VOLUME III, ISSUE 2

University of Chicago Laboratory High School
History and Economics Journal

Dear Reader,

Welcome to Vol. III., Issue 2 of U-High's History and Economics Journal, *InFlame*! Dedicated to publishing excellent student papers written in history and economics, InFlame is published twice annually, once in the Winter and once in the Spring. This year, for the first time, the entirety of Volume III was released in print!

All U-High students are eligible to submit papers written during their high school career. Submissions are reviewed anonymously by our student board composed of eight members. Please see page 33 for submission guidelines — we look forward to reading your papers!

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Mission Statement

We are a student-run journal dedicated to publication of work in history and economics. We wish to promote scholarly discussion by providing students a forum in which to publish and share work with their peers. Our editorial staff works directly with authors at each stage of the publication process. As a journal, we hold ourselves to a high standard of excellence. We value honest academic research and strong theses. We look for papers of a high quality that demonstrate a clear understanding of the material, draw meaningful conclusions, and present new and interesting ideas. Our goal is to foster a community that encourages thoughtful and creative writing in history and economics.

Criteria for Submission

All submissions must be written by a U-High student during their tenure at U-High for a history and economics class or independent study course. Papers must meet the following formatting and length criteria:

- Between 4 and 20 pages in length
- Include proper citations (footnotes/endnotes and works cited list) in Chicago Turabian format (guidelines here)
- Include a cover page which contains: title, author name, class for which paper was written
- Double spaced
- 1 inch margins
- 12 pt., Times New Roman font
- Header with author last name, page number
- Submitted as in Microsoft Word or as a PDF
- Illustrations, maps and tables are welcome but should be properly cited

All submissions are reviewed anonymously by the student board. No decisions may be repealed, however all students are encouraged to revise and resubmit their papers if not accepted. An InFlame editor will provide general feedback with notification of rejection to guide revision. No special consideration is given to papers that have received external recognition. InFlame typically publishes between 3-5 papers an issue.

Submissions should by sent to inflame.submissions@gmail.com. Questions about any of our policies should be directed to inflame.journal@gmail.com.

Spotlight on a Historian

Dr. Leora Auslander, University of Chicago

In your everyday experiences as a history, what do you find most enjoyable?

That's a hard question to answer because there's so much that I enjoy about being a historian. That said, what I really like best is working in archives and discovering an exciting and unexpected document in one of my boxes. You never know when you order up archival boxes what they really have in them (the inventories are usually quite vague). I feel the same way about a find in a museum when I'm looking for an object. Finding a treasure after a long day is just great.

What part of your experience in research do you find most challenging?

Moving from my archival and material finds to shaping the project on paper. I love to do the research and often accumulate a LOT of stuff. I have a hard time letting go of good finds, even if they don't fit the argument I'm making, so I have to do a lot of editing.

What lead you to pursue history as opposed to economics, sociology, or other related fields?

Archives and other primary sources. Historians have a more intimate relationship with the "stuff" the people produced during their lives than the other social science disciplines. We read what other historians write, both to enter into conversation with them and to learn from them, but we always come back to what our historical actors left behind.

Why did you chose to study material culture?

Four reasons:

1) I originally got into doing history because my family moved around a lot when I was kid and I got to be obsessed by how and if it mattered if, like in Europe, in your daily life, you walked on streets that had been there for 1500 years and buildings that had been standing for a few centuries. Or, if by contrast, you lived in a suburb in the US where nothing was more than 100 years old. So the question of the built environment (which is a form of material culture) shapes people's perceptions.

2) I've always been bothered (and intrigued) by how seriously people take the everyday material world. So often we make snap judgments on the basis of how someone is dressed, what car they drive, what furniture they own. Why? What are they learning?

3) I'm very interested in both what people who didn't have much access to the written word had to say about their lives and what we all express in forms other than words. Material culture is crucial to get at both.

4) I worked as a furniture maker for a number of years. When I was doing that work, I was very surprised by the investment of the men I was working with in the beauty (or ugliness) of what they were making. I became interested in their aesthetic judgments and how they transmitted them as well how they came to be so invested in them.

Could you briefly describe some of your methods for exploring material culture? How do you know what to study?

I spend a lot of time in museums and their websites. The people who I'm studying "tell" me what I should look for. For example, I wrote a book about how people involved in the English, American and French Revolutions used things and everyday practices to make their revolutions. I started by reading 17th century political pamphlets and looking at drawings and paintings. I read petitions that concerned clothing and noticed variations in how people of different political persuasions were dressed in the paintings. Then I went to the museum collections to look at the clothing itself. I did the same for the American and French Revolutions. When I learned that George Washington wore a suit made of homespun for his inauguration I learned a lot about the revolution. For a very different research project, I

studied the objects made by prisoners in the concentration camps during the Second World War. From those objects, I was able to learn a lot about daily life and human relationships in the camps. Often one object leads you to another. From the clothes, I started thinking about jewelry and shoes. From the rings and combs made by the prisoners, I started thinking about tools.

How does your work interact with your interest in issues of social justice?

I am most concerned about how people do both good and harm in the small gestures of everyday life. I'm particularly engaged with the problem of how people make judgments about people they don't know, just by looking at them, hearing them talk, or watching them move. I think that there is a great deal of everyday, small scale violence that happens in those small judgments. My work is oriented towards understanding how people have learned who to trust and who not to trust, who is like them and who is different. That involves studying big structures of politics and economics and seeing how they influence people's everyday lives.

What is the benefit of historical research both on a societal level and an educational level?

There is truth to the old adage that if you don't understand the past it's difficult to grasp the present and the future. Even more important, though, is that history gives you the chance to access the whole range of human experience. History teaches you that there is nothing natural or inevitable, for example, about how men and women are defined, or what it means to be black or white.

Do your experiences teaching shape your research in any way?

Yes. I learn a lot from my undergraduate and graduate students and from preparing to teach them. Many of my classes are seminars or discussion-based classes and students always have unexpected insights that cause me to see a problem or a text in a new way. The major research projects undertaken by both my undergrads and graduate students teach me a great deal about problems I may not have thought about or at least not in the same way.

How did you experience as a student influence your teaching practices today?

My favorite history teacher in college was a kind of difficult, but very brilliant, man who specialized in medieval history. His main interest was love. He wanted to know if people a thousand years ago felt differently about their children or their husbands or their wives. One of the questions that interested him was how high mortality rates mattered. Many women died giving birth, so men often had three of four wives. How did that change how they felt about them? Likewise most children never reached their teenage years. Did that mean that their parents loved them less? I found his classes fascinating and inspiring and wanted to think about those things, too. (I didn't, however, want to be quite as unapproachable...)

How do you approach teaching such a breadth of topics?

I read a lot. Once I define a subject that I want to teach, I spend a lot of time in the library looking at books and articles. Then I start hunting down primary sources that I think would be useful in the classroom.

Do you have anything advice or recommendations you would make to Lab school students regarding history or historical research?

Follow your passion, or at least your curiosity and be open minded about where you might find your sources. The best projects are those that come about because you really just need to know something. It can be something big or something small, but if you start with your own need to know and think inventively about where you'll find your answers, it's sure to be interesting. Once you've done that, then start looking for who else has been interested in similar things and start a conversation with them in your head.

Rights, Wrongs, and Responsibilities: Florence Kelley as a Calculating Reformer

by Karen Dai

…these figures tell the whole story.

--Florence Kelley, Report to the Illinois Legislature

Children have always worked. Throughout history, except in the most wealthy families, children have always been expected, indeed required, to work alongside adults in agriculture, trade, manufacturing, and even war, for the simple reason that their labor has been necessary for the survival of their families and societies.

In the United States, child labor existed much as it did elsewhere: most children worked alongside a parent, in and around the family home. However, in the mid-19th Century, the interconnected forces of urbanization, industrialization, and immigration forced thousands of children, particularly urban children, into work situations far outside the safe boundaries and protection of their families.[1] As child laborers moved beyond the home into street trades, tenement workshops, and heavy industries such as mining and steel production, many faced increasingly dangerous working conditions,[2] and most were unable to attend school because of the long hours demanded by their employers.[3]

As a result of the dire situation in Chicago, the city attracted a number of different social reformers, among them the women of Hull House. Central to the growing urban reform movements of the early Progressive Era, the women of Hull House were pioneers in the Settlement House movement and the newly emerging field of social work. One of the least well-known, yet arguably most influential women in this group was Florence Kelley (1859-1932). Despite Jane Addams' assertion that Kelley's expertise "galvanized" the reformers of Hull House,[4] Kelley's unique work as a pioneering social scientist is largely unrecognized or underestimated, even by some historians.[5] In reality, Kelley's rigorous training in mathematics, economics, and political science enabled her to perform some of our country's earliest field research, data-gathering, and statistical analyses of the problem of child labor. [6] Florence Kelley's pioneering research methods, her investigation of child labor conditions across the country, and her frequent articles in prominent social science journals, provided the hard data that convinced legislators across the country to shoulder the responsibility to protect the nation's children from dangerous working conditions and safeguard their rights to a public school education.

Florence Kelley was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to William Darrah Kelley and Caroline (Bonsall) Kelley. Her family's Quaker heritage, strong anti-slavery convictions, and support for women's education and suffrage, exerted a powerful influence on her.[7] When she was twelve, her father, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives (1861-1890), took her to see a steel mill that utilized the new Bessemer process that was transforming America's steel industry.[8] Kelley later wrote that her lasting impression was not of the Bessemer process, but of the boys, many younger than herself, working in the dangerous conditions of the steel mill.[9]

In 1876, Kelley enrolled at Cornell University, one of the few coeducational colleges of her era.[10] Despite the student handbook's warning that co-education could detour females from the path to womanhood, Kelley took a rigorous course load.[11] Her curriculum included twenty-two hours per week of classes in mathematics and ancient and modern languages.[12] Along with several male students, she founded the Cornell Social Science Club to discuss "all live questions social, moral and political," and during her final year she specialized in the newly emerging field of social science research.[13] Her senior thesis, "On Some Changes in the Legal Status of the Child since Blackstone," one of just nine to receive an honorable mention, was published in the *International Review*.[14] Because of her strong academic record, she was also selected for membership in Cornell's prestigious Phi Beta Kappa society.[15]

Despite her achievements, Kelley was denied admission to the University of Pennsylvania's graduate program, so in 1883, she entered the University of Zurich, in Switzerland.[16] Grateful for Europe's coeducational opportunities, in the spring of 1884, in a letter to the editor of *The New York Tribune,* she decried the lack of educational opportunities for women in the United States: "A few American institutions make us welcome; a few admit us, but would be thankful if we did not wish to come… [By contrast,] Europe welcomes us…."[17]

Kelley's time in Zurich was transformative. She studied government, economics and political theory, and was introduced to the work of European social theorists such as Friedrich Engels. In 1885, Kelley completed the first English translation of Engel's *The Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844*, which led to a life-long correspondence with him.[18] Engels' work (which incorporated field research, government data regarding the plight of British child laborers, and statistical analysis) deeply influenced Kelley's methods, and convinced her that Socialism was superior to the dangers of the unregulated Capitalism of the era.[19]

Returning to the U.S. with her new husband in 1886, Kelley embarked on a career as a researcher and advocate for child labor reform. Combining a strong belief in the ideals of democracy, inherited from her father, with an admiration of Socialism's emphasis on society-wide responsibility for all citizens, and expertise in the use of scientific methods of research (including data gathering and statistical analysis), Kelley soon became a respected expert and vocal critic of child labor in the U.S. She believed that since children were the future of the country, the "care and nurture of childhood is thus a vital concern of the nation."[20] Kelley argued that it was the responsibility of not just parents, but also the government, to ensure the welfare of children. [21] Thus many of her efforts focused on gathering hard data and doing the quantitative analyses necessary to persuade lawmakers to enact legislation to support poor families, eliminate child labor, and guarantee children the right to an education.[22]

As Kelley sharpened her attack on child labor, her attention naturally turned toward the city of Chicago, where thousands of children lived and labored in unsafe conditions.[23] After the census of 1880 reported that a million U.S. children under aged fifteen were employed, she wrote the pamphlet, *Our Toiling Children*, to highlight the inadequacy of child labor laws: "[rampant child labor occurs] in a nation

in which it is supposed that the children go to school and the adults do the work."[24] This prompted an invitation from the National Convention of Chiefs and Commissioners of Labor Statistics to present a paper on child labor. Her presentation convinced Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Labor, that a thorough investigation of child labor was necessary.[25]

In 1891, with her marriage coming to an end, Kelley and her children relocated to Chicago, and she settled in at Hull House, joining other women who had devoted themselves to helping the poor.[26] However, unlike most of her colleagues, who had been educated at female seminaries such as Rockford, (the alma mater of Jane Addams), Kelley had studied at Cornell and Zurich, rigorous coeducational institutions that stressed mathematics, logic, and political economics.[27] As a result, her reforming work took a very different form than the typical charitable work and moral persuasion practiced by most female reformers.

During her first year at Hull House, Carroll Wright appointed Kelley to conduct formal research in Chicago as part of an investigation of slum neighborhoods across the nation.[28] Leading a team of male investigators, Kelley conducted the first social survey of an American city, inspecting over six hundred shops around Hull House and publishing her findings in *Hull House Maps and Papers*.[29] Her "meticulous care in gathering, adding, and dividing human items," was praised by many, including an observer who described her work as "social algebra."[30] This praise was all the more meaningful given that there was so little hard data on American labor to be found, and what did exist rarely included information about child labor. As a result, a commitment to field research and data collection became a major component of Kelley's on-going work, as well as one of the most important, yet underappreciated aspects of her legacy.[31] For this reason and others, Kelly should be regarded, not as an early social worker, but instead as a pioneering social scientist.[32]

In 1892 Kelley appealed to the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics to begin an investigation of the sweating system in Illinois, and by 1893 the Illinois State Legislature had appointed her to lead the newly organized investigative committee.[33] Kelley guided the committee through factories and tenements, documenting the experiences of hundreds of exhausted child workers who were required to work long hours in dangerous conditions, and were prevented from attending school.[34] The shocking results of Kelley's investigation led directly to the state's first factory law, prompting a journalist at the *Chicago Tribune* to write, "It looks as if Chicago in the near future may become the champion of childhood." [35] Initially drafted by Kelley, the law specified a minimum employment age of fourteen, and called for the creation of an Illinois Factory Inspection Department.[36] In 1893, Illinois Governor John P. Altgeld appointed Kelley as the head of this new department, making her the first female factory inspector in the U.S. At a time when women did not yet possess the right to vote, Altgeld defended his appointment of a woman to the position by noting that, "the sweatshop agitation was done by women."[37]

As the new chief factory inspector, Kelley had an unprecedented opportunity to eliminate child labor in Illinois, but she also faced daunting challenges. At Armour and Morris' tin shops, for example,

twenty of the fifty child laborers were under fourteen, and worked ten hours a day to help support their needy families.[38] Many factories openly violated the new law, and often little could be done because during inspections child laborers frequently claimed to be older than fourteen.

During her first year on the job, Kelley and her team inspected 3,440 factories and workshops. Finding over eight thousand children employed, she firmly enforced the new provisions, urging families to seek public or private relief instead of forcing their children to work.[39] Kelley's report also chided Illinois' many boards of education for shirking their obligations to enforce the compulsory education laws that mandated school attendance until age fourteen.[40]

During the second year of inspections, Kelley reported eighty-four recorded convictions against companies for violations of the law, with nine cases pending before the Supreme Court, and two in lower courts, evidence of Kelley's determination to secure the safety and educational rights of child laborers.[41] In 1894, she wrote that "nowhere [else] in the civilized world [is it acceptable] to endanger life and limb of the employés [sic] in a factory or workshop by failure to supply safeguards."[42]

Before 1893, Illinois had been ranked among the most backward states of the nation in terms of the health and welfare of child laborers.[43] Due to Kelley's efforts, by 1904, Illinois was one of six states that had passed legislation to eliminate labor among children under thirteen.[44] Though pleased with the progress in Illinois, Kelley knew that federal laws were needed to fully eliminate child labor.[45] As a *Chicago Tribune* article pointed out, "if manufacturers in one state are permitted to exploit the children of their laborers they have a great advantage in competition with similar manufacturers in other states."[46] Thus Kelley quickly expanded her work beyond Illinois' borders, exerting pressure on other states and the national government to follow Illinois' example.[47] In 1898, she applied for a seat on an industrial investigative commission funded by Congress, but she was not chosen for the position.[48] Six months later, she campaigned for appointment as the chief factory inspector of New York, a job that, given her qualifications, "seem[ed] impossible that anyone else should have."[49] Again, she lost the position, this time to a man with little experience. New York's governor (and later President), Theodore Roosevelt noted that "the time was not ripe for the Governor of New York State to appoint a woman as factory inspector," but told his male appointee that "[Kelley] knows more about enforcing the factory law than any man I know of, and I want you to keep in touch with her."[50]

Seeing her attempts at national leadership in child labor reform blocked because of her gender, Kelley changed her strategy. In 1899 she helped found the National Consumers' League, an organization created to eliminate sweatshop labor among women and children by making consumers aware of the dangerous conditions in which goods were made.[51] She also became involved in the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC), founded in 1904 to end child labor and guarantee free, compulsory education to all children.[52]

In her dual role as general secretary of the National Consumer's League and member of the board of directors of the NCLC, Kelley found a new way to impact child labor law across the country. In 1912,

she and the NCLC lobbied for the creation of a Federal Children's Bureau to gather accurate statistics on injuries and deaths among working children across the country. Their efforts came to fruition with the passing of the Keating-Owen Bill of 1916, but in 1918, the Supreme Court, in Hammer v. Dagenhart, ruled the law unconstitutional because it infringed on states' rights to regulate child labor within their borders.[53] Undaunted, the Children's Bureau began agitating for new laws to protect children and mothers in the workplace. Their work prompted passage of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act on November 23, 1921.[54] This first federal legislation, designed to ensure the social welfare of children, came about in large part because of Kelley's tireless work, over the previous three decades, to carefully investigate and document the specifics of child labor, and to advocate for legislation to effectively end this practice. Her impact was recognized by contemporaries, who gave her virtually sole credit for "the advances of 1893 and of 1897 in the Child Labor and Compulsory Education Laws; and for the initiation of the better provisions of 1903."[55]

Several years after Kelley's death, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter observed that, "there are two kinds of reformers…. One type is apt to see evil men behind evils and seeks to rout evil by moral fervor. Florence Kelley belonged to the other, cooler and more calculating type."[56] Frankfurter's words were true in the most literal sense. Kelley's rigorous education in mathematics and the social sciences enabled her to move beyond the short-term, often localized charitable work of her well-meaning peers, in order to do careful quantitative research and scientific analysis of one of the nation's most pressing social problems. Florence Kelley's pioneering research methods, her investigation of child labor conditions across the country, and her frequent scholarly articles in prominent social science journals, provided the hard data that convinced legislators across the country to shoulder the responsibility to protect the nation's children from dangerous working conditions and safeguard their rights to a public school education.[57] Her powerful, research-based advocacy was foundational to the creation of federal and state labor laws that guaranteed the nation's youngest citizens the full rights of citizenship, including the right to an education.

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[1] Hugh D. Hindman, *Child Labor: An American History* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002).

[2] W.G. Whittaker, *Child Labor in America: History, Policy, and Legislative Issues* (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2005), 2.

[3] Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin, *Child Workers in America* (New York: International Publishers, 1937), 27. And, "Childhood Lost: Child Labor During the Industrial Revolution," Eastern Illinois University, accessed February 9, 2014, http://www.eiu.edu/eiutps/childhood.php.

[4] Jane Addams, *My Friend, Julia Lathrop* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1935), 116.

[5] For example, Kristen Lindenmeyer, *A Right to Childhood* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), focuses on Kelley's institutional work in cofounding the Federal Bureau of Children but does not emphasize the impact of her scholarship on later research and legislation. Sara F. Moller-Christensen's "Remembering Florence Kelley: The Life and Legacy of a Forgotten Progressive Era Reformer," *UMI Dissertations Publishing*, 2008, accessed May 15, 2014, Proquest, investigates Kelley's marginalization due to her socialist views, and sees her primary legacy as her leadership of various reformist organizations. Finally, Dorothy Ross' highly regarded book, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), acknowledges the relevance of Hull House in the development of the Social Sciences, but contains no mention of Kelley.

[6] See Appendix I for a complete list of Kelley's writings, including works edited and translated by her.

[7] Frances Perkins, "My Recollections of Florence Kelley," *Social Service Review* vol. 28, no. 1 (Spring 1954): 12.

[8] Perkins, 5. For more information on William Darrah Kelley (a founding member of the Republican Party and vocal advocate for the protective tariff,) see 1.

[9] Kathryn Kish Sklar, ed., *The Autobiography of Florence Kelley,* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1986), 26.

[10] Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work* (Connecticut: Yale University, 1995), 53.

[11] Josephine Goldmark, *Impatient Crusader* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1953), 11. In 1872, Cornell was one of the first major eastern universities to admit women. See "Cornell Women's Handbook," Cornell Women's Resource Center, accessed February 13, 2014, http://wrc.dos.cornell.edu/aboutus/handbook.html.

[12] Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work,* 53.

[13] Florence Kelley to William Darrah Kelley, Dec. 2, 1878, in Kathyrn Kish Sklar and Beverly Wilson Palmer, eds., *The Selected Letters of Florence Kelley 1869-1931* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 2009), 12. At this time the field of social science was in its infancy.

[14] Rima Lunin Schultz and Adele Hast, eds., *Women Building Chicago, 1790-1990: A Biographical Dictionary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 461.

[15] Ibid., 66.

[16] Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work,* 83.

[17] Florence Kelley, letter to the editor, *New York Tribune,* May 28, 1884.

[18] Sklar and Palmer, eds., *The Selected Letters of Florence Kelley 1869-1931.* See pages, 29, 31, 42, 57, 69, for letters to Engels.

[19] Goldmark, 17.

[20] Sandra D. Harmon, "Florence Kelley in Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)* vol. 74, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 169. Accessed February 10, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40191574. To Kelley, nothing was more dangerous to a nation than the inability to "protect and cherish [and educate] its youth." Florence Kelley, "Industrial Conditions as a Community Problem with Particular Reference to Child Labor," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* vol. 103 (Autumn 1922): 60-64. Accessed February 10, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1014953.

[21] Florence Kelley, *Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation* (New York: The Mason-Henry Press, 1905), 67.

[22] Ibid., 58-61.

[23] Committee on the History of Child-Saving Work, eds., *History of Child Saving in the United States* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 1893), 99.

[24] Florence Kelley, *Our Toiling Children* (Illinois: Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1889), 192.

[25] Harmon, 165.

[26]Notable among these women were Jane Addams, Ellen Starr, Julia Lathrop, Alice Hamilton, Marry Hill, Edith Abbott, and Grace Abbott. Nicholas Kelley, "Early Days at Hull House," *The Social Service Review* vol. XXVIII, no. 4 (Winter 1954): 426.

[27] Rockford Female Seminary's curriculum, typical of women's education at that time, included classical literature and evangelical religious appeals, but little math, science, or economics. For more information see Gioia Diliberto, *A Useful Woman* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 70; and also see Ray Ginger, *Altgeld's America* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1958), 115.

[28] Goldmark, 33.

[29] Harmon, 165. Kelley's inspection encompassed the city of Chicago, but mainly focused on the area surrounding Hull House, which was populated by many immigrants, including children as young as three who were found working in the local sweatshops. See also Goldmark, 33.

[30] Paul Kellogg, "Florence Kelley: a Living Spirit," *Survey Midmonthly 76*, no. 1 (Winter 1940): 6.

[31] Florence Kelley, "Our Lack of Statistics," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* vol. 38, no.1 (Summer 1911): 94-97. Accessed February 10, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1011128.

[32] Gary Easthope, *History of Social Research* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1974), 146, argues that social work (the arena of most Hull House workers) must not be confused with social science. See also Stebner, 18, on early social work as an acceptable extension of women's domestic responsibilities into the public sphere, but early social science understood by contemporaries as a field of study appropriate for males.

[33] Ibid., 34.

[34] Harmon,166.

[35] Goldmark, 34. *Chicago Tribune* quote from "To Stop Child Labor: Dr. Probst and Florence Kelley Start a Crusade," *Chicago Tribune*, December 10, 1895, accessed February 26, 2014, Proquest. In 1893, Kelley also drafted legislation for the eight-hour-day for women and children, which she effectively enforced as Chief Factory Inspector of Illinois in 1894. Kelley, *The Autobiography of Florence Kelley*, 13.

[36] See Appendix II for the text of Kelley's 1893 proposed bill.

[37] Florence Kelley to Caroline Bonsall Kelley, May 27, 1893, in Sklar, *Florence Kelley and a Nation's Work,* page 234-236.

[38] "To Enforce the Child Labor Law: The Committee of the Trade and Labor Assembly Visits the Stock-Yards," *Chicago Tribune*, March 31, 1892, accessed February 19, 2014, Proquest.

[39] Statistics from Factory Inspectors of Illinois, *Second Annual Report* (Illinois: State Printer, 1894), 1.

[40] Factory Inspectors of Illinois, *First Annual Report* (Illinois: State Printer, 1893), 12. See Florence Kelley, "The Illinois Child-Labor Law," *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 3, no. 4 (Winter 1898): 493-4. Accessed February 14, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2761891.

[41] *Second Annual Report*, 184-190.

[42] Harmon, 170.

[43] Florence Kelley, "The Illinois Child-Labor Law," 491. Accessed February 14, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2761891.

[44] Florence Kelley, "Has Illinois the Best Laws in the Country for the Protection of Children?" *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 10, no. 3 (Winter 1904), 299. Accessed February 20, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2762233.

[45] Florence Kelley, "Industrial Conditions as a Community Problem with Particular Reference to Child Labor," 60.

[46] "A Federal Child Labor Law," *Chicago Tribune,* January 22, 1916, accessed February 26, 2014, Proquest.

[47] On Kelley's concern about Governor Altgeld's chances for re-election, see Florence Kelley to Henry D. Lloyd, October 1, 1896, in Sklar, *The Selected Letters of Florence Kelley*, 95. Kelley lost her position as Illinois' Chief Factory Inspector when Governor Altgeld lost his re-election bid in 1897.

[48] Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work,* 291-2.

[49] Florence Kelley to Lillian D. Wald, January 24, 1899, in Sklar and Palmer, eds., *The Selected Letters of Florence Kelley*, 95.

[50] Theodore Roosevelt to John Williams, June 2, 1899, in Sklar, *Florence Kelley and a Nation's Work,* 293.

[51] Florence Kelley, "The Consumers' League," *The American Journal of Nursing* vol. 1, no. 9 (Summer 1901): 646. Accessed February 20, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3402181.

[52] "Child Labor Public Education Project," University of Iowa Labor Center, accessed March 2, 2014, http://www.continuetolearn.uiowa.edu/laborctr/child_labor/.

[53] "Keating-Owen Child Labor Act of 1916," Our Documents, accessed March 2, 2014, http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=59.

[54] Goldmark,106.

[55] Edith Wyatt, "Democracy and Education," *The Dial: A Semi-monthly Journal of Literary Criticism, Discussion, and Information*, April 5, 1917, accessed February 17, 2014, Proquest.

[56] Felix Frankfurter, "Introduction," in Goldmark, vi.

[57] In 1900, less than seven percent of American seventeen year olds graduated from high school. By 1940, that figure was close to fifty percent. For more data, see Judith Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 187.

APPENDIX I

Complete Writings by Florence Kelley, 1882-1899, and Four Autobiographical Articles, 1926-1927, in Chronological Order.

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APPENDIX II

Florence Kelley’s Recommended Bill to the Investigative Committee, 1893.

AN ACT to regulate the employment of women and children in manufacturing establishments, factories and work-shops, and to provide for the appointment of inspectors to enforce the same.

SECTION 1. No minor under eighteen years of age, and no woman shall be employed in any factory or work-shop more than eight hours in any one day or forty-eight hours in any one week.

SEC. 2. No process of making or finishing, altering or repairing for sale any coats, vests, trousers, overcoats, or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, shall be carried on in any dwelling by any woman or by any child under sixteen years of age.

SEC. 3. No child under fourteen years of age shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment, factory or workshop within this state. It shall be the duty of every person, firm, corporation, agent or manager of any corporation employing children to keep a register in which shall be recorded the name, birthplace, age and place of residence of every person employed by him, her or them, under the age of sixteen years; and it shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to hire or employ in any manufacturing establishment, factory or work-shop any child over the age of fourteen years and under the age of sixteen years, unless there is first provided and placed on file an affidavit made by the parent or guardian stating the age, date and place of birth of said child: if said child have no parent or guardian, then such affidavit shall be made by the child, which affidavit shall be kept on file by the employer and which said register and affidavit shall be produced for inspection on demand by the inspector, assistant inspector or any of the deputies appointed under this act. The factory inspector, assistant inspector and deputy inspectors shall have power to demand a certificate of physical fitness from some regular physician of good standing in the case of children who may appear to him or her physically unable to perform the labor at which they may be engaged, and shall have power to prohibit the employment of any minor that cannot obtain such a certificate.

SEC. 4. Every person, firm, or corporation, agent or manager of a corporation employing any woman or minor under the age of eighteen years in any manufacturing establishment, factory or work-shop, shall post, and keep posted, in a conspicuous place in every room where such help is employed, a printed notice stating the hours for each day of the week between which work is required of such persons, and in every room where children under sixteen years of age are employed, a list of their names with their ages.

SEC. 5 No child, under the age of sixteen years and over fourteen years of age, shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment, factory or workshop, who cannot read or write simple sentences in the English language, except during the vacation of the public schools in the city where such minor lives.

SEC. 6. The word "manufacturing establishment," wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean any place where goods or products are manufactured for sale, or repaired, cleaned or sorted, in whole or in part. Whenever any house, room or place is used for the purpose of carrying on any process of making, altering, repairing or finishing, for sale, any coats, vests, trousers or overcoats, or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, it shall, within the meaning of this act, be deemed a workshop.

SEC 7. Any person who violates or fails to comply with any provision of this act, or who employs, or suffers or permits any person to be employed, either in his own business or in the business of any corporation of which he is manager, and any parent or guardian of any child, who shall suffer or permit any such child to be employed, in violation of its provisions, shall on conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than $50, or more than $100, and, in default of payment of such fine, by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than thirty nor more than ninety days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 8. The governor shall, immediately after the passage of this act, appoint a factory inspector at a salary of two thousand dollars a year, and an assistant factory inspector at a salary of fifteen hundred dollars per year, and ten deputy factory inspectors, of whom five shall be women, at a salary of one thousand dollars each. The salaries of the factory inspector and deputies provided for in this act, shall be paid out the funds of the State not otherwise appropriated. The term of office of the factory inspector shall be three years and the assistant factory inspector and deputy factory inspectors shall hold office during good behavior. The said inspector, assistant inspector and deputy inspectors shall be empowered to visit and inspect, at all reasonable hours, and as often as practicable, the factories, workshops, and manufacturing establishments in the State, where the manufacture of goods is carried on, and the inspector shall publish, on or before the thirteenth day of November of each year, a report of the work performed by them. It shall also be the duty of the said inspectors to enforce the provisions of this act, and to prosecute all violations of the same before any magistrate or any court of competent jurisdiction in the State.

SEC. 9. All necessary expenses incurred by the inspectors in the discharge of their duty shall be paid from the funds of the State, upon the presentation of proper vouchers for the same, approved by the factory inspector and audited by the comptroller, provided that not more than $5,000 shall be expended by them therefore in any one year. The reasonable necessary traveling and other expenses of the deputy factory inspector while engaged in the performance of their duties, shall be paid in like manner upon vouchers approved by the factory inspector and audited by the comptroller. All expenses shall be payable monthly.

SEC. 10. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 11. This act shall take effect immediately.

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Twilight of the Decadents: Wagner, Nietzsche, Mahler and the Death, Transfiguration, and Resurrection of the Nineteenth-century Zeitgeist

by Alexander Tyska

Introduction

In the year 1878[58], the great German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche and the great German composer Richard Wagner severed their longstanding friendship. When he saw a copy of Wagner's final opera, *Parsifal*, Nietzsche realized his ideologies vehemently opposed those expressed within its text, to the extent that he believed he and Wagner could no longer come together on similar terms. This was further confirmed for Nietzsche when *Parsifal* premiered in 1882. Even though their split was likely inevitable, and had been regarded as a possibility by Nietzsche as early as 1876[59], it was because of *Parsifal* that he would go on to write entire pieces about why he hated Wagner's work. In these books, *The Case of Wagner* and *Nietzsche contra Wagner*, Nietzsche went so as far as to recant his past admiration for Wagner's earlier works, such as the monumental *Der Ring des Nibelungen* and the revolutionary *Tristan und Isolde*.

However, the precise reasons behind the end of their friendship are more complicated, and far more profound than merely a personal difference of opinion. In fact, they represent two microcosms of differing trains of nineteenth-century thought. One, to which Nietzsche subscribed, stated that religion should no longer be part of the human race's collective consciousness and the world's collective affairs, and that, instead, man should think for himself and create his own moral tenets. The other, shared by Wagner, said that man could only find redemption for his ills (as defined by its own long-embedded morality) beyond the world; looking to the beyond, to heaven, to God, and to the afterlife, rather than to the tangible world of mortals.

Nietzsche believed that the world we live in was the total extent of reality, and that life on earth, as a tangible construct, needed to be affirmed through struggle, and, finally, through the will's victory over the moral depravity (the weakness, i.e. the "master-slave morality"[60]) of Christianity. Wagner, on the other hand, affirms in *Parsifal,* his final work, that redemption through love—an idea he views in a similar manner to the Christians by way of renunciation of the material world in favor of a beyond—is the only way the evils of the world, be they monetary greed or lust for the flesh, can be put to rest. The issue Nietzsche took with this is that redemption through love favors death and the afterlife as the source of the redemption, directly in contrast to the idea of the will's affirmation of the physical existence of man on earth,as opposed to in the heavens.

Wagner and Nietzsche's differing views on the world, its morality, and through those constructs, the struggles of the human will can be seen as an example for the age old question of man vs. God, and subsequently came to codify two different manifestos of a world view for the coming twentieth-century. Nietzsche and Wagner subscribed to two opposing ideologies which would be hugely influential: not a single composer after Wagner's death would be without his influence, and Nietzsche would achieve

nearly the same level of impact on Western philosophy. But despite the polar-opposite nature of their beliefs, there was one notable element that they shared.

That synthesis was brought about by Gustav Mahler—an Austrian composer and successor to Wagner as the chief representative (albeit unrecognized by the general public as such until decades after his death) of music's progression to modernism. It was Mahler who took the zeitgeist murdered by Nietzsche and Wagner, transfigured it, and finally, resurrected it. Mahler was indebted to Wagner for the tonal language of his music, as well as his techniques for orchestration and expressing the sort of monumental emotions. His eleven mature symphonic works (nine complete symphonies, one symphony for tenor and baritone/contralto and one unfinished symphony) are heavily influenced by the aforementioned tenants of Wagner's legacy, and mark the beginning of a new age of dissonance and atonality. Simultaneously, however, and outside of the purely musical realm, Nietzsche's philosophical influence shows up throughout Mahler's opus. Notably, in his Third Symphony, where Zarathustra's Roundelay, a poem from Nietzsche's book *Thus Spoke Zarathustra,* is used as the text for a movement which features a female singer[61]. But some of Wagner's philosophical ideas show up as well, including the most important of them all: redemption through love. Mahler, however, reconciles these ideas with those of Nietzsche to truly create a synthesis, using Nietzsche's view of the will in conjunction with a Wagnerian redemption in the afterlife, as well as other Christian-based themes such as resurrection—which is reconciled to Nietzsche by how it serves as a mirror for his own idea or postulate of the cyclical, eternal recurrence of the universe.

Nietzsche and Wagner as friends and enemies

In November of 1868, shortly after Friedrich Nietzsche returned to the University of Leipzig, he met a man whom he would later regard as perhaps his greatest friend: Richard Wagner[62]. At the time, the social standing of these two men differed vastly. Nietzsche was a completely unknown student of philology, and Wagner was close to achieving almost universal recognition as the greatest composer in the world. Despite this, and the obvious difference in age, there were innumerable reasons for the two men to become friends. Both of them had spent their youths in deep admiration for the ancient art of Greek tragedy, and both had been deeply influenced by the writings of Arthur Schopenhauer. In addition, the meeting was one between a musical genius with a strong but amateur interest in philosophy, and a philosophical genius with a strong but amateur interest in music.

The friendship of Nietzsche and Wagner progressed healthily, and the two were still on good terms when *Der Ring des Nibelungen* premiered in 1876 at the first Bayreuth Festival. It was in this same year that Nietzsche wrote the fourth and final installment of his series of four essays called *Unfashionable Observations*. This final essay was entitled *Richard Wagner in Bayreuth*, and was positive but not enthusiastic, praising the supremacy and the majesty of the composer's art, but by no means to the extent of his earlier book, *The Birth of Tragedy,* in which he had proclaimed Wagner as leading the rebirth of Greek tragedy. Before publishing the final version of this new piece, the draft had been much more

critical of Wagner. Nietzsche had decided, with some advice from friend and Wagnerian (in other words, a great supporter of Wagner's work) Peter Gast, to rewrite the critical parts of the essay and present a more favorable picture of Wagner the genius. But after the first Bayreuth Festival, Nietzsche concluded that Wagner's art was not the supreme achievement he once had thought it to be. This was reflected in his book of 1878, *Human, All-Too Human*, where Wagner the genius was described in a veiled manner as Wagner the ultranationalist and Wagner the anti-Semite.

This was the same year that Wagner sent Nietzsche a copy of *Parsifal*, which Nietzsche immediately regarded as an over-Christianized view of the human moral compass, and an even further extended view of Schopenhauer's idea of renunciation. For Nietzsche, this could not be forgiven. He had once admired Schopenhauer, but now had come to reject his pessimism. Now, he would reject Wagner as well. He sent Wagner a copy of *Human, All-Too Human*, and the former friend of Nietzsche got the message. The *Bayreuther Blätter*, a Wagnerian newsletter, denounced the philosopher just months after Wagner received the copy of Nietzsche's book[63]. Nietzsche knew he hated *Parsifal* even before it premiered on the stage, suggesting how close the correspondence and friendship between Wagner and Nietzsche had been. It also displays just how emotionally volatile these two geniuses truly where, with no ability whatsoever to personally reconcile with each other after their ultimate break.

The *Parsifal–Human, All-Too Human* incident aside, there are several previously accepted ideas about what led to the end of the Nietzsche–Wagner friendship. First off, there is Schopenhauer. When they met in 1868, both Wagner and Nietzsche both very much admired Schopenhauer's philosophy, and Nietzsche certainly still did in 1874 when he wrote the third essay of *Unfashionable Observations*, entitled *Schopenhauer as Educator*. But by the time Nietzsche received the copy of *Parsifal* from Wagner in 1878, his respect for the philosophy of Schopenhauer was waning. And when he set out to compose the first of the two late Wagner writings, *The Case of Wagner*, he had certainly broken with Schopenhauer completely. In this writing he attributed the Ring Cycle's failure to its Schopenhauerian ending.[64]

From this comes the contrast of Wagner's ultimate view of the world to Nietzsche's own ultimate view of things. In the composer's more sexual works like *Tannhäuser* (despite its Christian ending) and *Tristan und Isolde* (despite its ending with physical death), it becomes clear that Wagner prefers a Schopenhauerian view: the world and all its pains should be renounced in favor of the mysteriousness of what is to be found beyond the tangible realm. Nietzsche, on the other hand, totally favors a view of life affirmation, directly in contrast to any ideas involving a state beyond the termination of life.

Along with Schopenhauer's views on life versus the afterlife, there is the way Wagner and Nietzsche viewed the will as taken from his writings and their own ideas. This idea of the will could be defined as humanity's driving force: the thing which drives man to achieve his greatest possible goals. For Nietzsche, who interprets it as the "will to power", it is the will's ultimate victory which greets the *übermensch*. For Schopenhauer, however, the will is part of what must be renounced in order for man to free himself from an endless drive to satisfaction through sexual intercourse—it was this theme that

Wagner sought to explore in *Tristan*. In the end, along with his opinion of affirmation, it was this Schopenhauerian view which Wagner would take in stride, and it was this rejection of the will through a Christian-Schopenhauerian mode that Nietzsche found in *Parsifal* which disgusted him so much.

Analyzing the Wagner writings: The Case of Nietzsche

In order to fully assess the nature of Nietzsche's final 1888–1889 critiques of Wagner, it is necessary to view them from what might be called a *mediating* perspective. This means that in order to grasp these two works in their entirety, they must be looked at through the lens of the critic and the criticized alike. We need to look not only at what Nietzsche said, but at how Wagner or a Wagnerian might respond. Can the apparently polar opposite nature of these opinions be reconciled? The answer is yes, but before the synthesis (to use Hegel's terminology) can be found we need to examine closely the Nietzschean thesis and the Wagenrian antithesis.

***The Case of Wagner*, analyzed**

The Case of Wagner is a thoroughly fascinating essay. It gives great insight not only to the obvious subject matter, but also to Nietzsche's thought in general—especially the way he was thinking in the months just before his loss of sanity. In the preface, Nietzsche tells the reader that "My greatest experience was a recovery. Wagner is merely one of my sicknesses"[65]. This statement could serve to define the main point of the book. For example, he surprisingly refers to how he believes Georges Bizet's opera *Carmen* is better and more worthy of praise than anything Wagner composed. "Yesterday I heard—would you believe it?—Bizet's masterpiece for the twentieth time. Again I stayed there with tender devotion; again I did not run away. How such a work makes one perfect!"[66]. This is particularly interesting. There is almost certainly no serious musicologist who would share in this opinion, and in all likelihood Nietzsche would not disagree. But then again, the remark is meant to drive home the point: Wagner *is* a disease, and *Carmen* was Nietzsche's cure.

Following the *Carmen* comparison, Nietzsche goes into detail about how he takes issue with the Wagnerian redemption theme. He relates that in every one of Wagner's operas there is a hero or heroine who needs to be redeemed, and how it was this that ruined the ending of the *Ring*. According to Nietzsche, Wagner turned a work which looked towards the beginning of a golden age of man at the end of *Siegfried*, with the uniting of the title hero and his beloved Brünnhilde in the renunciation of the old gods of Valhalla, into nothing more than a Schopenhauerian declaration of redemption. At the end of Götterdämmerung, following Siegfried's murder, Brünnhilde immolates herself in his funeral pyre, so that she might sacrifice herself to redeem him for his misdeeds, and so that she might be united with him eternally in death. Nietzsche's issue with this was that it was not affirming life on earth, but was rather serving to look towards rejecting life in favor of death, just like *Tristan*. However, it is not clear that Brünnhilde is rejecting the will entirely, at least as Nietzsche defines it. The will is, for Nietzsche, the ultimate driving force towards human fulfillment. Is it not will in this sense that drives her to unite herself with Siegfried in death? For Brünnhilde, the victory is achieved by way of grasping at a state of eternity

in death, which for her is fulfillment. Nietzsche's rejection of Brünnhilde (and thus of Wagner) was rooted in his disagreement with its statement concerning ideal fulfillment. When Nietzsche's own concept is looked at through a wider lens, it is possible to see that the ending of the *Ring* is an example of the will to power, although one contrary to what Nietzsche saw as its proper fulfillment.

After covering his issues with Schopenhauerian redemption in the *Ring* and Wagner's other operas, Nietzsche moves on to some broader ideas. First among them is the issue of the *decadent*, a person who is defined by the weakness of will which Nietzsche saw as characteristic of the late nineteenth-century. In this context, this means a person, like Wagner, overcome with a sense of passion who is made weak by the art which expresses this passion. But, as Nietzsche admits, he too is affected by this decadence: "I am, no less than Wagner, a child of this time; that is, a decadent". The difference is that Nietzsche was able to overcome this decadence. Within the *Case of Wagner*, he states: "I comprehended this, I resisted it. The philosopher in me resisted"[67]. Nietzsche rejected Wagner's art—an art that to many expresses deep, universal truth— because he considered Wagner to be an actor, not a great dramatist such as Shakespeare or Aeschylus. Nietzsche saw Wagner as an actor capable of deceiving his audiences, someone who gave them the illusion that a great epic is taking place before them. The sheer emotional power of Wagner's music, according to Nietzsche, is not enough to sustain the truth of what he thinks is his great philosophical message. Being overcome by emotion is the sign of a decadent, and therefore suggests Wagner's music is weak.

Although a work may display great emotional content, this does not necessarily guarantee it expresses truth. It is through the audience's emotional experience of such a work that they recognize truth. The audience member will feel at least sympathy, and, hopefully, empathy for the hero. Empathy will enable the viewer to enter the viewpoint of the character, and thus can gain access to the truth that the character experiences. In Tristan, the prelude, the *Liebesnacht* duet, and the *Liebestod* aria show us not just deep emotional power, but also deep truth about the nature of longing, love and death. Here Wagner's total work of art, combining music and drama, is a victory for the ages. Here Nietzsche's argument, that of Wagner the liar, that of Wagner the actor, is false. Nietzsche felt the emotional power of the experience, but he was unable to comprehend the truth it expressed.

***Nietzsche contra Wagner*, analyzed**

Nietzsche contra Wagner, the last thing Nietzsche wrote before losing his sanity, is as interesting in content as it is in purpose. In the preface to this work, Nietzsche points out that it is essentially a compendium of all his earlier writings on Wagner. It shows Nietzsche was keenly concerned about ensuring that his readers would understand his views on the Wagner opus. But why did he care so much about what other people thought of his views? This was a man who had spent most of his life surrounded by those who disagreed with him. The reason for his concern lies in how much respect Nietzsche formerly had for Wagner, and how much energy he devoted to honoring Wagner's art in his first work, *The Birth of Tragedy,* which cost him his career as a classicist. Nietzsche now wanted to show the world that he was

capable of self-criticism despite his strong set of ideals, and through doing so, could also display his intellectual supremacy over the other decadents of the late nineteenth-century.

Nietzsche begins the main body of his work by describing his initial admiration of Wagner. Above all, it is from how Wagner has suffered as an individual that Nietzsche admires him, and also from his sheer musical genius which brought so much new material into the world of music. "Here is a musician who is a greater master than anyone else in the discovering of tones peculiar to suffering, oppressed, and tormented souls, who can endow even dumb misery with speech".[68] Nietzsche goes on to describe how Wagner is extremely apt at creating small, sublime, and utterly ecstatic moments, but that his goal is to create works on a monumental scale never before seen. "He does not see that his spirit has another desire and bent—a totally different outlook—that it prefers to squat peacefully in the corners of broken-down houses: concealed in this way, and hidden even from himself, he paints his really great masterpieces, all of which are very short, often only one bar in length—there, only, does he become quite good, great and perfect, perhaps there alone"[69]. The artist may be a creative genius, but he may not know what his genius is best at creating. Nietzsche believed Wagner created music solely for the sake of pleasing the decadents—as we saw in *The Case of Wagner*—but he failed to realize that this was simply a convention to please the mob, and that Wagner, in fact, invented new and innovative concepts such as that of "unending melody.".

Here, Nietzsche's argument begins to suffer as a result of his own personal view of the world. The creation of new techniques of composition was not done by Wagner for the sake of playing to the mob, but because he felt it was the only way to give the listener an expression of a certain emotion, mood, or feeling. This was precisely the case with the use of dissonance in the *Tristan* chord, which was done to create a sense of painful longing, as with the invention of a brand new instrument, the Wagner tuba, which Wagner wanted so that he could hear the Valhalla leitmotif played in *Das Rheingold* with a supreme sense of regality and nobility[70]. This was not the work of a showman who wanted to please the masses; this was the art of a man who fought the conventions of the nineteenth-century musical world for the sake of conveying emotions previously unexpressed in music.

The final major issue Nietzsche takes with Wagner is what he calls "Wagner as the apostle of chastity". This is where Nietzsche lays out his problems with the glorification of purity and chastity through a Christian lens in *Parsifal*, the work which served as the final catalyst for the split in their friendship. Nietzsche has no qualms about condemning utterly this final opera of Wagner's. He puts it in the simplest terms possible: *Parsifal* is "a bad work". Nietzsche's reasoning for this is primarily tied to the aforementioned issue of chastity. In the opera, the hero, foolish but pure Parsifal, is glorified for his ability to reject the sexual advances of Kundry, and, by doing so, is capable of rescuing the Holy Lance from the villainous demon Klingsor. In the process, Parsifal is able to redeem Amfortas, King of the Grail Knights, who lost the spear after being himself seduced by Kundry. He then baptizes and redeems

Kundry, who was also guilty of laughing at Christ when he was crucified, and had been cursed as a result. The problem of sex versus chastity appears to be black and white, but it is not that simple.

In *Parsifal*, sex is only condemned when those involved in it either have a higher task (such as with the Grail Knights) that their sexual desires keep them from completing, or when their sexual activity is without emotional feeling and for the sake of the sensation alone. None of the characters in the story are ordinary people, and there is no indication that how sex is addressed is referring to the real world[71]. Wagner is merely trying to propose that although sex is not empirically evil, it can be perverted into becoming evil just like anything else—a prime example being the Nazi's perverse appropriation of his own music to glorify National Socialism. Because of his own biases, Nietzsche could only see Parsifal as a black and white canvas, where sex and the will were rejected in a Christian-Schopenhauerian mode.

There is a further issue with Nietzsche's standard black-and-white Christian view of *Parsifal*. Although explicitly created on the subject of Christian themes, *Parsifal* is a Schopenhauerian work, not a mass for the stage. Its central theme, like that of the clearly pagan *Ring*, is redemption through love. But in Parsifal, there is no redemption connected to the rejection of the will as a driving life force. If anything, it is more in line with Nietzsche's affirmation principle, which accepts the absoluteness of life, but at the same time confirms that the struggle of the will is a highly painful and ultimately futile one. Futile in the sense that it can never achieve perpetual satisfaction, thanks to death. The main problem in the opera when dealing with this concept of the affirmation of life on earth is its clear focus on the otherworldly, and, especially in regards to Kundry, the afterlife. But, similarly to Brünnhilde, it is Kundry's will that she should be redeemed, and it is Parsifal's that brings her to redemption through love.

The problem, and the place where Nietzsche's criticism may have some validity, is that it is, perhaps, God's love that redeems. But on the other hand, it is perhaps that of Parsifal. This may be true given how Wagner ends his opera, with the squires of the Grail Knights proclaiming "Miracle of supreme salvation! The redeemer redeemed![72]" after Parsifal heals and redeems Amfortas with the Holy Lance. This line is enigmatic, and it has never been agreed upon whether the redeemer is Christ or Parsifal. However, considering Christ is never directly mentioned by name in the opera, it may well be Parsifal who is the redeemer. This could imply that it is through man that the idea of divinity came into the world, and that the Christian subject matter is used only as an elaborate metaphor. Regardless, the only thing about *Parsifal* which will always remain undisputed is the majesty and sublime aesthetic beauty of its music.

How Nietzsche and Wagner can be reconciled: The Case of Mahler

How can the ideologies of these two visionaries be reconciled? Wagner's promotes death as a vehicle for redemption through love and the renunciation of life, and Nietzsche promotes the affirmation of life on earth, and the acceptance of the will to power concept as a tool to achieve fulfillment on earth and only on earth. At their core these concepts seem antipodal and impossible to reconcile, yet somehow Gustav Mahler manages to do just that.

When looking at Mahler's work, it is clear from the outset that he is musically the direct successor to Wagner as the bearer of the torch of musical modernism. Wagner's first and only totally modernist work was *Tristan und Isolde*, but since he had not written it solely for the sake of breaking convention, he did not make these new techniques such as dissonance and atonality the norm of his later works. Although there are elements of both present in *Meistersinger*, the *Ring*, and *Parsifal*, they are not the dominant force. The dominant force is late romanticism—but late romanticism on the brink of losing tonality and chord resolution. What makes Mahler such an excellent successor to Wagner is that he, too, followed a similarly cautious path. His symphonies are not dominated by dissonance, but they make excellent use of it. They instead serve to extend late romanticism as codified by Wagner in his late works.

For all that Mahler is indebted to Wagner, he is, remarkably, a composer with a totally unique sound. There is no Mahler piece that sounds like Wagner unintentionally, but there are parts of Mahler's music where Wagner is directly referred to for the sake of displaying a particular mood or emotion. This is the case in the finale of Mahler's First Symphony, where he quotes a theme from *Parsifal*, and in the finale of his Seventh, where he quotes *Meistersinger*.

But for all the obvious musical influence that Wagner has on Mahler, where does the Wagnerian ideology appear in Mahler's canon? Certainly death, resurrection, eternity, and the idea of an afterlife are ever present in Mahler's symphonies. This primarily results from the aftermath of Mahler's far from happy childhood, where he witnessed the death of several of his siblings from illness. The grief which these tragedies imprinted in Mahler left him naturally curious about what life meant, and about what there was to be said for the concept of a life after death.

When it came to the expression of these philosophical questions in Mahler's music, his form was unique. In his Second Symphony, titled "Resurrection," for example, Mahler explores perennial questions: is there life after death? Is it all for nothing? In the first movement, he gives us a long funeral march for the death of a great man, which expresses the darkness of death and grief, but always affirms the great and wonderful mystery of it. In the second, he gives us a memory of the great man in life. In the third movement, we see a blatant description of the madness and seemingly joke-like nature of life. But towards the end of this scherzo, the joking music is seemingly struck by lighting: we hear a great cosmic explosion, where the universe is torn apart before us, and which seems to describe the unearthly terror felt at the very moment of death . Following the scherzo's extraordinary end, there is a brief song for a contralto soloist where the singer expresses a desire to be lifted above the world and taken into heaven—to return once more to the arms of God. Mahler, however, does not end his symphony with an ascension into heaven. He ends it with a highly metaphorical *resurrection*. The finale, after an ecstatic return to the world of the living, concludes with a hymn for chorus, featuring text by Klopstock, as well as by Mahler himself. What makes this interesting is that nothing in the text of the final movement implies that the person in question (that is, the person whose funeral is represented in the first movement) has been taken

into heaven. If anything, the figure in question has conquered death by returning to life through totally inexplicable means, and will, in Mahler's words, be led to God.

Here it is important to take note of some facts about Mahler's life. He was born not as a Christian, but as a Jew. He became a Christian not because he had found a new source of faith, but because he wanted to get a job as director of the Vienna Court Opera, which required him to convert. Mahler got the job, but remained an agnostic until the end of his life. What does this seeming indifference to religion mean for the *Resurrection* Symphony? Surely it cannot be called a purely Christian work, given that the man who wrote it was a Jew who converted to Christianity solely for the sake of his artistic career. But the presence of Wagner's own favorite theme in the Christian mode cannot be rejected altogether. Like *Parsifal,* The *Resurrection* is about redemption through love. The only difference is how the use of Christian ideas and a Christian influenced text can be reconciled with a purely secular philosophy.

Even though some of Mahler's major works may feature Christian themes, they are not to be regarded as an affirmation of the afterlife. This may seem totally contradictory in the case of the Eighth Symphony, which features not only a hymn to the creator spirit, but also the final scene of Goethe's Faust, in which the title character ascends into heaven after he is redeemed for his sins through the love of Marguerite—the "eternal feminine". Mahler does not use Goethe's scenario to affirm the existence of the afterlife, or the possibility thereof, but to further extol the same model he used in his Second Symphony: the idea that redemption of love as shown through Christ's sacrifice was created by man, just as Faust's redemption was at the hands of a woman. In both cases it is clear that Mahler is seeking to present redemption as something created by humans. At the same time, he uses Christian themes to show how truly significant they have been for the history of his civilization.

The use of Christian themes to reflect a worldly view is most present in the Eighth Symphony. The *Resurrection* is not an ascension into heaven, but rather is a return to life on earth. In this sense, the Second Symphony is an extension of the themes explored in his First Symphony, where they were looked at in a purely naturalistic light. Mahler's First Symphony is itself an earth-shattering work, and the struggle it depicts is very much the same.

The opening movement of the First Symphony shows the world born in spring-time, the second movement the joy man feels at the sight of nature's beauty, but the third takes things to a very dark place. It is a funeral march, with a theme taken as the melody from the song "Frère Jacques" played in minor key. The dark, almost evil music of the march is then interspersed with Jewish folk dance tunes that Mahler recalled from his childhood. The nature of how this third movement expresses death, however, could not be called simple. Again, Mahler uses the metaphor, and to very great effect. Here, death may not necessarily have occurred, but it is ever present, and from it no one can escape. In the finale, first there is a great storm of battle, a struggle of the human will to overcome adversity. This stormy music of battle is interspersed with passionate lyrical episodes, written in almost the same vein as the *Tristan*

prelude. It seems clear that Mahler is trying to depict the will in struggle, but what could these passionate episodes mean? The answer is simple. Love.

In this finale, Mahler shows that love is the only way for the will's earthly struggle to be redeemed from the endless injury and suffering which it causes its possessor as he seeks to overcome the problem of mortality. In Mahler's case it is the want, but not the possession, of a woman's love. This woman was the soprano Johanna Richter, who had rejected Mahler's advances shortly before he composed the First Symphony[73]. In any case, this allusion to personal experience only further seeks to confirm the Mahlerian belief in the affirmation of struggle by way of redemption through love. Whatever is lost and whatever tribulation is suffered in the course of the will's struggle, love will always redeem. The symphony reaches its concluding point with a heroic return to the life-affirming music of the first movement, and ends with a heroic expression of victory over death by accepting mortality, and rejecting the pain caused by it in favor of love.

Here is where Nietzsche comes in. As we have seen, this notion of redemption through love was clearly very prevalent in Mahler's works. This might not have pleased Nietzsche because of how much he detested Wagner's uses of it, but because Mahler uses redemption through love to affirm life; it is possible he could have agreed with this Mahlerian idea. From here, the synthesis continues. Mahler was certainly well acquainted with Nietzsche's philosophy, and the notion of the will to power especially can be found throughout many of his works. But there is another theme which Mahler had already explored using his mirror of Christianity which he would also look at through Nietzsche's lens: eternity.

In his Third Symphony, Mahler set out again to do what he saw as ideal for a symphonic piece: the construction of a total work of art by creating a universal composition, one that could be said to encompass the whole world. The Third Symphony exemplifies this idea, and each of its movements represents a different course of nature. The movements successively represent the dawn of spring, the blossoming of summer, and the animals in the forest. From here he moves directly into a sung movement, where he features Nietzsche's own poem from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* —Zarathustra's Roundelay. He, like Nietzsche, asks what man seeks from eternity:

> O man, take care!
> What does the deep midnight declare?
> "I was asleep—
> From a deep dream I woke and swear:
> The world is deep,
> Deeper than day had been aware.
> Deep is its woe;
> Joy—deeper yet than agony:
> Woe implores: Go!

But all joy wants eternity—
Wants deep, wants deep eternity."[74]

Within *Thus Spoke Zarathustra,* Nietzsche's conclusion is simple: the world is full of woe, but even more powerful, indeed deeper, than woe, is joy. Joy yearns for eternity, and in desiring eternity joy clearly seeks fulfillment. The only way to achieve fulfillment, in Nietzsche's thought, is to triumph over woe and depravity (i.e. Christianity) in order to become an *übermensch*. In Mahler's mind, the problem is almost exactly the same. But instead of seeking the *übermensch*, Mahler looked for fulfillment on earth by accepting the futility of struggle, and in doing so, found redemption from pain in love.

Following this song, the next movement addresses the idea of the afterlife in heaven, but here Mahler gives us clues to show that his image of heaven is anything but literal. His movement addressing the notion of God's kingdom features a song sung by a children's choir. Who better to believe one of man's constructions than a naive child? Mahler juxtaposed his very serious song featuring Nietzsche's text with a cheery song about heaven sung by children. The one he believed to be more valid was clearly the former. The impassioned finale is written to express what Mahler saw as the truth that could be found in the ideal form of love (he titled the movement "What Love Tells Me"[75]).

After the Third Symphony and many other monumental works, Mahler was not finished with eternity. One of his final compositions, *Das Lied von der Erde*, or, *The Song of the Earth*, seeks to codify, for the ages, what Mahler thought of this titanic concept. In *Das Lied*, Mahler sets the texts of six Tang Dynasty era poems to music, and, in the last, called *The Farewell*, he seeks to once and for all combine the ideals of the will to power, redemption through love, and the notion of death with yet another Nietzchean concept: eternal return. There are hints of eternal return in the first and second symphonies, but it comes through clearly in *Das Lied von der Erde*. For Nietzsche, the concept essentially states that either man must grasp that it is possible for everything that has ever occurred, no matter how great or how terrible, to happen again, or rather, that he must live life *as if* that were to literally happen. In any case, *The Farewell* creates the ultimate synthesis by showing how, despite the futility of the will's struggle, despite the redemption it might find in love, and despite the inevitability of death and oblivion, something will always go on. Mahler ends the Tang poem with words he himself wrote:

Everywhere, the beloved earth
blooms in the spring and
is newly green! Everywhere and forever
the distances are blue and bright!
Forever . . . forever . . . "[76]

What Mahler is saying here is quite simple. Even if individual men are doomed to wander off and fade away into eternity, the world as nature will return and renew itself for eternity. Here, finally, we can see the ultimate intellectual synthesis of Nietzsche and Wagner. In Mahler, we find a man who uses the will for his own purposes, who comprehends the good to be found in redemption through love, and who affirms that, although life on earth is all there is, there will always be the renewal, and the eternal return, the eternal resurrection, of nature, for ever. In this way, he brings together first Wagner's principle of promoting love as a vehicle for redemption and then Nietzsche's of exalting life on earth into coherent unity. The price to pay for this synthesis, however, is the rejection of individual, personal survival in favor of the survival of the world as nature and the human race as a whole.

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[58]Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and The Case of Wagner* , trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, Vintage Books of Random House, Inc., 1967), 1499ght a

[59]Barry Millington, ed., *The Wagner Compendium: A Guide to Wagnerhat was inevitable*(London, Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1992), 383at was

[60]Walter Kaufmann, *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1968), 302.

[61]Jonathan Carr, *Mahler: A Biography* (Woodstock and New York, The Overlook Press, 1997) 26.

[62]Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Press, 1997) 26. see

[63]Kaufmann, translatorg, or does *The Case of Wagner*, 302.

[64]Nietzsche, *The Case of Wagner*, 164.

[65]Nietzsche, *The Case of Wagner*, 155.

[66]Ibid, 157.

[67]Ibid, 155.

[68]Friedrich Nietzsche, *I: The Case of Wagner, II: Nietzsche contra Wagner, and III: Selected Aphorisms*, trans. Anthony M. Ludovici (T. N. Foulis, Edinburgh and London, 1911), 58.

[69]Ibid, 58.

[70]Terry Quinn, *Richard Wagner: The Lighter Side* (Milwaukee, Amadeus Press, 2013), 21.

[71]Deryck Cooke, *The Symbolism of Parsifal*, liner notes to *Wagner: Parsifal*, Orchester und Chor der Bayreuther Festspiele conducted by Hans Knappertsbusch, Philips Classics 289 464 756-2, CD, 1962.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Carr, *Mahler*, 38erinc

[74]" to which Nietzsche subscribed, In fact, they represent two monumental gner e. It doesn D, 1962. 6http://ebook.worldlibrary.net/article/WHEBN0003113714/Zarathustra.

[75]Carr, *Mahler*, 72.

[76]" tp:/Nebook.worldErde - The Farewell,ell,brary.net/article/WHEBN0003113714/Zarathustra/Zarathustra" arsifal D, 1962. http://www.keepingscore.org/content/farewell-das-lied-von-der-erde-song-earth-symphony-tenor-and-contralto-or-baritone-and-orc.

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Revolution, Reform, and Royalty

by Nathan Isaacs

In the early seventeenth century, Britain founded thirteen colonies in the New World, soon to become the independent United States of America. Before they rebelled, the colonies provided Britain with significant revenue from taxes and trade.[77] Beginning in 1775, the American Revolution put an incredible amount of strain on the British economy that ultimately led to a shift in the nation's politics and administration. This reform enabled Britain to become the world's greatest empire.

To become the world's leading empire, Britain was forced to wage war against other colonial powers. In 1756, the European participated in the Seven Years' War, fought on three continents to gain control of the newly discovered Americas and India. Much of this war was fought between Great Britain and France. In 1763, Britain won the Seven Years' War and retained control of almost all of the New World and India. The war drained Britain's financial reservoir as Britain had spent one hundred million pounds emerge victorious.[78] This left the British with no choice but to increase taxes on their thirteen colonies. The colonists grew upset with the hefty taxes, so they began a rebellion to break away from the British Empire in 1775, beginning the American Revolutionary War, which ended in 1783. This war culminated in the loss of the colonies for Britain and the creation of a new nation in the New World: the United States of America.

Almost all citizens, including the king, were afraid for Britain's future when the colonies declared independence.[79] King George III (r. 1760-1820),was among the first to hear the news of the revolution. In response, he said, "The dye is now cast whether this shall be a great Empire or the least dignified of European states".[80] Many British citizens felt that without revenue from the colonies, Britain and its empire would inexorably deteriorate.[81]

As with the end of any war, Britain also faced demobilization and high unemployment, causing high crime rates. Additionally, it was left with "profound financial problems".[82] The British, already struggling to pay for the Seven Years' War, increased their deficit to fight in the American Revolution. From start to finish, the British national debt increased during the war from £127 million to £232 million.[83]

Britain emerged from the American Revolution with its international reputation shattered. Unlike any previous empire, Britain had been forced to recognize the independence of its former colonies. In 1763, after Britain's great success in the Seven Years' War, the other European nations saw Britain as the strongest power in Europe. After losing the American colonies, however, European nations no longer saw Britain as Europe's most flawless and well-respected power, with many even concluding Britain to be "terminally ill".[84]

After the loss of the colonies, Britain experienced a subsequent chaotic shift in politics that ultimately led to significant, much-needed reforms. The defeat in America gave credibility to the opposing Whigs' claims that George III was the chief reason for the failure of the American colonies and

Britain's decline. They argued that the monarch was at fault, proposing a reduction of the king's power and his ultimate usurpation by Parliament.[85] John Dunning, the First Baron Ashburton and a radical member of the Whig party, is famous for his saying, "The influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished".[86] Further exhibiting his hatred for the Crown, he said, "Saving money is but a secondary object. The reduction of the influence of the Crown is first". [87]

Because of Britain's failure in diplomacy and foreign relations during the American Revolution, the Whigs, who had been gaining power since the start of the war, urged King George III to adopt a stronger and more unified and coherent foreign policy. In effect, the British government learned from its mistakes and formed a unified Foreign Office in 1782. King George III forced Lord North, the prime minister of Britain from 1770 until 1782, to designate a department headed by one individual whose sole responsibility was diplomacy, known as the Foreign Secretary. This provided Britain with unity and coherence, which it lacked before the American Revolution. [88]

Before the reforms caused by the American Revolution, relations with the Continental states had been split on a geographical basis, causing a clear lack of focus on diplomacy. There was a secretary responsible for the northern countries on the continent, such as Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Another secretary was responsible for the southern countries, such as France, Spain, and Portugal, as well as the American colonies. Having two different secretaries caused many failures in coherency and efficiency. Often, the two secretaries adopted policies that were not synchronized, and sometimes even opposed to each other. One of the most famous examples occurred in 1768 when France annexed Corsica, a Mediterranean island between France and Italy. While the Southern secretary was prepared to declare war to prevent France from gaining territory, the Northern secretary advocated for peace regardless of the consequence. The French learned of this disagreement and used this to their advantage. The British lack of action enabled France to successfully capture Corsica.[89]

Furthermore, the secretaries were responsible for both domestic and colonial policy in addition to diplomacy. They often found foreign and colonial issues to be less important than domestic ones, so they neglected the colonies. One such example is during the Gordon Riots of 1780, a London anti-Catholic riot in response to the reduction of discrimination against Catholics. Instead of focusing on foreign relations and the colonies, the Southern secretary was forced to spend several weeks trying to quash the Gordon Riots. Instances like the Gordon Riots certainly contributed to the loss of America. King George III and Lord North learned from their mistakes; they created the Foreign Office to provide Britain with the coherency and efficiency necessary to create an organized Empire.[90]

Even though Lord North had successfully instituted reform in British foreign relations, he was considered a rather "incompetent" prime minister during wartime because of his mistakes during the American Revolution.[91] From the beginning of his appointment in 1770 until 1779, North let Ireland slip through his fingers, as he was "distracted" by the American Revolution and the possibility of a French invasion. The Irish revolted in 1780 and declared their right to a free trade: "Free Trade or Else—".[92]

North was forced to give Ireland the right to freely export its goods and products, further lessening Britain's control over Ireland. North's failure with Ireland and the colonies ultimately caused his downfall. The Whigs were the first to attack him, as a strategy to eliminate waste and institute change in the government. Accordingly, North was forced to resign in March 1782.[93]

By the time Lord North resigned, the Whigs had already begun reforming the government. Between March 1782 and the appointment of William Pitt the Younger in December 1783, five different prime ministers were appointed, all of whom failed to win the war in America. This chaotic interlude of five prime ministers began with the appointment of Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham, referred to as Rockingham. In 1782, Rockingham appointed Shelburne and Fox to secretaries of state, both radical Whigs whom the king despised. Rockingham, working with the secretaries of state, began enacting economic reform. This came to a swift end when Rockingham died in July that same year. The Whigs, still empowered by the American Revolution, were able to make Shelburne the new prime minister, another man whom the king loathed. Shelburne hoped that the American colonists would accept defeat and give themselves back over to Britain. He wanted a new form of "transatlantic empire based on free trade principles".[94] He was willing to grant America its independence in order to create a commercial and diplomatic union with an independent America. However, Shelburne failed to gain the respect of his colleagues or become a great leader. Shelburne resigned in February 1783.[95]

By April 1783, the king accepted both radical Whigs, Fox and North, back into the government. In the meantime, the two had formed a coalition, the Fox-North Coalition, with the goal of instituting major reforms, particularly with the East India Company. They chose the Duke of Portland as the new leader of the Coalition. The Duke of Portland eventually became prime minister, and Fox the primary leader of the coalition. George III was very clear that he wanted to demolish this "most infamous coalition", because it had very different ideals with respect to the East India Company and the future of the British Empire.[96] This caused more political chaos, as the king required the Duke of Portland to vacate his position as prime minister, eradicating the Fox-North Coalition from the government completely.[97]

Hoping to restore his own views to government, in December 1783, George III asked the twenty-four year old William Pitt the Younger to fill the vacant position of prime minister. He hoped that Pitt would restore royal authority to British political affairs, while simultaneously instituting enough reform to satisfy both sides. Pitt accepted the position and worked dutifully for the king until Pitt's death in 1806.[98]

While still supporting the king throughout all his years, Pitt instituted major reform, particularly in governmental administration. He began paying officials in salaries instead of fees to quicken administrative processes and reduce corruption. He abolished sinecures and increased oversight of departments. Pitt also abolished many offices that he saw as useless when the occupant died, replacing them with new, more competent workers in another department. He also imposed new regulations for

accounting and discipline. This provided streamlined the British administration and prevented another crisis like the American Revolution.[99]

Left with £250 million national debt from the American Revolution, Pitt imposed new taxes on British citizens. He also tried to reduce smuggling by lessening the high duties and taxes that encouraged it. He tried to decrease fraud by creating a better system of auditing. He also simplified customs and excise duties, combining them into a single consolidated fund out of which all public creditors were to be paid. An annual surplus of one million pounds was allocated to the purchase of stock and accumulated at compound interest for twenty-eight years, by which time its income would amount to four million pounds a year. In 1792, another act provided that a sinking fund of one percent attached to every new loan, to be redeemed within forty-five years. The system worked reasonably well in peacetime because there was an annual surplus of revenue, but, after the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars in 1793, Pitt found a new way to gain economic stability. The British government redeemed debt bearing a low interest by borrowing at a higher rate of interest. Thus, through Britain's economic and financial reforms, Britain gained money and power.[100]

Without the American Revolution, Britain would not have been poised to become the world's leading empire. Britain was in need of reform, which the American Revolution had initiated. The Prime Ministers' battles between themselves and the king initiated the necessary reform to rework national politics. While Britain had yet to reach its full potential, Britain's loss of America forced Britain to rethink its economic foundation and administrative structure. Without such pressure, Britain would not have been able to emerge from the eighteenth century as a unique European entity, poised to become the world's wealthiest and most powerful country.

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[77] Just a few years prior to the revolution, the thirteen colonies sent over fifty percent of their recorded exports to Britain in 1769, while Britain received sixty percent of its recorded imports from the thirteen colonies that same year (Heaton 337).
[78] Heaton, Herbert, *Economic History of Europe*, 340.
[79] Minois, Georges, *L'Angleterre georgienne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998), 66-8.
[80] Wright, Esmund, comp., *The Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966), 306.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Dickinson, H.T., comp., *Britain and the American Revolution*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 243
[83] Ibid.
[84] Dickinson, comp.,180-1
[85] Derry, John, *English Politics and the American Revolution,* (London: Aldine Press, 1976), 201.
[86] Wright, Christopher, *George III,* (London: the British Library, 2004), 58.
[87] Evans, Eric, *The Shaping of Modern Britain: Identity, Industry and Empire, 1780-1914* (Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2011), 98.
[88] Dickinson, comp., 183.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid, 183-5.
[91] Watson, John Steven, *The Reign of George III: 1760-1815*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 227.
[92] Ibid., 223-4.
[93] Evans, *The Shaping of Modern Britain: Identity, Industry and Empire, 1780-1914*, 88.
[94] Ibid., 88-90.
[95] Ibid.

[96] The Fox-North Coalition held very strong and radical opinions concerning the East India Company, which eventually caused the demolition of the Coalition. The East India Company was an English company formed for the exploitation of trade with East and Southeast Asia and India, incorporated by a royal charter in 1600. The East India Company marked the beginning of a long history of British policy and government in India. Edmund Burke, an influential British philosopher, political theorist, and member of the Parliament, who agreed with the Fox-North Coalition, put forth a new bill in 1783 that proposed that India be governed by a separate and independent board of seven commissioners in London, chosen by the British Crown (Burke's Speech). Below them would be nine assistant commissioners, appointed by the proprietors of the East India Company, who would manage the commercial side of the board. Burke opposed all suppression of the East India Company by direct British rule. After Burke and his coalition, tried to institute reform in India, George III blocked it by forcing the House of Lords to reject it. George III declared this bill "bold" and "unconstitutional" (Evans 88-91).
[97] Evans, *The Shaping of Modern Britain: Identity, Industry and Empire, 1780-1914*, 91.
[98] Webb, R.K., *Modern England: From the Eighteenth Century to Present,* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 101.
[99] Webb, 103.
[100] Evans, *The Shaping of Modern Britain: Identity, Industry and Empire, 1780-1914*, 99-100.

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The Sexual Threat: The Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Third Reich

by Valentina Gardner

The persecution of gays and lesbians in the Third Reich was unique in nature because it relied on a different, more universal fear of the unknown that allowed homosexuals to face the most gruesome crimes against humanity. What the Nazis managed to accomplish was to reintroduce homophobic ideologies in Germany. It was slow and gradual, chipping away at the progress the Weimar Republic did to create a more tolerant society, with the banning of gay clubs and publications, until the summer of 1934, when the arrests of homosexuals skyrocketed. Homosexuals were targeted for years before World War Two up until their incarceration in concentration camps. Once there, they faced just as much brutality, if not more than more, the Jews, compared to their small numbers in the camps, from the SS and from prisoners. In these camps the process of 'reeducation', or training homosexuals to return back to 'normal sex drives' (heterosexual) was introduced. This could either entail forced intercourse with women at the concentration camp brothels, or using 'pink triangle' inmates as 'guinea pigs' for multiple faulty experiments. Most of the brutality and assault they faced, however, whether from the SS Officers, doctors, or prisoners, was out of hatred towards them. Lesbians were not as thoroughly prosecuted, but there were still a few who faced time in the camps for their sexual behavior and refusal to conform to the gender roles of sexist Nazi Germany. However, the most tragic outcome from the brutality they faced was, after liberation, the continual silence of their hardships in the camps, and—if they were lucky enough to avoid persecution—continue their assimilated life in a heteronormative society.

Before we completely divulge into the topic at hand, it would be wise to explain the terminology of this paper. I will be referring specifically to the LGBTQ+ members of Germany as homosexuals, gays and/or lesbians because that was how they were referred to during the time period, and that is whom we have the most data on. A homosexual can refer to any person who is attracted to the same gender they identify with, but within this paper the word will refer to solely homosexual men. Lesbian refers specifically to women who are attracted to other women. There is no doubt that those who were bisexual, transgender or queer faced some of the same consequences during the Third Reich. What we know of their outcome can only be guessed by what we know from what is referred to as 'gay and lesbian' persecution, which is already omitted from most textbooks. This is their history too, and should not be erased from history solely because of the lack of concern from historians to include them into the main conversation of this terrible crime against humanity.

Before the Weimar Republic, Germany was starting to build a society that was more tolerant of gays and lesbians. Hirschfeld's Institute for studying sexuality opened in 1918. The Weimar Republic allowed gays and lesbians to be open about their sexualities. The replacement of Germany's monarchy with a Republic revitalized the homosexual movement, especially in the 1920s. Metropolitan areas, such as Berlin and Munich, became places where gays and lesbians would flock to from all over Germany in

order to feel a sense of comradery and to find romantic and sexual partners. Gay bars were widely popular at the time, and by 1930, the most popular bars could see 150,000 patrons a month.[101]

Berlin Cabaret, 1931.

Many gay and lesbian publications also reached bookstores. It was also a new time for the research of sexuality. Magnus Hirschfeld, a homosexual himself, founded the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, a group dedicated to science and changing people's views on homosexuality.[102] It was an important time in gay and lesbian history because this was a time for them to be completely open about their sexualities in public.

The increased presence of gays and lesbians was barely tolerated by most of the German people. By the late 1920s, laws were made to prevent the publication of gay and lesbian magazines.[103] Right-wing leaders warned of how sexual deviancy, and other "Western" ideologies, would jeopardize the German nation.[104] The next in power, the Nazi Party, would soon release their wrath on the homosexual men and women of Germany.

Most Nazi officials didn't view the question of homosexuals to be as troublesome as that of the Jew. Heinrich Himmler, a leading member of the Nazi Party and military commander, was an outlier to this rule. For him, homosexuality was an obsession, and he wrote extensively on the subject.[105] He first became aware of the subject in his teenage years, when he joined *Wandervogel,* an organization that emphasized a close bond between men as a basis for masculinity.[106] A founding member noted that homosexual tendencies were natural for male connections to form, which started Himmler on his quest to

find out the truth of homosexuality. He wanted to figure out if sexuality was a cause of 'nature' or 'nurture,' and what would mean for the potential degeneracy of the German people.

Heinrich Himmler

Himmler found his answer with the discovery of multiple homosexuals in his elite SS, which lead him to the 'nurture' argument. The emphasis of 'nurture' and 'learned behavior' was crucial for the Nazi Party's ideology in maintaining its authority and identity of Germany's leadership on an international scale. Himmler believed that all men are capable of being contaminated with the 'disease.' The 'nurture' argument prevents Aryan Germans from being connected to a 'genetic' or 'racial' flaw, which also keeps them in power.[107] If homosexuality is identified as a 'social disease,' it means it can also be 'curable,' which leads to ghastly consequences for gays and lesbians down the road.

The Nazi Party had two very simple goals: to maintain the purity of the German race, and to increase the population of the German people.[108] Successful execution of this policy required the conformity of an entire people. Homosexuals and lesbians posed a threat in this regard because they tended to create their subcultures, "separate" from society, and thus unintentionally making themselves an "other" group.[109]

Child breeding was also brought into consideration. Himmler was deeply concerned about the German state and the national birthrate and believed that homosexuals were committing a national injustice by not contributing. In a 1937 speech given to SS Officers, Himmler wrote, "If there are between one and two million homosexuals in Germany, that means that between 7-8-10% of the population of men are homosexuals. If this plague remains, it will break the German *Volk*." [110] While the birthrate of the nation was at stake, there were some logical flaws to the Nazi ideology. Homosexuals were described as "degenerate," and even if they were to marry and have children with a woman, the child would wind up inheriting the disease and becoming a homosexual as well. This "nurture" to "nature" argument was used to justify fear of homosexuals bearing children. So there was no real way, in the Nazis' eyes, for homosexuals to assimilate into German culture unless they were cured of their illness. The gays and lesbians had to be targeted and assimilated into German culture in order for Germany to gain power internationally and against non-Aryan citizens.

Along with the downfall of the Weimar Republic came the deterioration of gay and lesbian culture in Germany, which would not be recouped for decades. The year of 1933 marked the end of an era as the majority of bars and clubs went out of business due to an order from the Prussian Ministry of the

Interior on February 23rd. This order called for the closure of any businesses suspected of serving gays and lesbians, or 'circles that revere the unnatural vice.'[111] Gay and lesbian parties and gatherings now had to be held privately and secretly, away from the gaze of the Nazis. Almost all gay and lesbian publications went bankrupt by the end of the year or had to be purchased under the counter.

Any progress made by Hirschfeld and his colleagues was halted with the destruction of thousands of research articles and materials. A group of students came to his Sexual Science Institute on May 6th, 1933, and destroyed everything they could get their hands on, from scientific articles pertaining to sexuality and gender to the literary works of Oscar Wilde and Marcel Proust to an actual bust of Hirschfeld himself.[112] What the students collected from the institute was burned three days later, a total of about ten thousand volumes, accompanied by a dummy of Hirschfeld himself to burn with the books.[113] Some scientists, specifically psychologists, deemed homosexuals and lesbians to be pathologically ill due to a number of causes including hormonal imbalances and therefore to be curable. Other doctors were looking for proof that homosexuality was part of an evolutionary path and thus a 'natural' disposition.[114] Rumors spread about homosexuality in the Nazi party, specifically of the SA Officers, the Nazi Party's first military unit, and their leader, Ernst Rohm, who was particularly expressive of his love for young men. Hitler was at first hesitant about addressing his colleague's sexuality, having been colleagues since 1919, but the Social Democrats were beginning to criticize the SA for their behavior, and Himmler and other Nazi leaders were blatantly disgusted with Roehm.[115] As the Nazis wanted to create a masculine German empire, the circulating rumors about homosexuality could be problematic on the international stage. The SA would be an embarrassment to Germany. With that, Hitler finally agreed to get rid of Rohm. Himmler and some other leaders, with Hitler's knowledge, devised a plan to be rid of Rohm and the SA.

On the night of June 28 1934, while many SA officers were on vacation, SS Officers, under the command of Hitler, lead what was called Operation Kolibri and arrested as many SA Officers as they could.[116] Some higher SA Officials were caught in bed with their young lovers, others were shot with bullets before they could escape. Hundreds died during that night in Berlin, a purge orchestrated by Reinhard Heydrich.[117] Roehm was arrested, confused, from the Munich "Brown House," nicknamed so because of the SA Officers' brown uniforms. He was kept in a solitary cell until he was executed on July 1, the same day he was suppose to schedule a meeting with the *fuhrer* himself.[118] After the event, known in history as "Night of the Long Knives," Hitler became much more vocal about his disdain of homosexuals.

The persecution of homosexuals and lesbians fully began after the summer of 1934. The use of propaganda in the campaign against homosexuals was in ways very similar to that of the Jews. While the Jews were portrayed to be big-nosed businessmen who were after Aryan women, homosexuals were usually depicted as 'dirty old men' who targeted young teenage boys.[119]

The Reich Office of Combating Homosexuality and Abortion was established in 1936. Its main goal was to record and quantify any and all data regarding any 'habitual criminals', 'social pests', transvestites or 'enemies of the state.' When the state finally charged these people, there was then available data about them that the Criminal Police and the Gestapo could use so they could"act as quickly as possible" when dealing with these 'criminals'.[120] By 1940, the Bureau had information on 41,000 men convicted or suspected of being homosexuals.[121] They were looking specifically for 'corrupters of youth', or male prostitutes, for they were considered especially dangerous to the German public. In a speech in 1937, Josef Meisinger, head of the Reich Office, described how "homosexuality and abortion… in reality have much in common" because they are the crimes "which most affect the living marrow of the nation."[122] This office was particularly crucial because the men who were recorded in their databases were later the men who would wind up in the concentration camps.

The following May, the Nazis reintroduced and harshened Paragraph 175, a law addressing sodomy between men. It was removed by the Social Democrats in 1929 and was out of German law for several years, but the Nazi party reintroduced it with a newly revised addendum: Paragraph 175a lead to longer sentences for crimes involving subordinates.[123] It included punishments for sodomy, masturbation, and sexual advances.[124] Now as much as the smallest suspicion could be reason to interrogate certain individuals. Those accused of breaking the provision were subject to curses, beatings, and questioning until they confessed. One survivor described being held in a feces-filled room for a month where he couldn't even "put his hand down."[125]

Arrests for men rose from hundreds in 1934 to thousands in the next decade. Most arrests of men were made under the suspicion of them being homosexual. Those arrested were interrogated until they confessed or revealed the names of others, sometimes held captive for months. For men who did not pass as heterosexual, it was hard to avoid the threat of arrest. Many men decided to join the military to cover up their sexualities, though the risk of sexual felonies rose as more and more men were drafted.[126] In 1943 a categorical list was made to sort through the different 'types' of homosexuals: those who pursued, those who were pursued, and those whose intentions are not obvious. Those of the first and second groups were equally punished, though the men in group two were seen to be curable, while those in group three would be put in penal battalions until seen fit to return to their former units.[127]

What lesbians underwent in this time period, while causing fewer casualties than for gay men, was a combination of homophobia and extreme sexism in Germany's patriarchal society. Part of the reason women were not included in Paragraph 175 was because women's homosexuality was seen to be less legitimate than a man's affection for another man.[128] And since it was not possible for women at this time to achieve high offices, they didn't pose the same threats men did. However, there was added emphasis for women to obey certain gender roles under Nazi Germany's rule, such as bearing children. Lesbians were subject to harsher propaganda to have children since they tended to be childless and unmarried women.[129] Himmler had his own opinions on lesbians, specifically those who dressed more

masculine, since he viewed any variation from the polar gender expressions as to be a cause for homosexuality.[130] One way that lesbians (and gay men) were able to survive Nazi Germany was to create 'families', or groups of like-minded friends, to hold onto affectionate and emotional bonds, or to hold close relationships with other women.[131] Many women just succumbed to the pressures of society and got married and had kids, which for the most part was very effective.

While sexual interactions between women were technically legal, some women who were not able to "pass" as effectively still faced time in the concentration camps. The omission of sexual relations between women in Paragraph 175 did not prevent Nazi Officials from persecuting lesbian women with regards due to the population policy.[132] Women would be put into the concentration camps under the suspicion of being "lesbian" or not fulfilling their womanly roles, such as resisting heterosexual marriage, not being defined by a man, not bearing children, or having any close ties with another woman. While earlier prisoners were described in their papers to have 'lesbian' misconduct, later documents show that these women were more likely to be labeled as 'asocials' instead, since there was no marker for homosexual women like their was for men for their crime.[133] We do not know as much about the treatment of lesbians in the concentration camps as we do with the treatment of homosexual men, but it can be inferred that they faced the same discrimination and prejudice as their male counterparts. We also know that in the Bützow camp, lesbians were kept in a separate block from the other men and women, just like the homosexual men.

Now, one important fact to keep in mind about the treatment of homosexuals at the camps is that not every prisoner was treated the same. There was an established hierarchical system of prisoners by the Nazis that dictated where each prisoner stood in the camp and was much more involved than solely labeling Jews with the star of David. Higher-ranked inmates included 'criminals' of Aryan descent, who were marked with a green triangle; political prisoners, who were marked with a red triangle; Jehovah's Witnesses, marked with a purple triangle; and homosexuals who were marked with a pink triangle. 'Asocials' were marked with a black star.

While it was easy to dodge the Nazis' wrath if by assimilating with the culture effectively, for the many men—and some women—who refused to conform to the societal expectations placed upon them, persecution was unavoidable. Approximately 10,000 homosexual men were incarcerated in the concentration camps. Those imprisoned were not caught in the act but were imprisoned for either suspicion or being outed by others. Making up one of the smallest percentages of inmates, they received particularly harsh treatment from both the SS guards and the prisoners. This was because of Himmler's idea of "reeducation," that these harsher treatments would somehow "normalize" the prisoners. They were subject to the most challenging work, from working in the quarry in Buchenwald to cleaning up feces. One homosexual prisoner described his job on the "shit squad," claiming he was part of the team that emptied latrines.[134] (This same prisoner, Kurt von Ruffin, also claims he spent a whole half year "bent over," with his wrists tied to his ankles.[135]). Prisoners in Sachsenhausen were subject to the brutal

work of working in the clay pits of the brick factory.[136] From the data, homosexuals were isolated from the rest of the camp. The mortality rate of homosexuals in these camps were above average thanks to these harsher treatments: 50% of homosexual prisoners died in the camps, with 12% of all deaths occurring in the first week of a person's sentence.[137] Other statistics show that of the roughly 10,000 homosexual prisoners, 7,000 of them died in the camps.[138]

While it's not possible to debate whether the Jews or the homosexuals had the worse experience at the camps, homosexuals were also singled out for the SS Officers' own brutal sport. Leopold Obermayer, a Jew and homosexual, was forced to run around the exercise yard at Dachau, while others walked because the SS Officers knew of his heart condition. Healthier prisoners were ordered to kick at his heels if he was deemed to slow. When he collapsed, he was dragged to the showers and sprayed with water, fully-clothed, and then sent dripping wet to his cell afterwards and had his ankles and wrists tied together while standing up.[139] In Sachsenhausen in 1941, five homosexual inmates were singled out and taken to the washrooms. There, they were held in place while a hose on full-blast was shoved down their throats and held there until all five of them drowned.[140] The following year, homosexual inmates were singled out on a gravel field and made to wear nooses tied to a truck. Once the truck sped up, the prisoners had to run to catch up with the truck, otherwise become corpses.[141]

A 'pink triangle' Uniform, what homosexual prisoners would wear.

The killings became more and more frequent. Over just a two-year span in Sachsenhausen from 1940 over 400 homosexual prisoners died.[142] And in the summer of 1942, the killing rate of 'pink triangle' prisoners was three to four prisoners a day, a total of around 200 in all.[143] So while the persecution of homosexuals may not have been a main goal of the Nazi party initially, it became more and more systematic as time progressed and the campaign against homosexuals grew in influence.

The labeling of homosexuals also offers its own crude story. Before the pink triangle, homosexual inmates were branded with the letter "A." Though there's no official document detailing its meaning, a homosexual survivor explained off the record that it stood for "Arschfinker" (ass-fucker).[144] Prisoners were sometimes forced to wear the "A" on their legs. In Buchenwald, homosexual prisoners were sometimes referred to as the "175s" in reference to the provision in Nazi law.[145]

These 'pink triangle' prisoners were particularly isolated in the concentration camps. They were allowed to receive letters from friends and family, but generally did not receive any due to a collected 'shame' of the prisoner, or from fear of being registered homosexual themselves. They didn't interact with the other prisoners for many of the same reasons: fear of being associated with homosexuals or just general prejudice against 'queers.'[146] One of the only times homosexuals would communicate with other prisoners was when there was an exchange of goods for services. One prisoner, Gerhard K., reported a Jewish prisoner giving him a piece of bread, a sausage and a cigarette in exchange for sexual intercourse.[147] While some prisoners attempted to be intimate with one another without an exchange of goods, for the most part it was too dangerous for homosexual prisoners to show affection with one another due to the overcrowded camps and risk of getting caught. Prisoners would report other inmates who were engaging in sexual relations with one another for rewards.[148] They were isolated from the rest of the camp, being designated in separate blocks away from the other men and outside influence, as with political prisoners.[149]

The Nazis' main goal was not to completely eradicate all homosexuals; they believed younger males were "seduced" into these attractions and that some of these men were capable of "reeducation." Multiple Nazi leaders, including Himmler, believed that while for most men their sexuality was "incurable," some were capable of regaining "normal sex drives" once again, especially those who were younger and had been 'pursued,' not coming to homosexuality on their own. Besides harsh conditions, including intensive labor and random acts of violence, the Nazis introduced to other methods to eradicate the 'disease' of homosexuality: brothels and experimentation.

Himmler was particularly in favor of the former. He was responsible for setting up brothels in multiple concentration camps. Part of the reason that the concentration camp brothels are relatively overlooked in holocaust history was because the brothel systems were kept under wraps as much as possible. Brothels were placed away from major activity in the camps and not even all of the prisoners at the camps were aware that they existed. Women who worked in the brothels, particularly prostitutes, were those under the suspicion of being lesbians. Other 'asocials' were promised shorter sentencing if they worked as prostitutes in the brothels.[150] Lesbians especially were forced into these situations since forcing them into heterosexual sex would be a way to "shape them up."[151]

Since homosexuality was thought to occur under "situational" circumstances, forcing men and women to have heterosexual sex with one another would seem to be an effective method to cure homosexuality. Sex was seen as a "treat" for the male prisoners, as a type of reward for hard work. Himmler also designed tests to reveal 'incurable' homosexuals. In the Ravensbrück camp, men would be approached by "whores," who offered themselves to the prisoners, and were observed to see whether or not they responded positively.[152] Those who did were allowed to have sex with her. The fates of those who refused remain unknown. While some prisoners were rewarded with sex, homosexuals were forced into the brothels to have intimate encounters with the women there. One survivor, Heinz Heger, who was

Buchenwald Prisoner Brothel, 1943[235]

ordered to the brothel weekly, described the experience as "just as painful" for the girls involved and even knew that some of the SS Officers would spy on him from time to time.[153] In the end, he found the brothels to have backfired, convincing him that he would never be with a woman again.

However, what appears to be a more common solution to the homosexual problem was experimentation. Homosexual men were forced into cruel and unusual tests. One such test from SS Doctor Carl Værent involved the use of 15 homosexual men for a hormonal experiment. The goal was to 'normalize sexual desire' by introducing a sexual hormone implant in the groin areas of these prisoners, which would release a constant flow of testosterone.[154] Eventually two prisoners died from the experiments, one from inflammation of cell tissues and the other of heart failure due to infections.[155] Regardless, Værent wrote to Himmler and called the experiment a success.[156] As one may imagine, every experiment the Nazi doctors forced the prisoners into was in fact unsuccessful.

While castration was used for the sake of curing homosexuality, many times it was used to rid of the "perversion" of homosexuality permanently or even for punishment. In Buchenwald, the main goal was not to cure but to castrate all male homosexuals. They first introduced this idea to the prisoners as a "recommendation" or as something for which the prisoners could "volunteer". Homosexuals were incarcerated for some number of years and not held in the camps the same way as the Jews. Castration was appealing because the SS Officers promised a shorter prison time in the camps, whether that proved to be the case or not. Mostly not consensual, there exist about two hundred recorded cases of castration in the camp from 1938 to 1940.[157] In Auschwitz, prisoners were manipulated and tortured for days until they unwillingly (or unknowingly) signed away their bodies to be castrated. One prisoner remembers the SS Doctor going up to each of the eight castrated prisoners with their testicles in a preserving jar, saying, "Here you can see your balls one last time—pickled!"[158] It is impossible to see the mutilation of homosexuals as constructive, even with the goal of "curing" them in mind, meaning that there was little to no concern for actually curing these inmates of their 'illness.'

Many young homosexual men were victims of harsh experiments, even if the studies weren't for the purpose of "reeducation." Homosexual men were often targeted as the "guinea pigs" of the SS hospitals at concentration camps. While there's no accurate data that can confirm the percentage of homosexual men in these inhumane and brutal "experiments," multiple experiments have shown them to be the majority. To test the durability of a shoe, SS Officers forced a group of inmates to run 40 kilometers a day, non-stop, and were chased with dogs if they were slow.[159]

Homosexuals were also used to test treatments of other diseases. They were constantly used "guinea pigs" to test multiple products, such as underdeveloped vaccines. In Germany at one time there was a fear of a typhus outbreak after the Blitzkrieg strategy against the Soviet Union during the winter of 1941-1942. Experimental stations for the disease were quickly constructed, where there were as many as 10,000 subjects tested on, many from the penal battalion and a high number of homosexuals.[160] One of the test series for typhus, in May 1943, killed fifty out of the seventy subjects.[161]

There was little sympathy for homosexuals and lesbians after the main liberation of the concentration camps. Homophobia was prevalent in Germany, and some homosexuals were forced to live out their prison sentences under the Allied Military of Germany following the war.[162] There were few reparations made to gay and lesbian survivors. Many feared sharing their stories, worried that it would lead to more discrimination. As one survivor put it, there was a "collective silence" over the entire community from what they went through. The history of homosexual persecution in the Holocaust and the Third Reich was not even well researched until the 1970s. This level of censorship is not seen in regards to any other aspect of the Holocaust. This silence arises from either from fear of talking about a topic that's perceived to be so taboo or the then-strong prejudice held by post-World World Two Germans, ubiquitous then throughout the countries of the world. Only in recent history have queer people been able to be more vocal about their own anger and personal experiences.

There was also still the issue of statutes, such as Paragraph 175. Germany's Supreme Court came to a surprising conclusion in 1957. It stated that because there was an earlier version of the bill in law since 1871, the bill was part of everyday German law and not just Nazi law. Therefore all fatalities homosexual men and women suffered could not be categorized as hate crimes.[163] Paragraph 175 was not removed until the Germans' Democratic Republic revoked any attachment to the law in 1969. The provision was technically evoked in 1968, but only when the GDR replaced it with Paragraph 151, which criminalized homosexual acts between any two people where one person is below the age of 21.[164] Some justice was finally served with the 1988 law declaring heterosexual and homosexual acts being equal forms of sexual behavior.[165]

What the Nazis managed to accomplish in the isolation and persecution of German gays and lesbians was beyond cruelty. They managed to unearth prejudices against homosexuals and turn Germany from a tolerant country into a hate-filled nation, wiping away decades of progress. From Himmler's over-obsessive hatred of homosexuals, the complete eradication of gay and lesbian subculture, the brutality

many men and some women faced in the camps, and from the homosexual community's collective silence after the war, the damage the Nazis had done was far from reparable. However, it is important not to forget the German citizens who continued to create an unsympathetic environment for gays and lesbians, who denied the persecution they faced until decades later. The Nazi Party intensified hostile feelings towards homosexuals that were already present in German society and used them to enforce their own ideologies. What we must remember of the persecution of gays and lesbians is not only their oppressors, but the people who allowed them to be oppressed as well.

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[101] Clayton J. Whisnant, *Male Homosexuality in West Germany: Between Persecution and Freedom, 1945-69* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 19.
[102] Ibid, 18.
[103] Ibid, 19.
[104] Ibid, 19.
[105] Jessica R. Anderson, *Forced Prostitution: The Competing and Contested Uses of the Concentration Camp* (New Jersey: Rutgers, 2011), 57.
[106] Ibid, 57.
[107] Ibid, 60.
[108]
[109] *We Were Marked With a Big A,* DVD, Directed by Joseph Weishaupt and Elke Jeanrond. (Germany: 1991)
[110] Hughes, *Forced Prostitution,* 58.
[111] Whisnant, *Male Homosexuality in West Germany,* 20.
[112]Günter Grau, ed. *Hidden Holocaust? Gay and Lesbian Persecution in Germany 1933-45,* trans. Patrick Camiller (New York: Cassell, 1993), 33.
[113] Ibid, 33.
[114]
[115] Richard Plant. *The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1986), 55.
[116] Ibid, 55.
[117] Ibid, 56.
[118] Ibid, 57.
[119] Geoffrey J. Giles, *Why Bother About Homosexuals?: Homophobia and Sexual Politics in Nazi Germany*. (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2001.) , 3.
[120] Günter Grau, *Hidden Holocaust?,* 104.
[121] Ibid, 104.
[122] Ibid, 110.
[123] Whisnant, *Male Homosexuality in West Germany,* 21.
[124] Giles, *Why Bother About Homosexuals? Homophobia and Sexual Politics in Nazi Germany,* 8.
[125] *We Were Marked With a Big A,* DVD.
[126] Plant, *The Pink Triangle,* 143-144.
[127] Ibid, 145.
[128] Claudia Schoppmann, *Days of Masquerade: Life Stories of Lesbians During the Third Reich* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 17.
[129] William J. Spurlin, *Lost Intimacies: Rethinking Homosexuality under National Socialism* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2009), 55.
[130] Claudia Schoppmann, *Days of Masquerade,* 18.
[131] William J. Spurlin, *Lost Intimacies,* 61.
[132] Ibid, 59.
[133] Ibid, 21.
[134] *We Were Marked With a Big A,* DVD.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Hughes, *Forced Prostitution,* 62.
[137] Ibid, 62.
[138] Whisnant, *Male Homosexuality in West Germany,* 21.
[139] Giles, *Why Bother About Homosexuals?: Homophobia and Sexual Politics in Nazi Germany* , 3.
[140] Ibid, 3.

[141] Ibid, 3.
[142] Ibid, 3.
[143] Ibid, 3.
[144] *We Were Marked With a Big A,* DVD.
[145] Wolfgang Röll, "Homosexual Inmates in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp," *Journal of Homosexuality* 31 (1996)
[146] Richard Plant, *The Pink Triangle,* 265.
[147] Gunter Grau, *Hidden Holocaust?,* 272.
[148] Ibid, 274.
[149] Ibid, 265.
[150] Claudia Schoppmann, *Days of Masquerade,* 20-22.
[151] William J. Spurlin, *Lost Intimacies,* 60.
[152] Hughes, *Forced Prostitution,* 64.
[153] Ibid, 64.
[154] Röll, "Homosexual Inmates in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp"
[155] Ibid.
[156] *We Were Marked With a Big A,* DVD.
[157] Röll, "Homosexual Inmates in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp"
[158] Giles, *Why Bother About Homosexuals?,* 18.
[159] *We Were Marked With a Big A,* DVD.
[160] Röll, "Homosexual Inmates in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp"
[161] Ibid.
[162] Spurlin, *Lost Intimacies*, 88.
[163] *We Were Marked With a Big A,* DVD.
[164] Röll, "Homosexual Inmates in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp"
[165] Ibid.

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