckled from the tank that's frozen in!
Oh, even the wolf baring its teeth
needs a place to hide.
Warm them, they are cold.⁷

Seeing the photograph through Brecht's eyes, these sad and weary young men are not an invincible Wehrmacht, but are helpless victims of the war. Throughout the *Guide to War* there are no images of victory and none that suggest glory, heroism, or a



Figure 3

cause worth the fighting and destruction. The poem and the photograph oppose the heartless American caption with pity and a wish to help. Eisler's song is ponderous and plodding, weighed down by weariness and defeat. Image, text, music cohere in a unified work that enhances the visual impression of the photograph, enlarges its significance, and universalizes it.

Albright illustrated his comment about Brecht as a "conscious hieroglyph" with the iconic and striking photogram in Figure 2. The viewer apprehends immediately, as did the photographer, the simultaneously trivial event of the forgotten glove and the terrible impression of a dead hand reaching from the grave toward the heavens. Brecht's poem gives the image an even greater iconography.

On the school bench we heard
That up there lives an avenger of all
injustice,
And met with death as we rose up to kill.
Those that sent us up, you must punish.

The gloved hand reaches up, like a child raising his/her hand in school to ask a question, but in this case the question is directed toward God, who should avenge evil but will not. Soldiers follow orders and die meaningless deaths; there is no justice. The idea that God would avenge these men is, Albright notes, an "absurdity" and, he goes on to suggest, the "you" in the last line is ourselves, the readers of the poem. (136) We must punish those who would wage war.

The song is soft and mysterious, and tension increases from the beginning of the song until the last line when the volume rises and the song becomes forceful and angry. The accompaniment is, in contrast, a constant tapping pizzicato, menacing but curiously light, reinforcing the almost comic irony of the hieroglyph formed by the picture and the poem: the empty glove pointing to the sky, the dead yearning for an impossible justice.

Brecht grieved for the innocent victims of war, especially children. The faces of the children in the photogram in Figure 3 are terribly moving, mostly because they seem so bewildered. In the poem the children speak:

You in the tanks and bombers, great
warriors,
Sweating in Algiers, freezing in Lapland
Emerging as victors from a hundred
battles.
We're the ones whom you defeated. Be
triumphant!



Figure 4

The American captions drone on about Allied relief efforts, but these frightened and bewildered children will never be soothed. The armies have won an empty victory over children. This song has a soft and incessant drumbeat with a rising melodic line. It concludes with a trumpet fanfare—dissonant, beautiful and terrible—celebrating only the tragedy of these children.

In conclusion, the photogram for the last song in the cycle is shown in Figure 4. It is found on the back jacket cover of the *Guide to War* as a kind of epilog, or postscript, to the book. The photo is of students in a lecture or study hall and the poem is called *Guide to Peace*.

Don't forget: many just like you fought
That you could sit here and no longer they.
And now don't bury yourselves and
fight too and
Learn learning and never unlearn it!

As an ending to the song cycle, musically this song seems completely out of place, at odds with the entire preceding song cycle. It is delightfully melodic and pleasantly harmonic. Its cabaret rhythms and tunefulness recall the lightheartedness of the 1920s and the ultimately doomed Weimar Republic in Germany. The carefree frivolity of the song seduces the listener, but at the same time induces the most excruciating sense of guilt. While beguiled by the music, the listener must not forget the text which asks us to remember the political message of the *Guide to War*—to never forget that we must learn from the past in order to keep from repeating it in ever more frightening and terrible ways.

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NOTES

- ¹ This paper was presented in a slightly different format as part of a program called *Engagierte Musik (Engaging Music): Songs of Hanns Eisler*. The program was presented at the Graduate Liberal Studies Symposium at Reed College, June 26, 2010, and at the Association of Graduate Liberal Studies Programs annual conference in Dallas, Texas, on October 9, 2010. Hanns Eisler's songs were performed by soprano Barbara Wester Skipworth accompanied by pianists George Skipworth (at Reed College) and Lisa Anderson (in Dallas).
- ² A good Anglicized term is "photograms," for which I am indebted to Albright's book (135-36).
- ³ The poems, in German, have been deleted from the bottom of the images.
- ⁴ The book was reprinted in 1968, and a new expanded edition with additional photograms and editor's notes was published in 1994. All of these editions are out of print at present.
- ⁵ Sometimes referred to as the *Arbeitsjournal (Work Journal)*, it begins in 1934 and ends in 1955. It is not entirely personal, but does offer considerable insight into Brecht's perspectives and preoccupations during his exile from Nazi Germany and after his return to Europe. In the diary, Brecht eschewed capital letters and much punctuation. The Rorrison translation of the Journal retains this peculiarity.
- ⁶ The score calls for "akkordion," but the performance on the Berlin Classics CD sounds like an electronic piano or organ.
- ⁷ Brecht's poems are here translated by Barbara Wester Skipworth.

CONTRIBUTORS

BRAD BAUER (*Epistolary Subversives*) is a 2010 graduate of the MLA program, and has worked as a librarian and an archivist for over 25 years, employed in public libraries, federal archives, and most recently, the Hoover Institution Library and Archives at Stanford. With an undergraduate degree in history and a continued interest in twentieth-century history, Brad enjoyed the opportunity that the MLA program gave him to utilize the archival resources at Stanford for research papers in a number of his MLA courses as well as for his thesis.

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LAUREN MCELHATTEN (*Internment Photographs*) Lauren is a second year MLA student and a high school teacher. She currently teaches photography, photojournalism, and junior English in the South Bay. Lauren studied abroad in South Africa where she is still an active volunteer, taught in South Korea, and is an avid travel photographer. She is also an aspiring writer with an intense love of literature.

PAT NICHOLSON (*Civil Rights and Jazz*) is a third year MLA student and this is his second contribution to *Tangents*. In addition to his studies, Pat works at Apple Inc. and is a husband and father of two daughters, ages eight and five. Twenty years ago, Pat developed his interest in the history of ideas studying Philosophy and English Literature at the University of Texas. Three years ago, he discovered the Stanford MLA program and realized that he didn't have to leave his career and income behind to pursue graduate studies.

KATHERINE ORLOFF (*Poem: Old Love*) Katherine Orloff received her BA in English from the University of California, Irvine and is currently a third year MLA student. In addition to her academic pursuits, she is a professional ballet dancer and performs with Amaranth Contemporary Dance Company. She also teaches ballet, choreographs, sings, and enjoys photography. Her poem was inspired by her one year old niece, who is the biggest and brightest spirit she has ever encountered.

DWAIN SPARLING (*Poem: MotheRose*) is a Legal Assistant at Stanford's Office of the General Counsel, and a first-year MLA student. He grew up the son of an Assemblies of God minister, and has lived in many places across the country. In 2001, he graduated from Texas A&M University summa cum laude with a B.A. in Political Science, and now makes his home with his partner in Palo Alto. Dwain lost both parents in the fall quarter of 2010, most recent of which was his mother, Delaina Lorrain Gilreath (Aug. 12, 1952 – Dec. 10, 2010). He writes as a memorial to her life of committed sacrifice and unflinching love.

