

HISTORY MATTERS

An Undergraduate Journal of Historical Research



Volume 17

May 2020

Appalachian State University

For the History Matters family

The History of History Matters

Appalachian State University

Department of History

Have you ever spent so much time and effort on something that you wanted to share it with other people? Have you ever felt unfulfilled receiving only a grade and your own satisfaction as rewards for your hard work? Have you ever wanted to get your work published?

For these reasons History Matters was founded. In the spring of 2003, Eric Burnette, a freshman at Appalachian State University, was looking for an outlet for his research paper. He was frustrated by the lack of venues for undergraduate research, and he figured that other students probably felt the same way. Dr. Michael Moore, who had edited *Albion*, a professional journal of British history, for over 25 years, began advising Burnette on how best to go about starting an academic journal for undergraduate historical research. Another Appalachian student, Matthew Manes, was asked to join the interesting experiment, and together they laid the groundwork for History Matters.

Our first deadline was in late January 2004. For the editorial staff, it was an extensive and time-consuming process of reading, revising, and communicating with both the authors and the Faculty Editorial Board. In the end, the collaboration published one research paper, one research essay, and three editorial book reviews. This first issue of *History Matters: An Undergraduate Journal of Historical Research* was published online on April 28, 2004.

From the beginning, Burnette and Manes wanted to expand the journal. The more students who were involved, the more students who had the opportunity to be published and the better those papers would be. The 2004-2005 school year saw the participation of the University of North Carolina Asheville and Western Carolina University, as well as submissions from half a dozen schools nationwide. The 2005 issue was published with two research papers, one from Appalachian State University and one from a student at Villanova University. Five book reviews from all three participating departments were also published.

Since 2004, History Matters has grown drastically. Over the years our submission base increased from 11 papers in 2004-2005 to 136 papers in 2016-2017. We now receive submissions from all over the United States from distinguished universities including Yale, Harvard, Brown, Cornell, UC Berkeley, and Stanford. History Matters has also expanded internationally. We have received submissions from Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and South America while also employing international staff members as contributing editors.

Today, History Matters continues to grow and prosper thanks to a supportive faculty, department, university, and, most importantly, the students who have worked hard on their papers and work with us to get them published.

HISTORY MATTERS:

AN UNDERGRADUATE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Volume 17

May 2020

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief: Thomas McLamb

Associate Editors: Kara Old
 Danny Hazard

Assistant Editors: Phoenix Tefel
 Nicholas Daly
 Rachael Arnold

FACULTY EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr. Ed Behrend-Martinez
Dr. Jeffrey Bortz
Dr. Anthony Carey
Dr. Allison Fredette
Dr. Anatoly Isaenko
Dr. Scott Jessee
Dr. Thomas Pegelow Kaplan
Dr. Michael Krenn
Dr. Peter Petschauer
Dr. Scott Relyea
Dr. Timothy Silver
Dr. Michael Wade
Dr. Jason White

FACULTY ADVISOR

Dr. James Goff

SPECIAL THANKS TO

Donna Davis
Renee Gamble

HISTORY MATTERS:

AN UNDERGRADUATE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Volume 17

May 2020

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Bill Weis <i>Wayne State University</i>	The Legacy of Carolingian Writing in the Later Middle Ages: A Study of Codex 974 at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
Hannah Kwak <i>Yale University</i>	To Persuade Rather than Force: An Examination of USAMGIK's Propaganda Activities, 1948-1948
Jacob Smiley <i>University of Minnesota, Twin Cities</i>	<i>The Leviathan</i> as a Reactionary Text
Victoria Saeki-Serna <i>Rice University</i>	A Friendship with Cuba: Mexico's Test on the Limits of the United States' Anti-Communist Fervor
Jorma Krebs <i>Appalachian State University</i>	One God, One Master? Leo Tolstoy's Anarchism and its Effects on His Views of Christ as Supernatural

The Legacy of Carolingian Writing in the Later Middle Ages: A Study of Codex 974 at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Bill Weis
Wayne State University

Introduction

In 1137, Lothair III died without male issue, the first and last Holy Roman Emperor from the Supplinburg dynasty, throwing the empire into disarray. His son Duke Henry “the Lion” of Saxony was passed up in favor of the Hohenstaufen Conrad, who was made King of Germany. Henry disputed this, leading to a protracted struggle for the throne between the two most powerful families of magnates, the Welfs and the Hohenstaufens (sometimes called the Guelph and Ghibelline conflict), each of which would produce several kings and emperors. Ultimately, King Conrad III Hohenstaufen assumed the mantle of head of state, though never emperorship, from 1138-1152. The reign of his son Frederick Barbarossa as a compromise candidate from 1155-1190 would provide a long period of relative stability during the conflict, although his conquest of Italy in the 1150s-70s would draw that region into the struggle as well.

This vignette provides the background for the manuscript I chose to study, codex 974, which dates from the midst of this succession crisis in the middle or later part of the 12th century. The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB) itself has tentatively dated the document to either

1134 or 1147 and ascribed it to the monastery of Heiligenkreuz, which was well-connected to the ruling Hohenstaufen family. This connection shaped the creation of this *florilegium* manuscript, which featured two *Fürstenspiegel* or “mirrors for princes” by Carolingian authors. The focus of this essay will be on the way in which later medieval people reinterpreted these works for political ends. To them, great Carolingian rulers served a didactic purpose as a model for later lords to uphold and as examples of good rulership. Moreover, conflating a monarch’s reign and the “golden age” of Charlemagne was a bold political statement during a time of political crisis, such as when this manuscript was made.¹ But *florilegia* were not purely political, as Rosamund McKitterick’s work notes:

The manuscript transmission of these *florilegia* . . . indicate that these treatises came to be regarded as being addressed generally to the laity and being of use to them in cultivating Christian discipline. These texts inculcate a consciousness of sin: they propose both a public and a private morality, and offer guidance to a man seeking to satisfy the moral, devotional and emotional demands made of him by acceptance of the Christian faith . . . it sometimes occurs with the accompaniment of prayers, a litany or with saints’ lives and treatises on the Catholic faith.²

Therefore, while I intend to focus on the two *Fürstenspiegel* and their political implications, it is important to remember that these ideas of proper kingship were part of a larger statement by the Heiligenkreuz monks about the proper ordering of the world.

The contents of the manuscript are as follows:

Codex 974: Table of Contents		
Folio	Document	Extra Comments
1 Recto and Verso	Paulinus of Aquileia: <i>Liber Exhortationis de Salutaribus Documentis</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Text begun but abandoned and resumed after Hincmar’s work
1v-59r	Hincmar of Reims: <i>De Cavendis Vitiis et Virtutibus</i>	

¹ Rosamund McKitterick, “The Carolingians and the Written Word,” pp. 266-70; Rosamund McKitterick *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

² McKitterick, “The Carolingians and the Written Word,” pp. 266-70.

	<i>Exercendis ad Carolum Regem</i>	
6v-8v	Gregory the Great: <i>Gregorius Reccaredo Regi Wisigothorum</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quoted in Hincmar of Reims' text
56r-81r	Paulinus of Aquileia: <i>Liber Exhortationis de Salutaribus Documentis</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copied in full here, the earlier portion was ignored
81v	Various Prayers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copy of various prayers, anonymous
82r-140r	Peter the Lombard: Various Sermons	
140r-144v	<i>Meditatio Passionis Domini</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anonymous work
145r-147v	Honorius Augustodunensis: <i>Speculum Ecclesiae, Dominica in Media Quadragesima</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One of Honorius' sermons
147v-150v	<i>Sermo ad Vincula Sancti Petri</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anonymous sermon
Back Cover	<i>Abschrift einer Totenrotel</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fragment, mostly illegible
Back Cover	Pseudo-Augustine: <i>Dialogus Quaestionem LXV Orosii Percontantis et Augustini respondentis</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fragment, mostly illegible

As stated, the codex originated in the abbey of Heiligenkreuz under the abbacy of Gottschalk, roughly 10 miles outside of modern-day Vienna. The monastery that created this manuscript was politically well-connected to the ruling dynasty during a time of political turmoil and, as such, the manuscript seems to have been intended for an important aristocratic or even imperial audience and aimed at legitimizing Hohenstaufen and Babenberg rule. However, while we can confirm that Heiligenkreuz was an important monastery, in that it seems to have received important visitors on occasion, its first Abbot Gottschalk witnessed multiple contemporary charters, and there were rumors that Conrad III attended funerals for his family members there, we cannot definitively state that this manuscript was read by one of the Babenbergs or

Hohenstaufens.³ Nevertheless, we can be certain that the brothers of Heiligenkreuz were interested in continuing Carolingian models of rulership, and we can likely, though not definitively, infer that their patrons were as well. Heiligenkreuz was itself founded in 1133 by St. Leopold III Babenberg, Count of Austria, at the behest of his son Otto of Freising, who became enamored with Cistercian teachings during his studies in Paris' university.⁴ The abbey appeared to have been well-connected and enjoyed a fair degree of ducal patronage from the Babenberger family, even receiving a piece of the True Cross from the family in 1187 from which the abbey derived its name "Heiligen kruez," or "Holy Cross". Otto was an illustrious high medieval historian and Bishop of Freising sometime after 1136, with the abbey falling under his jurisdiction. Further, Otto was well-connected himself: not only was he the son of Leopold III, but his mother was the daughter of the Salian Emperor Henry IV and was moreover the matrilineal cousin of the King Conrad Hohenstaufen of Germany and thus uncle of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

The monastery's history from its founding through to the thirteenth century is one of almost continuous patronage from local and imperial magnates, and it was within this climate that the manuscript in question was produced. From the abbey's founding in 1136 until 1163, there were a total of five grants to the monastery: the first was the founding document sponsored by the Babenbergers (1136); three were gifts to the monastery from the prominent noblemen Heinrich Welf of Bavaria, Bishop Conrad of Passau, and Abbot Sighard of Melk (1136, 1150, and 1163); and one was when Pope Innocent II took the

³ J.F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii IV: Lothar III. und ältere Staufer 1125-1197* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar, 2008), <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/unternehmen/publikationen.html>. pp. 93.

⁴ Johann Nepomuk Weis, "Stiftungsurkunde: Urkunden des Cistercienser-Stiftes Heiligenkreuz im Wiener Walde," in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum: Oesterreichische Geschichts-Quellen, Diplomataria et Acta*. (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1970). 1-2; Koll, Malachias. *Das Stift Heiligenkreuz in Österreich*. Vienna, 1834; Watzl, P. Florian. *Die Cistercienser von Heiligenkreuz: in chronologischer Reihenfolge nach den Quellen Dargestellt*. Styria Publishing, 1898.

monastery under his special protection. The record of patronage increased rapidly after this and there remained a steady flow of income, either in the form of additional rights, lands, confirmation thereof, or a remission of taxes or tolls: three gifts were given during the 1170s; eight during the 1180s; and at least three but perhaps as high as six during the 1190s, though this depends on dating.⁵

An overview of Heiligenkreuz's scriptorium during the 12th century helps to place this manuscript in its proper context. The abbey's holdings focus almost exclusively on texts that help to reveal the mysteries of the faith and the meaning behind the scripture. As such, the vast majority of manuscripts recorded works by the church fathers and other important theologians, such as St. Augustine's *City of God* or St. Jerome's epistles, Bede's commentaries on the Psalter, and even some contemporary works, such as Peter the Lombard's famous *Book of Thoughts* or Hugh of St. Victor's *On the Sacraments*.⁶ While the thrust of the collection seems to be aimed at clerics and professional theologians, our manuscript as a *florilegium*, seems more so to be aimed at guiding a lay audience through the scriptural exhortation.

Hincmar of Reims' *De Cavendis Vitiis et Virtutibus Exercendis ad Carolum Regem* and Gregory's *Reccardo Regi Wisigothorum*

In this section I will attempt to show how Hincmar's work was used by the Heiligenkreuz monks as a *Fürstenspiegel*, to reflect on their own times by looking back at the past.⁷ The *De Cavendis Vitiis*, seemingly written towards the end of Charles the Bald's reign (840-877), was a

⁵ Johann Nepomuk Weis, "Urkunden des Cistercienser-Stiftes Heiligenkreuz im Wiener Walde," in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum: Oesterreichische Geschichts-Quellen, Diplomataria et Acta*. (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1970). It should be noted that the Welf family's donations appear to have been exclusively before the Welf/Hohenstaufen conflict began.

⁶ Benedict Gsell, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Stiftes Heiligenkreuz*, Vienna, 1891.

⁷ Rachel Stone *Hincmar of Reims: Life and Work* (Manchester University Press 2015) 19; Janet Nelson *Charles the Bald* (Longman House 1992) pp. 145-50, 241

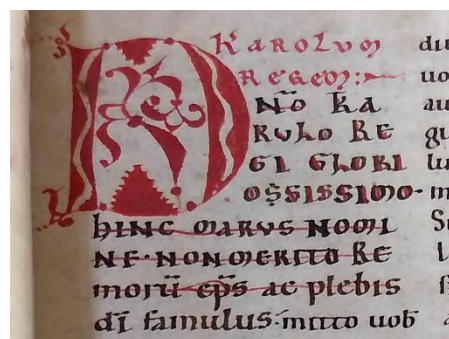
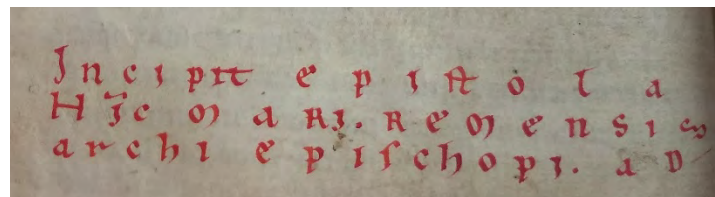
moralizing work addressed to the king himself as a letter. Hincmar's objective was to discuss what it meant to be a devout Christian, what a life of sin does to one's soul and body, and how Charles could apply this in practice in his own personal and public life. The first third introduced the work with a preface to King Charles the Bald and a letter from Pope Gregory I to the Visigothic King Reccared, and then broke down into small sections, each of which explored fundamental Christian themes and ethics such as "avarice," "pride," or "gluttony."⁸

We might infer that for the scribes who composed it, this manuscript was a way of addressing the manuscript's ducal or royal patron, reminding him of how his own spiritual predecessors dealt with important matters of faith or proper governance. Let us first begin with Hincmar's inclusion of Gregory the Great's epistle to King Reccared of the Visigoths. Indeed, Charles' request of a copy of this work was the excuse that Hincmar used to write to him in the first place. Gregory's letter to Reccared concerned three matters of business between himself and the king. He began by praising the Visigothic king for converting both himself and his people from the Arian heresy back to orthodox Catholicism: "I am unable to find words, most excellent son, [regarding] how much I am pleased by your works, your life". Gregory moreover praised Reccared for refusing bribes and sanctioned the enactment of several anti-Semitic laws. Finally, though Hincmar omitted this part because it did not apply to the moral lessons he was instructing Charles on, Gregory also offered several important relics to Reccared by way of a reward for his excellent work. With the inclusion of Gregory's epistle, Hincmar provided Charles with a

⁸ Priscilla Throop *Hincmar of Reims: on Kingship, Divorce, Virtues and Vices* (Medieval MS 2014) ix-x; Hincmar of Rheims, *De Cavendis Vitiis et Virtutibus Exercendis*, ed. D. Nachtmann in *MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 16* (Munich, 1998); J.P. Migne, "**De Cavendis Vitiis et Virtutibus Exercendis ad Carolum Calvum Regem**" in *Patrologia Latina 125: Hincmari Rhemensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia* (Petit-Montrouge, 1852). pp. 857- 928. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5504332f/f429.image>

historical role model, emphasizing important themes such as deference to church authorities and the unity of the Christian community.⁹

Hincmar's letter itself begins with a greeting to the king: “[here begins the letter of Archbishop Hincmar of Reims to] glorious Lord King Charles, Hincmar, by name and not merit Bishop of Reims, serving the people of God.”¹⁰ Throughout the prelude, the archbishop strongly warned Charles that he must constantly keep a check on his motivations, acting for the sake of praise was hardly going to be honored by God. Moreover, Hincmar repeatedly counseled Charles that he must “keep watch,” both on himself for any signs of moral failings, and around himself for divine omens or sinful temptations. His was a world where sin and damnation were always just around the corner, requiring constant vigilance. In the words of Hincmar's eminent biographer Jean Devisse, “man is not spiritually free, since damnation surrounds him, but he is free to choose or refuse it.”¹¹



⁹ Louis Hartmann, “Gregorii I Papae Registorum Epistolarum IX, 228,” in *Epistolae de Monumenta Germaniae Historia*, trans. Bill Weis, pp. 221-225.

¹⁰ J.P. Migne, “De Cavendis Vitiis et Virtutibus Exercendis ad Carolum Calvum Regem” in *Patrologia Latina 125: Hincmari Rhemensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, trans. Bill Weis (Petit-Montrouge, 1852). pp. 857- 8. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5504332f/f429.image>

¹¹ Jean Devisse, *Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims, 845-882*, trans. Bill Weis (Librarie Droz, 1975), p. 1131.

The chapters of the first section of Hincmar's work followed roughly an "if . . . then . . ." pattern: he began by considering one or a couple of sins, and then explored what would happen if someone were to succumb to that particular sin. He then advised how to best avoid the sin.

Observe his second chapter, on avarice, as an example:

Whence it is rightly said when he is satiated, he will be constrained. First, from avarice, he desires to amass things he covets and, when he has gathered many things as if in a 'belly' of avarice, satiated, he will be constrained; while he is anxious about how to guard his own acquisitions, his own abundance strangles him, since the mind of the greedy person, which had earlier sought to achieve rest by means of abundance, later struggles harder in guarding it . . . on every side he fears ambushers, and fears having to endure what he himself did to others¹²

The second section of the work discussed penance and atonement. In it, Hincmar demonstrated that he was conversant with his contemporaries and the foundational church figures, frequently referencing and incorporating works by Bede, Gregory of Tours, and Prosper of Aquitaine, amongst others. For example, citing Gregory of Tours, Hincmar agreed that "[sin is committed] in three ways: through suggestion, delight, and consent . . . the first is perpetrated through the enemy, the second through the flesh, and the third through the spirit."¹³ Finally, Hincmar concluded on a lighter note, arguing that both saints and Christ himself can and frequently do intercede in this world as a force for good. Charles' soul could still be saved if he committed sin so long as he repented, because Christ would intercede for him during the final judgement.

The final third of the book, which some modern editors have dubbed *the Eucharist*, discussed the nature of Christ himself. His most important role, in Hincmar's mind, was as "the mediator between God and humans," able to intercede on humanity's behalf.¹⁴ Human actions, therefore, were only partly responsible for saving one's soul: divine grace had to play a role in

¹² Translation by Throop, p. 59; J.P. Migne, "De Cavendis Vitiis et Virtutibus Exercendis ad Carolum Calvum Regem," pp. 868-82.

¹³ Throop, 97; J.P. Migne, "De Cavendis Vitiis et Virtutibus Exercendis ad Carolum Calvum Regem," pp. 868-82.

¹⁴ See Throop.

the process. Hincmar moreover elucidated the threefold importance of communion. First, it was important to create a sense of community and reinforced the importance of living up to the church's ideals. Second, it allowed the penitent to achieve personal enlightenment through reflection and through divine inspiration. Thirdly and finally, it allowed someone to personally witness the divine mystery by watching the transformation of ordinary wine and bread into the holy blood and body of Christ, who Hincmar believed became physically present at the ceremony.

The work concluded with an epilogue to Charles the Bald, entreating him to take his work seriously and listen to the church fathers, and to always seek divine mercy. While the intended audience for his work was certainly larger than just Charles the Bald, and likely he wanted it published throughout the kingdom, one wonders whether Hincmar would have expected his work to be used almost 300 years later in larger imperial circles. Be that as it may, Jean Devisse's multivolume biography of the archbishop portrays him as "a profound analyst of social problems,"¹⁵ and perhaps this explains some of his lasting appeal in the later middle ages.

The scribe's interest in Hincmar betrays a deeper concern for how previous generations dealt with the problems of faith and political life. Surely the monks would have seen parallels between Hincmar's time during the fracturing of the Carolingian Empire and their own strife in the 12th century. These originally Carolingian works were presumably repurposed to serve as a mirror for a new generation of aspiring kings and nobles. Those who advised nobles would have looked back to their forebears for spiritual and political guidance; indeed the monks themselves also seemed to compare their current rulers with previous generations to alternatively heap praise, promote reform, or provide insight.

¹⁵ Quote from Stone, p. 21; Devisse, pp. 1129-1136

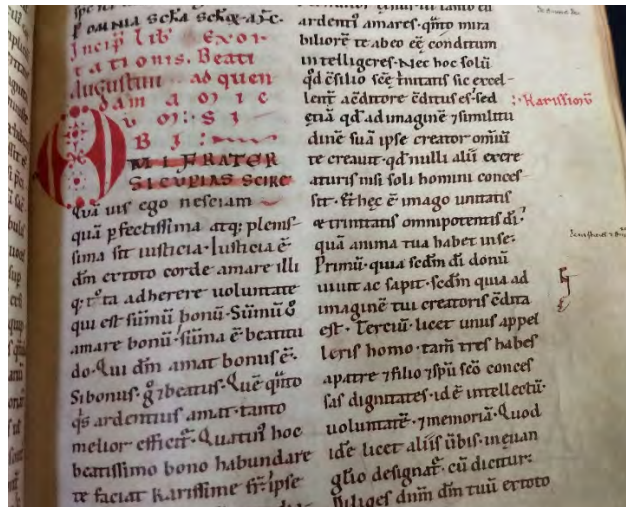
Paulinus of Aquileia: *Liber Exhortationis de Salutaribus Documentis*

Paulinus of Aquileia, like his near-contemporary Hincmar, was very much a product of Carolingian theological culture, in spite of the fact that he lived largely before the Carolingian Reforms. He was born in 726 and served as Bishop of Aquileia from 787 until his demise in 804. Like Hincmar of Reim's work, Paulinus of Aquileia's *Liber Exhortationis* was a moralizing tome. It was written around 795 and commissioned by the *comes* Henry of Friuli, who ruled a large chunk of what is now northeastern Italy, one of Charlemagne's most important Italian marcher lords. The work, though again more than likely intended for circulation to a wider audience, addressed Henry alone. Henry of Friuli presumably served as an important model for the Babenbergers or perhaps Hohenstaufens to emulate, and Paulinus' writings as an important philosophy to live by.

While Hincmar addressed Charles as a suppliant, Paulinus intriguingly addressed Henry as an equal:

Oh my brother, if you wish to know, however much I know that the fullest and most perfect thing is justice, to love God with all the heart, and to cling to all of those things voluntarily, that is the highest good!¹⁶

¹⁶ *Paulinus Aquileiensis. Hincmarus Remensis. Petrus Lombardus. Honorius Augustodunensis.* Codex 974, trans. Bill Weis, Heiligenkruetz Abbey, later 12th Century. **Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. p. 59**



His book was laid out similarly to Hincmar’s in that each section is rather small, roughly a paragraph or two, and covers one particular topic, such as “justice and the blessedness of loving God” or “true friendship.” His scope, however, was much broader, covering not just good and bad behavior, but much more far-ranging topics from theology to philosophy to simple instructions for daily life and interpersonal relationships. In particular, Paulinus warned against the dangers of pride. Janet Nelson summarized the book’s three parts this way:

Paulinus sets out in his first chapter the tenets and principles according to which Henry is to regulate his life. . . having established the purpose of existence, Paulinus elaborates on how it may be achieved, on how various virtues are to be cultivated, how sensible decisions about his public office are to be made, and the good works performed and finally on the careful choice of advisors and friends. . . the next section introduces the tabulation of sins which is generally the defining feature of the *florilegia* . . . thus Paulinus has defined a morality by which Henry should live, based firmly on the traditional scheme of virtues, and by which he could serve both God and the people within his charge.¹⁷

Paulinus’ work was much like Hincmar’s in that it was intended for a wider audience than just the addressee. The legacy and popularity of this text, to some extent even into the early modern age, certainly hints at its appeal to a varied readership. To the Heiligenkreuz monks, it was a

¹⁷ Janet Nelson, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895*, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977) pp. 167-169.; Alban Butler “St. Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, Confessor” in *Lives of the Saints v. 1* (1866).

significant moralistic work from the Carolingian period which provided important spiritual insight and motivated reflection. Moreover, it showed that the theological and political philosophy established during Carolingian Reforms still resonated with people 300 years later. Harkening back to the Carolingian heritage was an important aspect of later medieval polities and demonstrated the continuing importance of Carolingian models of rulership.

The Rest of the Manuscript

The two *Fürstenspiegel* were followed by a page of *Preces Variae*, or *Various Prayers*. The majority of these were taken from Psalms, and all of them were no longer than a couple of lines and many were even shorter. For example, one prayer read “to you I have raised my eyes [oh Lord]” or “praise the Lord in his holiness.”¹⁸

The prayers were followed immediately by a large collection of sermons by Peter the Lombard, who lived significantly later than the other authors in this document, from 1096 until 1160 and served as a Master in and later Bishop of Paris. The fact that his sermons were found in a Cistercian monastery halfway across Europe demonstrates the level of success that Peter the Lombard found during his lifetime. Some historians have dismissed his sermons as somewhat uneven in quality, but to do so is to miss the point: his sermons were seemingly popular and relevant to his contemporaries in that they were frequently copied in extant manuscripts.¹⁹ Below is a table of contents of Peter the Lombard’s sermons in the manuscript:²⁰

¹⁸ *Paulinus Aquileiensis. Hincmarus Remensis. Petrus Lombardus. Honorius Augustodunensis. Codex 974*, Heiligenkruetz Abbey, later 12th Century. **Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. p. 81.**

¹⁹ Philipp W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, (Oxford University Press, 2004) p. 49; Félix Protois, *Pierre Lombard: Évêque de Paris, Dit le Maître des Sentences; Son Époque, Sa Vie, Ses Écrits, Son Influence*, (Société Générale de Librairie Catholique, 1880). p. 124

²⁰ Since they were unlabeled in the manuscript, these titles follow the format of the edited versions in the *Patriologia Latina*. J.P. **Migne**, *Patrologia Latina Cursus Completus: Venerabilis Hildeberti, Opera Omnia*, (**Petit Montrouge, 1854.**)

Manuscript Pages	Title	Translation
82-4	<i>In Adventu Domini Sermo Septimus</i>	Sermon Seven on the Coming of the Lord
84-7	<i>In Adventu Domini Sermo Primus- de Mysterio Incarnationis</i>	Sermon One on the Coming of the Lord- the Mystery of the Incarnation
87-9	<i>In Nativitate Domini Sermo Primus- De Nativitate</i>	Sermon One on the Nativity of the Lord- on the Nativity
90-93	<i>In Festo Circumisionis Domini Sermo Unicus</i>	First Sermon in the Festival of the Encircling of the Lord
93-96	<i>In Epiphania Domini Sermo primus</i>	First Sermon on the Epiphany of the Lord
96-100	<i>In Festo Purificationis Beatae Mariae Sermo Secundus</i>	Second Sermon in the Festival of the Purification of Blessed Mark
100-103	<i>De Adae Peccato, Nostraque inde Captivitate</i>	On the Sin of Adam, and Thence Our Captivity
103-106	<i>In Quadragesima sermo Quartus</i>	Sermon Four in Lent
106-108	<i>In Quadragesima Sermo Quintus, de Poenitentia</i>	Sermon Five in Lent, on Penance
108-113	<i>De Variis Animaegressibus, ut ad Deum Perveniat</i>	On the Transactions of Various Souls, so that One Might Come to God
113-116	<i>In Quadragesima Sermo Sextus, de Bonis Operibus</i>	Sermon Six on Lent, on Good Works
116-121	<i>In Dominica Palmarum Sermo Quartus</i>	Sermon Four on the Lord's Day of the Palms
121-123	<i>In Festo Annuntionis Beatae Mariae Sermo unicus</i>	Sermon One for the Festival of the Blessed Marie
123-129	<i>In Coena Domini Sermo Secundus</i>	Second Sermon on the Meals of the Lord
129-132	<i>In Coena Domini Sermo Tertius</i>	Third Sermon on the Meals of the Lord
132-136	<i>De Praeclaris in nos Christi Beneficis</i>	On the Splendidness of Christ in Us
136-140	<i>In Festo Sancti Joannis Evangelistae Sermo Primus</i>	First Sermon in the Festival of St. John the Evangelist

After Peter the Lombard's sermons, the scribe copied a truncated version of the *Meditation of the Passion of the Lord* and the latter half of a *Sermon on Lent*. Ultimately, these two sermons together were used in celebrations of Lent, the first piece describing the suffering of Christ and the second continuing this history of Christ's death and resurrection by beginning with his burial, then summarizing his rebirth and the first Easter celebrations.

https://books.google.at/books?id=_csUAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA5&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false

The second sermon in this section was by Honorius of Autun, a prolific cleric and theologian of the 12th century, and was placed between the previous two works. His sermon was entitled *the Lord's Day in the Middle of Lent, Mirror of the Church*, and told history through the careers of Enoch, Abraham, several of the great old testament kings, Moses, and finally Esdras. Each age supposedly “nourished” mankind with spiritual “bread,” as each great person helped to enlighten and bring humanity closer to God.²¹ Finally, the *Sermon on St. Peter in Chains* summarized the brief biblical story of St. Peter's imprisonment by King Herod and his escape through divine intervention in the form of an angel.

Conclusion

I have addressed each of these works in turn, and now it is time to examine the manuscript as a whole and offer my conclusions on how each component work fits into the larger picture. Similar to the Carolingian works and manuscripts investigated by Rosamund McKitterick and Janet Nelson, this codex was certainly a *florilegium*, used as a mirror for spiritual, political, and practical guidance, likely for an aristocratic or perhaps even imperial audience, though perhaps also for a humbler audience. At the very least, we can conclude that Carolingian theological and political insights continued to guide the monastic community at Heiligenkreuz and shape its perceptions of the proper roles of dukes, kings, and emperors. Indeed, the unifying purpose of this manuscript was not only as an introductory handbook to Christianity and how to live as a proper Christian, but moreover a statement about proper kingship. Hincmar and Paulinus' works explicitly taught the reader certain moral lessons; the prayers taught how to properly worship and honor God; the sermons reinforced both these goals,

²¹ J.P. Migne, “Honorius Augustodunensis” in *Patrologia Latina Cursus Completus, Honorius Augustodunensis, Opera Omnia*. <http://www.mlal.uzh.ch/MLS/>

offering insight into morality, spirituality, and the scripture while also giving the reader historical background on their faith.

However, the origin of this document allows us to speculate more precisely: as stated previously, it was created during the heyday of the Welf and Hohenstaufen competition for the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. This had two important implications for our interpretation of the manuscript. Primarily, the document seems to have been at least partly political in nature, as it was made with an eye on either the Hohenstaufens or their supporters the Babenberg Counts/Dukes of Austria, who were hearkening back to their Frankish predecessors as models of proper rulership. Additionally, this manuscript exhibits some trends that modern historians have recognized in Otto of Freising's works, and while this does not demonstrate his influence definitively, it does seem to hint at it. Charles Christopher Mierow has highlighted his emphasis on peace and concord and his awareness both of longstanding tradition and of current cultural trends. Svarre Bagge has demonstrated the stress in Otto's work *the Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* on working effectively in concert with the pope, the church, and the nobility and moreover on the importance of the ruler "restoring the right order of the world."²² The Hohenstaufens' idea of empire, and Frederick Barbarossa's in particular, hearkened back to Roman and Carolingian precedents and regarded the empire as "held directly from God" and the laws and utterances of previous emperors as "like divine oracles." Indeed, it says something profound about their lasting relevance that Frederick Barbarossa, over 300 years after Charlemagne's death, pushed hard to have him canonized.²³ The themes that were universal to

²² Sverre Bagge, "Ideas and Narrative in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*" *Journal of Medieval History*, 22 (1996), pp. 345-377.

²³ Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany 1056-1273*, trans. Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer (Oxford University Press 1992) p. 227; Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages c. 1050-1200* (Cambridge University Press 1986) pp. 153-7.

medieval people, many of them inherited from the Carolingians, were echoed throughout this manuscript.

Clearly the Heiligenkreuz monks considered these Carolingian works relevant enough for a high medieval audience to repurpose them. This was simultaneously a spiritual and political statement: learning from the wisdom of Carolingian authors and recalling the Carolingian “golden age” demonstrated that the current rulers were not only supposed to seek spiritual perfection and look to the great thinkers of earlier generations to advise them in the ruling of their kingdoms, but moreover it was a reaffirmation of the Carolingian founding political ideology. Important Carolingian laymen became models to emulate, not only for immediate political ends but also for the ultimate goal of salvation. Similarly, the great theological authors of the Carolingian epoch inspired later generations of writers and served as fonts of wisdom, much like the church fathers and early popes had been to the Carolingians. The significance of Carolingian authors and their works long outlived their immediate theological and political context and were redeployed and reused throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages for many purposes, both spiritual and political. Clearly the Carolingian authors had a lasting impact as their work was still considered relevant 300 years later, and continued to influence expectations of proper kingship, correct forms of spirituality, and the way society should be structured.

Bibliography

Manuscript

Paulinus Aquileiensis. Hincmarus Remensis. Petrus Lombardus. Honorius Augustodunensis.

Codex 974, Heiligenkruetz Abbey, later 12th Century. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Primary Sources and Edited Texts

Böhmer, J. F. *Regesta Imperii IV: Lothar III. und ältere Staufer 1125-1197* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar, 2008). <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/unternehmen/publikationen.html>.

Hartmann, Louis. “Gregorii I Papae Registorum Epistolarum IX, 228” in *Epistolae de Monumenta Germaniae Historia*. 221-225.

Hincmar of Rheims. *De Cavendis Vitiis et Virtutibus Exercendis*, ed. D. Nachtmann. MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 16 (Munich, 1998).

Migne, J.P. “De Cavendis Vitiis et Virtutibus Exercendis ad Carolum Calvum Regem” in *Patrologia Latina 125: Hincmari Rhemensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*. Petit-Montrouge, 1852. 857- 928. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5504332f/f429.image>

Migne, J.P. “Honorius Augustodunensis” in *Patrologia Latina Coursus Completus, Honorius Augustodunensis, Opera Omnia* <http://www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/>

Migne, J.P. “Liber Exhortationis ad Henricum Forojuliensum” in *Patrologia Latina Coursus Completus 99: Sancti Paulini, Patriarchae Aquileiensis, Opera Omnia*. Petit-Montrouge, 1851. 197-282. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5493939b/f99.image>.

Migne, J.P. *Patrologia Latina Coursus Completus: Venerabilis Hildeberti, Opera Omnia*. Petit-Montrouge, 1854.

https://books.google.at/books?id=_csUAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA5&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false

Weis, Johann Nepomuk. "Urkunden des Cistercienser-Stiftes Heiligenkreuz im Wiener Walde," in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum: Oesterreichische Geschichts-Quellen, Diplomataria et Acta*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1970.

Secondary Sources

Auty, Robert. *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. München Press; Zürich Press; Artemis-Verlag Press, 1977-1993.

Bagge, Sverre. "Ideas and Narrative in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*" *Journal of Medieval History*, 22 (1996): 345-377.

Butler, Alban. "St. Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, Confessor" in *Lives of the Saints v. 1*. 1866.

Gsell, Benedict. *Verzeichniss der Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Stiftes Heiligenkreuz*. Vienna, 1891.

Haverkamp, Alfred. *Medieval Germany 1056-1273*. Translated by Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Fuhrmann, Horst. *Germany in the High Middle Ages c. 1050-1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Jean Devisse. *Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims, 845-882*. Librairie Droz, 1975.

Koll, Malachias. *Das Stift Heiligenkreuz in Österreich*. Vienna, 1834.

McKitterick, Rosamund. *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- McKitterick, Rosamund. *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895*. Royal Historical College, 1977.
- Mierow, Charles Christopher. "Otto of Freising: Historian and Man," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 80 (1949): 393-402
- Nelson, Janet. *Charles the Bald*. Harlow: Longman House, 1992.
- Nelson, Janet. *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1977.
- Longère, Jean. *Oeuvres Oratoires de Maitres Parisiens au XIIe Siècle : Étude Historique et Doctrinale*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1975.
- Protois, Félix. *Pierre Lombard: Évêque de Paris, Dit le Maître des Sentences; Son Époque, Sa Vie, Ses Écrits, Son Influence*. Société Générale de Librairie Catholique. Paris, 1880.
- Reimitz, Helmut. *History, Frankish Identity, and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550-850*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Rosemann, Philipp W. *Peter Lombard*. Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Stone, Rachel. *Hincmar of Reims: Life and Work*. Manchester University Press, 2015
- Strayer, Joseph R. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. Scribner Press, 1982-1989.
- Throop, Priscilla. *Hincmar of Reims: on Kingship, Divorce, Virtues and Vices*. Medieval MS, 2014.
- Watzl, P. Florian. *Die Cistercienser von Heiligenkreuz: in chronologischer Reihenfolge nach den Quellen Dargestellt*. Styria Publishing, 1898.
- Weis, Johann Nepomuk. "Stiftungsurkunde: Urkunden des Cistercienser-Stiftes Heiligenkreuz im Wiener Walde," in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum: Oesterreichische Geschichts-Quellen, Diplomataria et Acta*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1970.

To Persuade Rather than Force: An Examination of USAMGIK's Propaganda Activities, 1948-1948

Hannah Kwak
Yale University

After Japan's surrender in World War II, the Korean peninsula became an ideological, and soon to be literal, battlefield as the United States secured its influence on the southern half of the peninsula and attempted to contain the perceived threat of communism. U.S. foreign policy heavily relied, for its justification, on a logic and rhetoric that anticipated the dynamics of the Cold War. The Manichaeian narrative of the "good" United States in rivalry with the "bad" Soviet Empire would come to form the basis for U.S. military presence in the Asia-Pacific region. Perhaps for this reason, propaganda represented a significant portion of the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea's (USAMGIK) activities.²⁴ Although police and military apparatuses certainly played a role in the making of South Korea into a geopolitical ally of the United States, just as crucial was the propaganda machine which reinforced U.S. foreign policy in Korea and by which Koreans encountered and internalized the logic and rhetoric of the Cold War. The U.S. occupation of Korea was underpinned by a complex news propaganda machine, which resulted from the U.S.'s desire to pursue a strategy of soft power to differentiate itself from its rival regime in the North.

²⁴ Chaeyöng Ch'a, "Chuhan mijömyönggunüi sönjönhwaltong yön'gu," *Öllon'gwa sahoe* (1994), 31.

Although U.S.-occupied Korea was nominally guaranteed freedom of the press, this was differentiated by the Military Governor from “a malicious, destructive, inflammatory attitude conducive to disorder and inciting the overthrow of government.”²⁵ The U.S. military government, in effect, controlled public opinion and suppressed the leftist press by suspending publications which used “abusive or inflammatory material.”²⁶ In other words, these publications were sympathetic to communists.²⁷ As a result of this policy, by January 1948, the vast majority of journals and newspapers in Korea were right-leaning.²⁸ Kim Yŏnghŭi views the political orientation of South Korean newspapers today as originating from this historical phenomenon.²⁹

In addition to preventing the widespread circulation of communist ideology, USAMGIK engaged in positive attempts at ideological influence by disseminating propaganda through various channels. These included the distribution of printed literature, motion and still picture exhibits, and radio broadcasts. To further the reach of its radio broadcasts, the Office of Civil Information distributed battery radio sets (in 1944, the household distribution rate was as low as 3.7 percent).³⁰ USAMGIK’s propaganda machine strategically merged the political and the cultural. The U.S. military government was involved in the translation of literary works, such as George Orwell’s *Animal Farm* and Victor Kravchenko’s *I Chose Freedom*, that critiqued

²⁵ Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army Forces, *Summation of United States Army Military Government Activities in Korea* (1946), 76.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 76.

²⁸ Yŏnghŭi Kim, “Migunjŏnggi midiŏ chŏpch'ogŭi sŏnggyŏkkwa yŏngnyang,” *Han'gugŏllonhak'oe haksultaehoe palp'yononmunjip* (2005), 102.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

communist ideology and extolled the principles of liberal democracy.³¹ Additionally, the Office of Civil Information took an interest in Korea's cultural scene and planned on "promulgating cultural societies and associations throughout the country."³² The various media deployed by USAMGIK, that synchronized their respective propaganda activities, were designed to mutually reinforce one another, "so that the output of each supplemented that of the other."³³ These multiple, heterogeneous organizations were unified by their reinforcement of a common ideology.

Of USAMGIK's printed literature, *Farmer's Weekly* (first published on October 12, 1945³⁴) was by far the most prolific, being published in greater numbers than any other periodical of that time.³⁵ The centrality of *Farmer's Weekly* to USAMGIK's propaganda activities was strategic given South Korea's largely agrarian economy. According to a May 6, 1947 report by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Korean farmers... with persons directly connected with agriculture make up an estimated eighty percent of the population of South Korea."³⁶ As one of the few periodicals of that time published in pure Korean, *Farmer's Weekly* met Koreans' desire for news and means of communication, filling a much needed gap in Korean-language publications, which Japan had suppressed during the late occupation period.³⁷ Indeed, records from the Office of Civil Information frequently remark on the Koreans' "desire

³¹ Chaeyöng Ch'a, "Sönjönürosöüi tosö pönyöng: migunjönggi migung tosö pönyöng hwaltongüi chön'gaewa üimi," *Han'gugöllonhakpo* 63, no. 3 (2018): 187.

³² Office of the US Political Advisor, *Report of Activities of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK, 1 June 1948 to 30 June 1948*, by Joseph E. Jacobs, Seoul, Korea, July 26, 1948.

³³ American Mission in Korea, *Report of Activities of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK, Korea, 1 July 1948 to 31 July 1948*, by John J. Muccio, Seoul, Korea, August 27, 1948.

³⁴ Ch'a, "Chuhan," 33.

³⁵ Kim, 111.

³⁶ U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Establishment of Agricultural Improvement Service in South Korea," by William R. Langdon, Seoul, Korea, February 3, 1948.

³⁷ Ch'a, "Chuhan," 33.

for reading materials,”³⁸ and the large-scale emergence of newspapers and magazines in 1945-1946 further speaks to this desire.³⁹

The different types of media used, many of them visual, helped the U.S. military government reach a relatively wide audience during a time of widespread illiteracy. The literacy rate in post-liberation Korea was less than 20 percent of the overall population.⁴⁰ For instance, political cartoons “[emphasizing] the trick of the black-and-white ballot boxes and the effrontery of the communists in substituting the red flag for the traditional Tae Kuk Ki” challenged the legitimacy of the August 25 North Korean election and insinuated the Soviet Empire’s lack of respect for Korean political autonomy.⁴¹ Of the visual media used, motion pictures were particularly effective, partly for their “sensation value.”⁴² Motion and still picture exhibits dealt with “American politics, schools, and rural life,”⁴³ “the accomplishment of the occupation forces in Korea,”⁴⁴ and “the overall contribution of the US Army agencies to Korean economic, political, educational, and social rehabilitation.”⁴⁵ Their function as part and parcel of the U.S. propaganda machine was partially concealed by their presentation of relatively politically neutral subject matters, such as water hygiene.

Similarly, the March 24, 1948 issue of *Farmer’s Weekly* instructs its readers in the application of ammonium nitrate and the science behind chemical disinfectants: topics which, at first glance, appear politically neutral. The same issue, however, also describes the members of

³⁸ Office of the US Political Advisor, *Reports of Field Operations of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK, Korea*, by Joseph E. Jacobs, Seoul, Korea, September 17, 1947.

³⁹ Kim, 99.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 108.

⁴¹ American Mission in Korea.

⁴² Office of the US Political Advisor, *Reports of Field Operations*.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ American Mission in Korea.

the United Nations Commission on Korea as “working diligently and unselfishly for Korea’s independence,” presenting the United Nations as unceasingly working towards a single, free, and independent Korea—in short, as having Korea’s best interests at heart.⁴⁶ As records from the OCI indicate, publications like *Farmer’s Weekly* were designed to be in alignment with U.S. policy in Korea: “The informational agencies of USAFIK could exert a strong favorable influence upon the area through news publications, preparing them for USAFIK policies, and explaining USAFIK and American policies in a favorable light,” reads a September 1947 report prepared by the OCI’s Research and Analysis Branch.⁴⁷ This does not mean, however, that U.S.-affiliated publications didn’t contain any materials that were legitimately informational or instructive. One could say that USAMGIK’s propaganda activities were successful precisely because the politically neutral material often gave cover to the publications’ political orientation.

Indeed, USAMGIK’s propaganda activities were from the planning stages closely connected to their educational programs, blurring the lines, perhaps strategically, between what was propaganda and what was mere information. For example, the OCI insisted on the necessity of “maintaining the closest possible contact with educational activities in South Korea as a foundation for informational programs”⁴⁸—that is, for propaganda activities. In addition, school teachers, along with government officials and writers, were targeted for the distribution of OCI publication materials.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ “Biographical Data on Members of the UN Temporary Commission on Korea,” *Farmer’s Weekly*, March 24, 1948.

⁴⁷ Office of the US Political Advisor, *Reports of Field Operations*.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Office of the US Political Advisor, *Fourth Field Trip Report of the Office of Civil Information, of the US Army Forces in Korea*, by Joseph E. Jacobs, Seoul, Korea, October 17, 1947.

Although the U.S. military government was by no means a monolith, the major programs and policies of USAMGIK were often mutually reinforcing. The OCI's advertisement of the grain collection program is a case in point. This report from September 1947 finds "a strong need for a close connection between informational programs and other major programs and policies of USAFIK which affect the Korean people," claiming that "the summer grain collection program and fertilizer distribution have been subjected to universal criticism partly because of this deficiency."⁵⁰ Here, the "summer grain collection program" refers to the U.S. military government's revival of the old Japanese rice collection system. Although USAMGIK initially established a free market policy for rice, food shortages caused by poor distribution and inflation led to the revival of the old Japanese rice collection system on January 25, 1946.⁵¹ Perhaps because it was reminiscent of Japanese colonial rule, the compulsory grain collection program was generally unpopular, and complaints about its unfair quotas consistently appeared as one of the chief topics of interest among those surveyed by the Office of Civil Information.⁵² According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the unpopularity of the grain collection program was the "primary reason for the tendency of farmers and crop reporters to under-report acreages planted in summer grains."⁵³ Thus, it is significant that when the OCI film "Peace Comes to the Village" was shown in "rural areas considered crucial by grain-collection officials... Agricultural Bureau

⁵⁰ Office of the US Political Advisor, *Reports of Field Operations*.

⁵¹ Jinwung Kim, "A Policy of Amateurism: The Rice Policy of the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea, 1945-1948," *Korea Journal* (Summer 2007): 208.

⁵² Office of the US Political Advisor, *Fourth Field Trip Report of the Office of Civil Information, of the US Army Forces in Korea*, by Joseph E. Jacobs, Seoul, Korea, October 17, 1947; Office of the US Political Advisor, *Fifth Field Trip Report of the Office of Civil Information, of the US Army Forces in Korea*, by Joseph E. Jacobs, Seoul, Korea, November 17, 1947; Office of the US Political Advisor, *Sixth Field Trip Report of the Office of Civil Information of the US Army Forces in Korea*, by William R. Langdon, Seoul, Korea, December 9, 1947.

⁵³ U.S. Department of Agriculture.

officials reported a noticeable improvement in popular attitude.”⁵⁴ Although it would be incautious to suggest a neat correspondence between exposure to OCI publication materials and improved attitudes toward USAMGIK policy, such reports indicate that the OCI was designed to reinforce American policies in Korea—and was at least partially successful in doing so.

Opposition to USAMGIK’s policies were often met by stern enforcement from both American troops and Korean police,⁵⁵ the majority of the latter having been reemployed from the former colonial police force.⁵⁶ Such instances, however, did not mean that the U.S. military government was blind to the importance of Koreans’ free expression to its political reach in the region (or, more accurately, the appearance thereof). For instance, the following statement from William R. Langdon on the establishment of the Agricultural Improvement Service emphasizes the need for “persuasion” over “force”:

For many years the Korean farmers... have suffered oppression at the hands of feudal landlords. Since the beginning of the present century exploitation of the farmers was carried on even more vigorously and systematically in the Japanese efforts to increase agricultural production to its fullest extent. It is said that the Korean farmer now resents and suspects ulterior motives in any governmental action towards increasing production and improving agricultural living and working conditions. One of the principle objectives of the Improvement Service, therefore, is to persuade rather than force the farmer into adapting modern methods which will result in his material betterment.⁵⁷

The U.S. military government was conscious of the importance of Koreans’ sense of agency to the effectiveness of American policy and worked to de-emphasize their involvement in local affairs. This sensitivity to the accusation of coercion can be found in other archival records from the era. William R. Langdon, the author of the aforementioned statement, also appears in the introduction to the Sixth Field Trip Report of the Office of Civil Information. It is, then, by no

⁵⁴ Office of the US Political Advisor, *Report of Activities*.

⁵⁵ Martin Hart-Landsberg, *Korea: Division, Reunification, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998), 76.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵⁷ U.S. Department of Agriculture.

coincidence that records from the Office of Civil Information display a similar awareness of the antipathy that might result from USAMGIK's explicit attempts at control. "The objective," states an August 1948 report, written shortly after the establishment of the First Republic of Korea, "will be to tell the people as much about the workings of their government as possible without appearing to over-step the bounds."⁵⁸

One way in which USAMGIK avoided "appearing to over-step the bounds" was by deliberately involving Koreans and Korean organizations in its activities. For example, the U.S. military government made plans to show a locally produced film,⁵⁹ cooperated with a local newspaper in a two-day festival of Korean folk dances and music,⁶⁰ added Korean soundtracks to motion picture exhibits,⁶¹ and worked "to develop a well-rounded cultural program in which Koreans and Korean organizations [took] a leading part."⁶² The effects of these policies were twofold. Not only did local involvement help obscure the reality of foreign domination, but Americans' familiarity with Korean culture improved the efficacy of their propaganda activities. For instance, as a way to improve its radio broadcasts, the OCI encouraged announcers and writers "to study and better acquaint themselves with Korean dialects and tastes."⁶³

Similarly, local involvement in U.S.-affiliated publications gave cover to their function as propaganda. For instance, rather than "wrenching the farm paper [*Farmer's Weekly*] from Korean hands," reads an August 1948 report,

OCI will stand by to lend aid and advice if and when needed. Copy for the paper will be read in advance, and friendly suggestions be made if anything appears to be out of line with US policy. This arrangement will make it possible for OCI to furnish the paper

⁵⁸ American Mission in Korea.

⁵⁹ Office of the US Political Advisor, *Fourth Field Trip Report*.

⁶⁰ Office of the US Political Advisor, *Report of Activities*.

⁶¹ American Mission in Korea.

⁶² Office of the US Political Advisor, *Report of Activities*.

⁶³ American Mission in Korea.

[with] such official and important news emanating from USAFIK as it is deemed advisable for Koreans to read.⁶⁴

In line with “official” narratives framing the United States as Korea’s benevolent liberator, OCI interference is here couched as “aid, “advice,” and “friendly suggestions.” As evinced in its decision to keep *Farmer’s Weekly* in “Korean hands,” the Office of Civil Information was concerned with—and committed to—the appearance of free expression.

Records from the era suggest that the curatorial hand with which the OCI furnished *Farmer’s Weekly* with “official and important news” was the norm rather than the exception. The political influence of the OCI was wide-reaching, as indicated by the office’s provision of a daily news service for President Rhee and the Assembly. The OCI’s justification for this service was the scarcity of news items published by the Korean press. That “such news [was] scrutinized before it [was] released,” however, suggests that President Rhee and the Assembly’s exposure to world events was mediated by the U.S. military government. From common farmers to high-ranking politicians, all Koreans during the U.S. occupation consumed news that had been selectively chosen for them by the OCI.

Contributing to the U.S. military government’s sensitivity to the accusation of coercion was its need to differentiate itself from its rival regime in the North. Post-WWII geopolitics created a situation in which the U.S. defined itself in opposition to the Soviet Union: the U.S.-occupied South had to be the counterexample to the Soviet-occupied North. USAMGIK propaganda thus contrasted the free development of “living, growing democracy” in the South with the slavishness of the North in its relationship to the Soviet Union.⁶⁵ As a symbol of this contrast, “the conduct of the two occupation forces with respect to the flags... was emphasized

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ American Mission in Korea.

over and over again.”⁶⁶ This remained the official narrative even after American troops withdrew in 1949. According to *The Record on Korean Unification, 1943-1960*, published in 1960 by the U.S. State Department, “The people of South Korea, under UN observation, freely chose their representatives and successfully established a democratic republic. The people of the North, to whom the Communist occupying power denied the free expression of their own will, were instead forced to establish a rival regime...”⁶⁷ The centrality of this narrative to U.S. foreign policy meant that the U.S. military government was pressured to maintain at least the pretense of Korean political autonomy, lest it be accused of hypocrisy.

The use of violence by military and police apparatuses accounts for only part of the mechanisms by which the U.S. military government maintained its control over the southern half of the Korean peninsula. The development of a propaganda machine that integrated itself into educational and cultural infrastructures in Korea and reinforced American policies in the region must be central to historiography about the U.S. occupation of Korea. Furthermore, I have suggested that the centrality of propaganda to USAMGIK’s activities and the recurring theme of persuasion over force in archival records from the era can be traced to the United States’ need to differentiate itself from its rival power. Critiques that the Soviet Empire did not respect Korean political autonomy could only succeed if the U.S. military government concerned itself, at least to some extent, with Koreans’ sense of agency. Although a sustained discussion of the West’s pathologization of communism as conformist and parasitic lies outside the scope of this paper, I reiterate, by way of closing, that the creation of a North Korea as the pathological communist in

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Department of State, *The Record on Korean Unification, 1943-1960* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), quoted in Martin Hart-Landsberg, *Korea: Division, Reunification, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998), 9.

the American imaginary occurred alongside the evolution of American policies in U.S.-occupied Korea.⁶⁸ A transnational approach linking U.S. domestic discourse on the demarcated Koreas with U.S. foreign policy—with emphasis on their coevolution—would be the logical next step toward understanding this process.

⁶⁸ See, for instance, George Kennan's "Long Telegram" (1946).

Bibliography

- American Mission in Korea. *Report of Activities of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK, Korea, 1 July 1948 to 31 July 1948*. By John J. Muccio. Seoul, Korea: August 27, 1948.
- “Biographical Data on Members of the UN Temporary Commission on Korea.” *Farmer’s Weekly*, March 24, 1948.
- Ch’a, Chaeyöng. “Chuhan mijömyönggunüi sönjönhwaltong yön’gu.” *Öllon’gwa sahoe* (1994): 29-52.
- Ch’a, Chaeyöng. “Sönjönürosöüi tosö pönyöng: migunjönggi migung tosö pönyöng hwaltongüi chön’gaewa üimi.” *Han’gugöllonhakpo* 63, no. 3 (2018): 187-212.
- Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army Forces. *Summation of United States Army Military Government Activities in Korea*. 1946.
- Hart-Landsberg, Martin. *Korea: Division, Reunification, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998.
- Kim, Jinwung. “A Policy of Amateurism: The Rice Policy of the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea, 1945-1948,” *Korea Journal* (Summer 2007): 208-231.
- Kim, Yönghui. “Migunjönggi midio chöpch’ogüi sönggyökkwa yöngnyang.” *Han’gugöllonhak’oe haksultaehoe palp’yononmunjip* (2005): 95-123.
- Office of the US Political Advisor. *Fourth Field Trip Report of the Office of Civil Information, of the US Army Forces in Korea*. By Joseph E. Jacobs. Seoul, Korea: October 17, 1947.
- Office of the US Political Advisor. *Fifth Field Trip Report of the Office of Civil Information, of the US Army Forces in Korea*. By Joseph E. Jacobs. Seoul, Korea: November 17, 1947.
- Office of the US Political Advisor. *Sixth Field Trip Report of the Office of Civil Information of the US Army Forces in Korea*. By William R. Langdon. Seoul, Korea: December 9, 1947.
- Office of the US Political Advisor. *Reports of Activities of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK, 1 June 1948 to 30 June 1948*. By Joseph E. Jacobs. Seoul, Korea: July 26, 1948.
- Office of the US Political Advisor. *Reports of Field Operations of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK, Korea*. By Joseph E. Jacobs. Seoul, Korea: September 17, 1947.
- U.S. Department of Agriculture. “Establishment of Agricultural Improvement Service in South Korea.” By William R. Langdon. Seoul, Korea: February 3, 1948.

The Leviathan as a Reactionary Text

Jacob Smiley

University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

The philosopher and political scientist Thomas Hobbes lived and wrote in a time of extraordinary political and civil strife in the British Isles. Within his lifetime he would witness the English Civil Wars (1642-1651), the execution of Charles I, the reign of the Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell, and the Restoration period of the monarchy under Charles II.⁶⁹ During his lifetime, Hobbes made no secret of his loyalty to the royalist cause. He was friendly with Charles I, tutored a young Charles II in mathematics, and was among the many royalist emigres who fled the isles during the years of civil war.⁷⁰ During these years of conflict, Thomas Hobbes wrote his masterwork, *The Leviathan*. *The Leviathan*, a foundational work of western political philosophy,⁷¹ advocates for an incredibly powerful sovereign leader. The ruler Hobbes described was an absolute monarch, causing many to associate his work with Charles I's period of 'personal rule.'⁷²

⁶⁹ Hobbes, Thomas, and Ian Shapiro, *Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, (Yale University Press, 2010): ix

⁷⁰ Patterson-Tutschka, Monicka, "Hobbes Smashes Cromwell and the Rump: An Interpretation of Leviathan." *Political Theory* 43, no. 5 (October 2015): 633

⁷¹ Hobbes, Thomas, and Ian Shapiro, *Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, (Yale University Press, 2010): 485

⁷² Patterson-Tutschka, Monicka, "Hobbes Smashes Cromwell and the Rump: An Interpretation of Leviathan." *Political Theory* 43, no. 5 (October 2015): 632

Given Hobbes' well known royalist predilections, questions are inevitably raised about the possibility of ulterior motives in the writing of *The Leviathan*. While it would be inaccurate to claim that *The Leviathan* was a work of pure partisanship, it would also be inaccurate to claim that the work was one of pure and detached political philosophy. In actuality, Hobbes' *Leviathan* was a work of political theory deeply impacted by its historical context, namely, the English Civil Wars. When one examines the text of *The Leviathan*, in concert with Hobbes' life of unrelenting royalism and his later work *The Behemoth*, one comes to see that *The Leviathan* was a reactionary work, written in support of the Stuart monarchy.

The existing literature and historiography on the *Leviathan* is expansive and wide ranging in its analysis. Historian Richard Tuck emphasizes the importance of the literary and academic milieu of Hobbes' life in exile, pointing to the works of such French intellectuals as Gersendi and Mersenne as particularly influential. In this regard, Hobbes' *Leviathan* is seen in conversation with more abstract and philosophical debates occurring contemporaneously on the European continent.⁷³ In another vein, Historian Quentin Skinner places the *Leviathan* in the context of the philosophical and political debate surrounding the so-called Engagement Controversy, regarding Hobbes' work in dialogue with pamphleteers and writers debating the validity of Cromwell's Interregnum government.⁷⁴ Glen Burgess, whose analysis is most similar to that of this work, argues for the careful consideration of the *Leviathan* within its historical context. In doing so, Professor Burgess utilizes a comparative approach, analyzing the *Leviathan* against the earlier works of Hobbes and pointing to changes and deviations that may be

⁷³ Zagorin, Perez. "Hobbes Without Grotius." *History of Political Thought* 21, no. 1 (2000): 16-40

⁷⁴ Burgess, Glenn. "Contexts for the Writing and Publication of Hobbes's "Leviathan"." *History of Political Thought* 11, no. 4 (1990): 675-677

contributable to the crisis in England.⁷⁵ Monicka Patterson-Tutschka, who is cited in this piece, compliments Burgess's argument with her own analysis, focusing on developments in the British Isles. For the purpose of this work, the methodological approach will be focused on the importance of historical context and material factors in the writing of the *Leviathan*. To this end, this work utilizes a textual analysis of the *Leviathan*, measured against the radical theological developments in the British Isles during the English Civil Wars. In this way, the paper moves away from an analysis of abstract ideological and philosophical concern as motive and towards an understanding of the leviathan that is based specifically in its reaction to the English Civil Wars. Though this paper largely sits in agreement with the work of Burgess and Patterson-Tutschka, it differs in its discrete textual analysis and emphasis on the dialectical relationship between the theology of the Parliamentarians and the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes, expressed through *The Leviathan*.

The consensus among many historians today is that the English Civil War was a series of conflicts "stumbled into," turning quickly from "civil disturbance into bloody revolution."⁷⁶ The conflict was one of multitudes, many of which will not be examined for the purpose of this inquiry. Two of the most crucial factors in the build up to war, however, were the various religious disputes of the time and the alleged despotism of King Charles I.⁷⁷ Charles I, in his period of 'personal rule," had infuriated wide swaths of the nobility and gentry through his punitive and often illegal methods of taxation.⁷⁸ Simultaneously, a zealous sectarian reaction was forming in opposition to the Anglican mode of religious governance, with much of this vitriol

⁷⁵ Ibid., 675-702

⁷⁶ Morrill, John, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain*, (Oxford University Press, 2010): 317

⁷⁷ Ibid., 316

⁷⁸ Ibid., 310

being directed towards Charles' senior religious advisor, Archbishop Laud.⁷⁹ These troubles led to wide scale 'Parliamentarian' revolt.⁸⁰ After a series of devastating battlefield losses, Charles I was captured and subsequently tried for his life, convicted, and beheaded.⁸¹ Following their victory, the Parliamentarians abolished the monarchy and the British Isles entered a period of serious political experimentation.⁸² This period of upheaval saw the establishment of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, with Oliver Cromwell serving as Lord Protectorate and Head of State from December 1653 to September 1658. The time from Charles I's execution to the death of Oliver Cromwell was a "decade of uneven progress back towards a restoration of monarchy,"⁸³ which occurred in 1660, a short while after the death of Oliver Cromwell.⁸⁴

Thomas Hobbes, fearing reprisal after the summoning of the Long Parliament, escaped England and lived in exile from 1640 to 1652, later claiming to be "the first of all that fled."⁸⁵ During this period Hobbes began work on his seminal text, *The Leviathan*. *The Leviathan* was a work deeply "motivated by the political urgency of the moment." Historian Ian Shapiro claims that Hobbes believed his work was "vital to ending the civil war" and "ensuring that it would not recur."⁸⁶ The work advocated for a sovereign with absolute authority, "immune from constraint by anyone."⁸⁷ Hobbes, in his arguments for absolute monarchism, employed a multitude of

⁷⁹ Ibid., 310

⁸⁰ Ibid., 316

⁸¹ Ibid., 324

⁸² Ibid., 325

⁸³ Ibid., 326

⁸⁴ Ibid., 330

⁸⁵ MacGillivray, Royce, "Thomas Hobbes's History of the English Civil War A Study of Behemoth." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31, no. 2 (1970): 180

⁸⁶ Hobbes, Thomas, and Ian Shapiro, *Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, (Yale University Press, 2010): x

⁸⁷ Ibid., ix

rhetorical strategies. Some of these strategies, most especially those involving religious matters, were direct challenges to the rise of the parliamentarians, lending credence to Shapiro's claims.

Book III of *The Leviathan*, titled "Of a Christian Common-Wealth," is best understood in conjunction with its historical context. As previously stated, one of the main catalysts for the English Civil Wars was the presence of intense religious and sectarian debate throughout the British Isles. During the latter portion of the English Civil Wars (1647-1651), serious divisions were solidifying within Protestantism in Great Britain.⁸⁸ A number of religious factions, whom Hobbes labeled Presbyterians but were in actuality a conglomeration of various sectarian Protestant groups, opposed the dominant Anglican order.⁸⁹ Broadly speaking, these sectarian Protestants were Millenarians who believed in the existence of saints, the liberty of religious conscience, divine inspiration, and the validity of individual interpretations of scripture.⁹⁰ These sectarian Protestants, whom Hobbes labeled "fanatics,"⁹¹ were generally supportive of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell was himself a deeply religious Millenarian, going so far as to employ the radical Protestant John Owen as his religious advisor.⁹² Both John Owen and Oliver Cromwell believed that they were "setting up the kingdom of Christ" on earth through their establishment of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.⁹³ It is no coincidence that Thomas Hobbes assailed just this type of sectarianism in *The Leviathan*. Works such as Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena* and Ephraim Pagit's *Heresiography* were popular books that documented the beliefs of various

⁸⁸ Patterson-Tutschka, Monicka, "Hobbes Smashes Cromwell and the Rump: An Interpretation of Leviathan." *Political Theory* 43, no. 5 (October 2015): 637

⁸⁹ MacGillivray, Royce, "Thomas Hobbes's History of the English Civil War A Study of Behemoth." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31, no. 2 (1970): 181

⁹⁰ Patterson-Tutschka, Monicka, "Hobbes Smashes Cromwell and the Rump: An Interpretation of Leviathan." *Political Theory* 43, no. 5 (October 2015): 638-644

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 638

⁹² *Ibid.*, 640

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 640

sectarian Protestants and surely influenced Hobbes' writing.⁹⁴ In the section titled "Of a Christian Common-Wealth," Thomas Hobbes denounced all the aforementioned aspects of sectarian Protestantism. Writing about Millenarianism, Hobbes proclaimed that "[T]he greatest and main abuse of scripture... is the wresting of it to prove that the kingdom of God... is the present Church." Hobbes wrote further that the "second coming not yet being, the kingdom of God is not yet come, and we are not now under any other kings... but our civil sovereign."⁹⁵ In this, one sees a direct refutation of Cromwell as well as an attempt to discredit the legitimacy of his rebellion.

Alongside this, Hobbes attacks the existence of sainthood and divine inspiration, mirroring the opinion of the conservative writer John Bastwick, who wrote "[i]t is their [the sects in the Army] maxime, that the Saints only ought to rule the world, and to have the sword in their hand."⁹⁶ Hobbes writes further that saints "write and publish against Kings, nobles, and Judges of all sorts... and divest them of all their authority."⁹⁷ Hobbes, while arguing the same basic point as Bastwick, adds a materialistic critique to his writing, though it quickly becomes muddled. In one section, he negates the concept of "in-blown virtue,"⁹⁸ the idea that certain men are endowed with a spirit or immaterial gift from God. Contradicting himself, in another section he claims that those who believe in inspired men and "take not their Christian [Sovereign], for Gods prophet... must suffer themselves to bee lead by some strange prince... that can bewitch them, by slander of the government, into rebellion... and by this means destroying all laws, both

⁹⁴ Ibid., 640-641

⁹⁵ Hobbes, Thomas, and Ian Shapiro, *Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, (Yale University Press, 2010): 365

⁹⁶ Patterson-Tutschka, Monicka, "Hobbes Smashes Cromwell and the Rump: An Interpretation of Leviathan." *Political Theory* 43, no. 5 (October 2015): 639

⁹⁷ Ibid., 639

⁹⁸ Hobbes, Thomas, and Ian Shapiro, *Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, (Yale University Press, 2010): 26

divine and humane, reduce all Order, Government, and Society, to the first Chaos of Violence, and[Civil War].”⁹⁹ Through explicit reference to rebelling, strange princes, and civil war, Hobbes is clearly referencing Cromwell and his adherents. Furthermore, the partisan nature of this attack is quite evident and unambiguous, as Hobbes seems more than willing to abandon his materialism when doing so would be politically expedient. Hobbes writes that the king is “Gods [sic] Prophet,” recognizing the existence of immaterial substance, but only when it favors the monarchy. Examining this section of *The Leviathan*, one sees clearly that Hobbes has a reactionary agenda in mind, lending credence to David Dyzenhaus’ claim that Hobbes’ *Leviathan* acts “as an extended justification” of the Stuart monarchy.¹⁰⁰

Thomas Hobbes’ history of the English Civil Wars, *The Behemoth or The Long Parliament*, parallels and provides insight on his writings in *The Leviathan* and their relation to the conflicts of 1640-1652. From the outset, *The Behemoth* and *The Leviathan* are explicitly linked through their respective titles. Both titles reference biblical monsters,¹⁰¹ with *The Leviathan* serving as an example of correct governance and *The Behemoth* as an example of “an inferior monster, whose name indicates that the Long Parliament... contrasted unfavorably with the ideals represented by *Leviathan*.”¹⁰² This contrast in titles immediately speaks to the reactionary nature of *The Leviathan*, explicitly connecting Hobbes’ work of political philosophy with its historical context.¹⁰³ Furthermore, an interesting passage from the first pages of *The Behemoth* illuminates a deeper understanding of the title:

⁹⁹ Ibid., 261

¹⁰⁰ Hobbes, Thomas, and Ian Shapiro, *Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, (Yale University Press, 2010): 453

¹⁰¹ MacGillivray, Royce, “Thomas Hobbes's History of the English Civil War A Study of Behemoth.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31, no. 2 (1970): 184

¹⁰² Ibid., 184

¹⁰³ Bodei, Remo, and Gianpiero W. Doebler, *Geometry of the Passions: Fear, Hope, Happiness: Philosophy and Political Use*, (University of Toronto Press, 2018): 67

[F]or if in time, as in place, there were degrees of high and low, I verily believe that the highest of time would be that which passed between 1640 and 1660. For he that thence, from the Devil's mountain, should have looked upon the world and observed the actions of men, especially in England, might have had a prospect of all kinds of injustice, and all kinds of folly, that the world could afford, and how they were produced by their hypocrisy and self-conceit.¹⁰⁴

Through its evocation of 'The Devil's Mountain,' this passage goes beyond its main purpose of exorcising Hobbes' righteous anger and provides a meaningful link to a section of *The Leviathan* entitled "Of the Kingdome of Darknesse."

In this section of *The Leviathan*, Hobbes explains that the Kingdom of Darkness is "nothing else but a confederacy of deceivers, that to obtain dominion over men in this present world, endeavour by dark and erroneous doctrines."¹⁰⁵ In *The Behemoth*, Hobbes clarifies through his connection of the Long Parliament with the devil, that the Kingdom of Darkness was truly "in this present world," and was in fact Cromwell and his rebellious cohorts. Furthermore, throughout *The Behemoth*, Thomas Hobbes returns to his familiar religious quarrels. Of Hobbes' seven main explanations for the outbreak of civil war, four are directly related to the religious beliefs of the sectarian Protestants he ridiculed in *The Leviathan*.¹⁰⁶ Historian Royce MacGillivray claims that Hobbes saw "in the religion of the Puritan clergy, a cloak for worldly motives."¹⁰⁷ Hobbes gives credence to this claim in *The Behemoth*, writing that sectarians,

¹⁰⁴ Hobbes Thomas, *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury; Now First Collected and Edited by Sir William Molesworth*, Bart., vol. 6, (London: Bohn, 1839-45): 165

¹⁰⁵ MacGillivray, Royce, "Thomas Hobbes's History of the English Civil War A Study of Behemoth." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31, no. 2 (1970): 186

¹⁰⁶ Hobbes Thomas, *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury; Now First Collected and Edited by Sir William Molesworth*, Bart., vol. 6, (London: Bohn, 1839-45):167-168

¹⁰⁷ MacGillivray, Royce, "Thomas Hobbes's History of the English Civil War A Study of Behemoth." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31, no. 2 (1970): 189

“seeing politics (as) subservient to religion... might govern, and thereby satisfy not only their covetous humour with riches, but also their malice with power to undo all men that admired not their wisdom.”¹⁰⁸ All of this, along with Hobbes’ claim made later in *The Behemoth* that sectarianism was the result of private interpretations of scripture, further serves to cement the notion that Hobbes’ religious doctrines in *The Leviathan* were written in reaction to the rise of sectarian Protestantism among Cromwell and his adherents.¹⁰⁹ Hobbes’ claim that these Protestants practice their religion in bad faith seems unsubstantiated and the product of his own partisan resentment.

The Leviathan's harsh theological criticism of “Presbyterianism,” as analyzed in this paper, offers a unique prism into the reactionary nature of Hobbes’ work. Historian Quentin Skinner, in his analysis of *The Leviathan*, rightly situates the work in relation to the Engagement Controversy and the contemporaneous political debate over the legitimacy of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. To this end, an analysis of *The Leviathan's* theological criticism of Cromwell’s Commonwealth and Protectorate serves to supplement and add further layers to Skinner’s claim, going beyond an analysis of political philosophy. Additionally, though relying in part on Hobbes’ *The Behemoth*, this analysis differs from that of historian Glen Burgess, once again looking to the religious rather than political content of Hobbes’ later work.

In concert with a textual analysis of *The Leviathan* and *The Behemoth*, Thomas Hobbes’ personal history of royalism also raises concerns of reactionary writing and partisanship in *The Leviathan*. Hobbes was a member of the Stuart family’s inner circle. He had a “special connection with the Cavendish family,” and held an “acquaintance with many other prominent

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 189

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 189

Royalists.”¹¹⁰ He was deeply shaken by the English Civil Wars, going into self-imposed exile for more than a decade. Hobbes eventually went on to write and dedicate *The Leviathan* to his friend Sidney Godolphin, a man who was killed in combat fighting for the royalist cause.¹¹¹ After the Restoration, Hobbes held a shaky but amiable relationship with Charles II, who suppressed some of his later work but also granted him a pension.¹¹² Considering these facts, the reactionary and partisan nature of Hobbes and his political philosophy is seen clearly.

Leviathan is seen today as the fountainhead of social contract theory.¹¹³ While this may be so, it is also true that this work was not purely theoretical; it very much operated by the context of its historical moment, the English Civil Wars. Upon examination of the text of *The Leviathan* and *The Behemoth* in their historical setting, coupled with an understanding of Thomas Hobbes’ royalist leanings, it is evident that *The Leviathan* was a reactionary work; a work which aimed to support the Stuart monarchy and discredit its detractors.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 182

¹¹¹ Hobbes, Thomas, and Ian Shapiro, *Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, (Yale University Press, 2010): 3-4

¹¹² MacGillivray, Royce, "Thomas Hobbes's History of the English Civil War A Study of Behemoth." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31, no. 2 (1970): 181

¹¹³ Hobbes, Thomas, and Ian Shapiro, *Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, (Yale University Press, 2010): xiii

Selected Bibliography

Bodei, Remo, and Gianpiero W. Doebler, *Geometry of the Passions: Fear, Hope, Happiness:*

Philosophy and Political Use, University of Toronto Press, (2018).

Burgess, Glenn. "Contexts for the Writing and Publication of Hobbes's "Leviathan"." *History of*

Political Thought 11, no. 4 (1990).

Hobbes Thomas, *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury; Now First Collected*

and Edited by Sir William Molesworth, Bart., (London: Bohn, 1839-45). 11 vols. Vol. 6.

Hobbes, Thomas, and Ian Shapiro, *Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme and Power of a*

Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil, Yale University Press, (2010).

MacGillivray, Royce, "Thomas Hobbes's History of the English Civil War A Study of

Behemoth." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31, no. 2 (1970).

Morill, John, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain*, Oxford University Press, (2010)

Patterson-Tutschka, Monicka, "Hobbes Smashes Cromwell and the Rump: An Interpretation of

Leviathan." *Political Theory* 43, no. 5 (October 2015).

Zagorin, Perez. "Hobbes Without Grotius." *History of Political Thought* 21, no. 1 (2000).

A Friendship with Cuba: Mexico's Test on the Limits of the United States' Anti-Communist Fervor

Victoria Saeki-Serna
Rice University

The “fundamental design” of the international communist movement, NSC-68 argued, “is to retain and solidify their absolute power” and achieve the “complete subversion or forcible destruction of the machinery of government and structure of society in the countries of the non-Soviet world.”¹¹⁴ The US government feared “the political, economic, and psychological warfare” waged by the USSR and communism had the “dangerous potentialities for weakening the relative world position of the United States,”¹¹⁵ and this concern fundamentally shaped the following decades of United States’ foreign policy. Washington officials ardently enacted anti-communist policies, exercising whatever extent of economic, political, or military influence they perceived necessary to counter other countries’ sympathy to communism. Mexico, notwithstanding the close bond it shared the dominant anti-communist power, abided to an outlook almost antithetical to its neighbor’s. The Estrada Doctrine, which advocated for each country’s right to self-determination and non-intervention, shaped Mexico’s stance on Cold War

¹¹⁴ US National Security Council, "NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security," April 14, 1950.

¹¹⁵ US National Security Council, "NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security," April 14, 1950.

conflicts and its nearly unwavering willingness to interact with communist countries and take communist refugees.

The opposing world views inevitably clashed when Fidel Castro successfully staged a coup d'état that deposed the Sandinistas and consolidated a communist rule in Cuba. The United States, seeing communism on its doorstep, responded swiftly and sought to lead the Western Hemisphere's response by example. It cut diplomatic relations with Cuba, encouraging the majority of Latin American countries to follow suit,¹¹⁶ and succeeded in having the Organization of American States (OAS) enact an embargo on the island after reports of "attempted subversion of that (Venezuela's) Government by action of Communist Castro."¹¹⁷ Mexico, however, refused to cut diplomatic relations with the island¹¹⁸ and "steadfastly opposed any obligatory sanctions against Cuba"¹¹⁹ on behalf of OAS. After the OAS imposed the proposed sanctions, Mexico disregarded the reprisal and condemned the United States' actions against Cuba.¹²⁰ The nation refused to cut off economic and political interaction with the island, leading to its role as a "window"¹²¹ and "about the only entry point" to the island in the Western Hemisphere.¹²²

¹¹⁶ James Nelson Goodshell, "Mexico Holds Out For Link to Cuba," *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 23, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130095-3>.

¹¹⁷ Representative Rogers (FL). "Action by the OAS or Form a Pan American NATO Organization," Congressional Record (December 2), <<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp65b00383r000200240063-7>> (accessed October 14, 2019).

¹¹⁸ James Nelson Goodshell, "Mexico Holds Out For Link to Cuba," *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 23, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130095-3>.

¹¹⁹ Barnard L. Collier, "Noose for Cuba: American States Likely to Vote Trade Embargo," *Herald Tribune*, June 24, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130090-8>.

¹²⁰ Peter H. Smith, "Mexico since 1946: Dynamics of an Authoritarian Regime," in *Mexico Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 355.

¹²¹ James Nelson Goodshell, "Mexico Holds Out For Link to Cuba," *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 23, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130095-3>.

¹²² James Nelson Goodshell, "Mexico Holds Out For Link to Cuba," *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 23, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130095-3>.

Considering its zealous determination to quell any communist power, the logical course of action for the United States would have been to react explosively when Mexico refused to restrict relations with Communist Cuba, and reprimand its neighbor. Yet the United States took no noteworthy retaliation, and the relationship between Mexico and the United States suffered no significant harm, continuing cordially. Why then, did the staunchest advocate of anti-communism not chastise its neighbor when it continued to interact with a communist country on both of their doorsteps?

For decades, American scholars have studied the Cold War, and they continue to diversify the already expansive literature. Historians have debated for decades on the origins of the Cold War, offering political, economic, and ideological reasons for its beginnings; and have increasingly focused on the inseparable nature of foreign and domestic policy, leading to the upsurge in social history analyses that take the international context of the Cold War into account. This has produced studies that examine the effect the war's rhetoric had on the Civil Rights Movement, blue collar workers, and women, among other groups. Political history has largely taken a secondary role in historians' current studies of the Cold War as the dynamics of social history in an international background are being explored more in depth.

Mexican political historians' attention, on the other hand, has recently begun to transition from the revolution era to the post revolution. Popular themes for analysis include the formation and limits of the modern Mexican state, the nature of political representation, the creation of political parties, the character of local and national elections, and the correlation between dissent and violence. In the context of the Cold War, literature has centered on the presence of communists in Mexico, the nation's relationship with the Soviet Union, how the international

context influenced domestic policies, and how the United States' foreign policy objectives limited the Mexican presidents' power.¹²³

Neither group of scholars, however, has extensively examined how the Cold War affected the relationship between the United States and Mexico, nor why Mexico's unwillingness to match Washington's anti-communist fervor did not cause conflict between the two nations – especially given Mexico's geopolitical proximity to the United States. This paper utilizes a collection of de-classified CIA documents to fill part of the historiographical hole described by examining how the United States perceived Mexico's relationship with Cuba. Through it, I ultimately argue that the United States did not condemn Mexico's friendship with Cuba because it understood the foundation of this relationship to be made from politicians' personal agendas rather than an active attempt from the Mexican government to keep communism alive. Washington, more importantly, continued to see Mexico a country as ruled by a monopolistic party that would swiftly suppress any extremist threat to its rule. Mexico, in other words, posed little threat to the United States' ardent anti-communist agenda as its government had little chance of spreading or adopting communism.

Personal Agendas over Politics: The Foundation of a Foreign Friendship

During the era of which became known as the Mexican Miracle PRI, politicians became infamous for their increased exploitation of political networks - the use of political contacts to obtain favorable business connections and seek personal enrichment became widespread among PRI technocrats, normalizing corruption.¹²⁴ The United States understood Mexican politicians'

123 Ariel Rodríguez Kuri, "México: Guerra Fría e Historia Política," *Historia Mexicana* 66, no. 2 (October-December 2016) p. 646.

124 *Mexico Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

self-centered focus and believed this same mentality, rather than a conscious effort to enable communism's survival, served as the foundation for Mexico's relationship with Cuba. The United States, consequently, did not interpret Mexico's relationship with Cuba as a deliberate attempt by the Mexican government to antagonize Washington or counter the United States' objectives, thus softening Washington's reaction to Mexico's friendship with Cuba.

Personal Power

The actions of Mexican politicians at the OAS shed light on how personal agendas significantly shaped the foreign policy of the whole nation. Dr. Francisco Sanchez Gavito – Mexico's ambassador to the OAS - for instance, reportedly pursued a “resolutely pro-Castro” policy stance and refused to join the other OAS countries in a full embargo of Cuba.¹²⁵ The *Washington Daily News* explicitly credited both Mexico and Brazil's pro-Cuban stances on “the personal slant of the respective countries OAS representatives,” describing Gavito as “an untiring personal friend of the communist cause.” The president at the time, Adolfo López Mateos, also appears to have encouraged the pro-Cuba stance of Mexico based on personal interest. According to a report widely circulated through the US and Latin America press, Mateos wanted the “communist bloc influence to help him become the next Secretary General of the United Nations.”¹²⁶ While both newspapers may have mischaracterized Gavito and López Mateos' political sympathies to justify Mexico's actions at the OAS, Mexico's friendship with Cuba was not the first time the Mexican government had shown sympathy to communists from abroad. Both Leon Trotsky and Spanish Civil War refugees had previously found asylum in

¹²⁵ Virginia Prewett, "Mexico Feels 'Backlash' on Castro Issue," *Washington Daily News*, September 16, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp73-00475r000200600001-9>.

¹²⁶ Virginia Prewett, "Mexico Feels 'Backlash' on Castro Issue," *Washington Daily News*, September 16, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp73-00475r000200600001-9>.

Mexico – suggesting that even if the newspapers intended to smear Mexican politicians in their articles it would not have been unlikely for Gavito and López Mateos to have had sympathy for Cuba, especially if it meant personal political gain. Gavito and López Mateos, in short, allowed their personal leanings and political ambitions, respectively, to shape Mexico’s stance towards Cuba in the wake of Castro’s coup.

Personal Economic Profits

The interest of PRI politicians in protecting Mexico’s relationship with Cuba came not only from a political context, but an economic one as well; in turn further emphasizing the importance and influence personal agendas had on Mexico’s foreign policy. Gavito reportedly “startled the New World diplomatic corps” at the OAS in arguing that “‘the Mexican government may fall’ if Mexico abandons its pro-Cuba policy.”¹²⁷ Such an exaggerated statement undoubtedly served as a rhetorical strategy to garner the sympathy of other advisors, and is easily disproven by the economic context of Mexico at that time. The primary way in which Mexico would “fall” from sanctioning Cuba would be if cutting off the island meant losing a significant source of imports or revenue. Yet Mexico followed the Import Substitution Industrialization model since the presidency of Avila Camacho in 1940. The first two stages of this plan – which Mexico went through during the López Mateos administration - required the implementation of harsh tariffs to protect local industry from foreign competition and allow them to blossom – thus

¹²⁷ Peter H. Smith, "Mexico since 1946: Dynamics of an Authoritarian Regime," in *Mexico Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 323-325.

the Mexican government would not have relied on Cuban imports.¹²⁸ Cuba, additionally, did not serve as a primary destination for Mexico's exports.¹²⁹

The quote and Mexico's actions, nonetheless, suggest Mexico's government valued keeping trade with Cuba. On two occasions, Mexico ignored the OAS' sanctions on the Cuba – it rejected the OAS resolution of June 1964 cutting all economic ties with the island¹³⁰ and refused to sign the OAS sanctions adopted in July of 1964 or informally abide by them.¹³¹ Mexico's lack of compliance allowed it, as a Mexican diplomat put it, to serve “as a window”¹³² to Cuba. But as the *Christian Science Monitor* noted, Mexico would more accurately describe the nation as a “gateway to Cuba – about the only entry point through which people and cargo can get into Cuba from the Western Hemisphere on a regular basis.”¹³³ Through this “gateway” role, Mexico facilitated the smuggling contraband, as the country served as “a chief avenue through which machinery parts and other supplies desperately needed by Cuba have been contrabanded from the US to Castro's island.” Mexico also served as a passageway for Soviet sent aid to reach the island – a Mexican company, for instance, reportedly “sold to the Soviet Union a million tons of

¹²⁸ Peter H. Smith, "Mexico since 1946: Dynamics of an Authoritarian Regime," in *Mexico Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 323-325. Central Intelligence Agency, "Intelligence Memorandum: Mexico: Economic Progress and Problems," January 1, 1970, p. 6, <<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp85t00875r001600030008-0>> (accessed October 14, 2019).

¹²⁹ Peter H. Smith, "Mexico since 1946: Dynamics of an Authoritarian Regime," in *Mexico Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹³⁰ Dan Kurzman, "OAS Informally Approves Resolution to Cut Economic Ties with Cuba," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, June 25, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130088-1>.

¹³¹ Tad Szulc "OAS States Sign Cuban Sanctions, US Hails Actions as 'Body Blow' To Castro Regime," *New York Times*, July 27, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130067-4>.

¹³² James Nelson Goodshell, "Mexico Holds Out For Link to Cuba," *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 23, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130095-3>.

¹³³ James Nelson Goodshell, "Mexico Holds Out For Link to Cuba," *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 23, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130095-3>.

sulphur which will be transferred to Cuba for use in that country's sugar refining industry."¹³⁴

The lack of economic trade with Cuba coupled with Mexico's central role in facilitating the smuggling of critical supplies, the large importance Mexico placed on maintaining economic relations with Cuba and the political context, therefore, suggest that PRI politicians potentially kept economic relations with Cuba to personally benefit from the profits generated by the transaction of illegal goods. The relationship between PRI politicians and smugglers would have been analogous to the relationship shared by the modern PRI and drug cartels – politicians create political conditions favorable to the smugglers' transfers in return for a share of the profits. This very greed shaped the actions of Mexico's government on the international stage. Yet the relationship between the PRI and smugglers is not only analogous to the current dynamic of the same party and drug cartels, as interaction – if it existed - set a precedent for the latter to exist. In allowing contrabandists to move goods through Mexico while disregarding international agreements, the administration of López Mateos paved the way for future PRI politicians and technocrats to accept agreements with drug cartels if it meant personal gain. The manipulation of the political context surrounding Cuba by PRI politicians, thus, adds yet another example of the political party's corruption to an already exhaustive list.

Regardless of the existence of this potential personal partnership between PRI politicians and smugglers, it is highly likely Mexican politicians found personal gain in being the rulers of the primary gateway into Cuba. They did not have to personally be in contact with the smugglers to find personal profits – corrupt PRI technocrats could have easily used their business connections characteristic of the time period to obtain a share of the profits from Mexican companies that sold items to the island, such as the one that sold sulphur to the USSR. Politicians

¹³⁴ Virginia Prewett, "Cuba-Mexico are Working a Double Play," *Washington Daily News*, April 27, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130098-0>.

during this time also skimmed off profit from government revenues, which undoubtedly benefited from the increased revenue Mexican companies found in their country's unique trading position with the island. PRI politicians, in short, had a vested personal interest in maintaining a source of revenue uncontested by the rest of the hemisphere and did not hesitate to use their governmental power to protect it. The personal ambitions of politicians – whether political or economic – significantly shaped the decision to keep diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba open.

Interpretation of the United States

The personal agenda of PRI politicians sharply contrasted with the American press' depiction of the general political opinion in Mexico, indicating that the United States viewed the tendencies of the politicians in charge as outliers who pursued personal gain in spite of public discontent. Virginia Prewett, for instance, reported of the unhappiness of “Mexicans who are pro-Castro for pocketbook motives” in the *Washington Daily News*. She specifically highlights sugar exporters who came to oppose their government's stance on Cuba upon learning that it had caused the US would cut its sugar quota from Mexico.¹³⁵ Kal Hendrix also noted in the *Scripps-Howard Newspapers* that when Castro's sister, who had taken refuge in Mexico, “The Mexico City press has reacted more strongly” than the government¹³⁶ during a time period characterized by the PRI's increasing censorship. The newspapers reveal that the United States widely believed in Mexican government officials pursued a foreign policy independent from the will of their constituents, reinforcing the perception that personal interests unrepresentative of the nation at

¹³⁵ Virginia Prewett, "Mexico Feels 'Backlash' on Castro Issue," *Washington Daily News*, September 16, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp73-00475r000200600001-9>.

¹³⁶ Kal Hendrix, "Sister's Blast Jolts Mexico's Castro Policy," *Scripps-Howard Newspapers*, July 3, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130087-2>.

large acted as the foundation for foreign policy decisions. The United States' understanding of greed and corruption as the center to Mexico's corruption with Cuba gave Washington officials little concern for Mexico's friendship with Cuba.

Neutrality

Even if the United States perceived Mexico's relationship with Cuba as one that existed to provide personal profits to politicians, it would be illogical for Washington to disregard Mexico's relationship with Cuba. With Castro's successful coup D.C. officials had seen a "domino" fall uncomfortably close to home, and in implementing sanctions against Cuba, the OAS and United States hoped to make survival more difficult for the regime and consequently avoid the toppling of more dominoes. Yet in defying the sanctions by maintaining economic relations with the island – even if for personal motives, Mexico helped keep the Communist regime alive, and with it the potential of another domino falling. The United States government, nevertheless, did not appear to fear communism coming closer to its borders through Mexico as it knew the nation maintained an economic and political foreign policy of relative neutrality – as Mexico did not base its interactions on ideological preferences. More importantly, the United States knew that above all else the PRI strived to maintain political stability by maintaining its one party rule through the swift elimination of political extremism. Hence, the United States accepted the friendship Mexico held with Cuba.

Economic Neutrality

Mexico held a position of economic neutrality towards Communist countries. While Mexico defied the economic sanctions imposed on Cuba by the OAS, many recognized the embargo had a limited impact.¹³⁷ The OAS sanctions imposed in July, for instance, did not prohibit the trade of foodstuffs, the source for the “bulk” of Cuba’s trade with Latin America.¹³⁸ The island also survived economically from its sales to non-OAS United States allies – Italy, for instance, bought \$37 million in goods from the island. “The total amount of goods bought last year from Castro by our allies” according to Congressman Rogers’ testimony “comes to over \$182 million.”¹³⁹ Moreover, Mexico, while the primary point through which goods and people could reach Cuba, was not the only country that served as a passageway to the island as Iron Curtain countries frequently shipped goods to the island via airfare.¹⁴⁰ Mexico’s retention of economic ties to Cuba, then, did not represent an anomaly among the United States’ allies as others continued to trade with the communist island. Even if Washington forced Mexico to cease economic activity with the nation, thus, it would have not killed Cuba’s chances of economic survival or stopped the shipment of goods to the nation from abroad.

Political Neutrality

¹³⁷ "Sanctions Against Cuba," *New York Times*, July 27, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130066-5>. Barnard L. Collier, "Noose for Cuba: American States Likely to Vote Trade Embargo," *Herald Tribune*, June 24, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130090-8>. oas states sign Cuban sanctions

¹³⁸ Tad Szulc "OAS States Sign Cuban Sanctions, US Hails Actions as 'Body Blow' To Castro Regime" *New York Times*, July 27, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130067-4>.

¹³⁹ Representative Rogers (FL). "OAS Can End Castro in Cuba" *Congressional Record* (July 20, 1964), <<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp66b00403r000200170043-3>> (accessed October 14, 2019).

¹⁴⁰ James Nelson Goodshell, "Mexico Holds Out For Link to Cuba," *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 23, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130095-3>

Mexico also held a position of relative political neutrality – the Estrada Doctrine, as previously mentioned, advocated for the right to self-determination for each country and non-intervention. López Mateos and his successors walked a fine line as they sought to maintain their advocacy for the Estrada Doctrine principles while not defending Communism or the Soviet Union in the wake of the Cold War.¹⁴¹ Yet when the Cuban Missile Crisis posed a direct threat to the United States, López Mateos chose to not risk triggering the wrath of the United States and “came out in public support of the U.S. blockade of Cuba and instructed his representative at the OAS to vote in favour of a resolution demanding the withdrawal of the missiles.”¹⁴² Mexico’s government, while keeping a public façade of neutrality that did not heavily favor the United States, saw it necessary to revert its “gateway” role and side with the United States by conducting a “silent blockade in disguise.”¹⁴³ Mexico, in short, maintained cordial relations with any government that had not been imposed on the country by a foreign power, and more importantly, did not - through its economic or political stances - explicitly seek to advance the communist agenda over that of the United States. When its northern neighbor faced an explicit communist threat from Cuba, Mexican government officials put their personal motivations in foreign policy aside to avoid the anger of the United States.

¹⁴¹ Peter H. Smith, "Mexico since 1946: Dynamics of an Authoritarian Regime," in *Mexico Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 354.

¹⁴² Peter H. Smith, "Mexico since 1946: Dynamics of an Authoritarian Regime," in *Mexico Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 355.

¹⁴³ Peter H. Smith, "Mexico since 1946: Dynamics of an Authoritarian Regime," in *Mexico Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 355.

Internal Political Stability

Stability of the PRI

Equally important to Mexico's economic and political foreign policy neutrality, both the public and government officials of the United States recognized that political stability through a one party rule represented one of the principal goals of Mexico's PRI. The United States, thus, had confidence that the PRI would put down any Communist insurgency that could potentially threaten its rule. The *Washington Daily News* acknowledged that "Mexico's presidents are chosen by leaders of the Party of the Institutionalized Revolution, which monopolizes the electoral power in Mexico"¹⁴⁴ and noted described the regular election of the PRI candidate to the presidency as the most "cut-and-dried" process in Western Hemisphere politics, occurring with "machine-like regularity."¹⁴⁵ But more pivotally, the CIA, which informed the United States government's foreign policy, recognized the PRI's monopolistic nature. The CIA's report entitled "Security Conditions in Mexico" described the PRI as maintaining "a virtual monopoly over national and local politics" encompassing "groups ranging from the far left to the extreme right." The report also notes that the government "maintains some surveillance over the activities of these various extremist and exile groups" that have taken refuge in Mexico, and exerted "pressure to restrict the influence of Castroites, [and] Communists" – as it happened in 1965 when the government subverted both pro and anti Castroite guerillas.¹⁴⁶ The widespread knowledge about the PRI's electoral processes and the overwhelming confident tone reflected in the CIA report indicate that the United States did not believe the PRI would allow Mexico to fall

¹⁴⁴ Virginia Prewett, "Cuba-Mexico are Working a Double Play," *Washington Daily News*, April 27, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130098-0>.

¹⁴⁵ Virginia Prewett, "Mexico Fights OAS Action Against Cuba," *Washington Daily News*, June 24, 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130091-7>.

¹⁴⁶ "Anti and Pro-Castroites Stir Up Storm in Mexico," August 5, 1965, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp73-00475r000401760003-7>.

to Communism in the near future – even with its interactions to Cuba. In other words, following the Domino Theory metaphor, the fall of the Cuban domino would not have the sufficient force to knock down the Mexican domino, securely glued to the surface through the PRI’s rule.

Renewing Alignment with the United States

López Mateos’ selection of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz as his successor and consequently, the policies of Díaz Ordaz’s administration further reinforced the stability of the PRI’s rule over Mexico and its cordial relationship with the United States. Díaz Ordaz, known for being “severe” in dealing with communist uprisings during his tenure as Mateos’ Secretary of the Interior, did not find favor with the far leftist, pro-Castro faction of the PRI. The election of Díaz Ordaz, therefore, marked a return to a Mexican president that favored the United States’ stances in foreign policy.

Once in office, Díaz Ordaz carried out “economic and social reform in rural Mexico” that relied on funds from the Alliance for Progress. The United States had committed funds under the Alliance, indicating “its willingness to assist the Mexican Government’s efforts in the field.”¹⁴⁷ The United States, however, did not give this aid solely out of goodness – funding socioeconomic improvement in rural Mexico actually represented a discreet way to further its anti-communist agenda in two ways. First it would further diminish the possibilities of Mexico becoming communist by aiding the Mexican federal government’s efforts to placate the portion of the population with the highest probability of turning their socioeconomic grievances into calls for Communism. Secondly, if Mexico’s sympathies for Communist Cuba became too strong, the United States could use the aid as leverage to persuade Mexico to return to a stance more favorable to Washington’s anti-communist agenda. Díaz Ordaz, on the flip side, more than

¹⁴⁷ Central Intelligence Agency, "Security Conditions in Mexico," April 7, 1966, <<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/0000013601>> (accessed October 14, 2019).

likely also recognized that the the social programs he implemented with the United States' aid would help quell calls that for political opposition and keep the PRI coalition together – both of which would further secure the PRI's control over politics. His acceptance of the aid, additionally, reveals that the PRI's quest for political stability had both national and international connotations, as the continuity of the PRI depended on its ability to suppress the opposition and keep its coalition together –two objectives that, respectively, benefited the United States and depended on that nation's aid to materialize.

The Cuban government's accusation that the Díaz Ordaz administration had enabled an American spying exemplifies the favorability of the Díaz Ordaz administration to the United States. In September of 1966, Cuba's Foreign Minister Raul Roa visited President Díaz Ordaz, claiming that he had "irrefutable proof" that a Mexican diplomat in Havana "was a spy for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency." After being questioned by Mexico's foreign relations department, the minister left, with Díaz Ordaz advising him that "Next time you come, don't come in such a rush."¹⁴⁸ While the quote implies that no harm had been done, the fact that the Cuban government merely had the perception Mexico could potentially aid the United States in such a manner implies that the two countries had shared a tight relationship. The friendliness of the Díaz Ordaz' administration to the United States, hence, marked the short term end of López Mateos' willingness to override favorability to the United States for personal benefits, and symbolized the long term sustainability of the US-Mexico relationship.

Mexico, in short, had relatively neutral economic and political foreign policy stances – its economic and political interactions with Cuba did not represent an anomaly among US allies from outside of the hemisphere, nor did they represent an explicitly pro-communist stance. The

¹⁴⁸ "Cuban Official Visits Mexico Over Spy Case: Reports Proof that Diplomat Worked for CIA," Philadelphia, September 13, 1966, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp75-00149r000700030010-4>.

PRI's search for political stability led to the swift suppression of serious opposition, a strategy that the United States government recognized would prevent the country from falling into communism. The election of Díaz Ordaz specifically brought about a renewed friendliness to the United States and further diminished the probability of a Communist uprising through social and economic reforms in rural Mexico that benefited the United States as much as the PRI.

Conclusion

Given the anti-communist fervor that clearly dominated the United States, on the surface, the lack of a harsh reprisal for Mexico's continued connection with Cuba is surprising. Upon closer examination, nonetheless, it becomes clear that the United States understood personal interests – both political and economic – of PRI politicians to be the foundation for the relationship between Mexico and Cuba. PRI technocrats allowed the same principle of pursuing personal profits that defined domestic policy to form foreign policy – against, the United States believed, the popular will of the Mexican people. The Mexican government, nonetheless, did not hesitate to push aside its personal inclinations when the United States faced a direct threat from communism and used its unique relationship with the island to aid its northern neighbor during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Mexico, moreover, held policies of relative political and economic neutrality, as it sought to enforce the Estrada Doctrine and was not the only US ally to interact with Cuba – thus, Mexico would not directly oppose the United States' interests by persuading other nations to convert to communism. The United States understood, additionally, that Mexico itself would not convert to communism as it knew the PRI's primary objective lay in retaining its rule at all costs. The party, therefore, would swiftly move to silence any significant communist opposition or popularization of the ideology in part, with the financial aid of the United States.

Washington, for these reasons, did not find it necessary to reprimand the Mexican government for its friendship with Cuba and allowed the interaction to continue. Ultimately, the United States' recognition, acceptance, and support for the PRI's monopolistic hold over the Mexican political landscape, despite its friendship with a Communist country, provides yet more evidence that the United States' true goal in the Cold War lay not in promoting democracy, or even countering communism, as it so often claimed to do, but rather maintaining stable allies that would not oppose its interests. In indirectly pleasing the ultimate goal of the United States, therefore, Mexico kept its friendship with Cuba and dictated the nature of its own relationships while suffering no significant retaliation from aggressive anti-communist northern neighbor.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

"Anti and Pro-Castroites Stir Up Storm in Mexico." August 5, 1965.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp73-00475r000401760003-7>.

Central Intelligence Agency. "Intelligence Memorandum: Mexico: Economic Progress and Problems." January 1, 1970. <<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp85t00875r001600030008-0>> (accessed October 14, 2019).

Central Intelligence Agency. "Security Conditions in Mexico." April 7, 1966.

<<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/0000013601>> (accessed October 14, 2019).

Collier, Barnard . "Noose for Cuba: American States Likely to Vote Trade Embargo." *Herald Tribune*, June 24, 1964. <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130090-8>.

"Cuban Official Visits Mexico Over Spy Case: Reports Proof that Diplomat Worked for CIA." *Philadelphia*, September 13, 1966.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp75-00149r000700030010-4>.

Goodshell, James Nelson. "Mexico Holds Out For Link to Cuba." *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 23, 1964. <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130095-3>.

Hendrix, Kal. "Sister's Blast Jolts Mexico's Castro Policy." *Scripps-Howard Newspapers*, July 3, 1964. <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130087-2>.

Dan Kurzman. "OAS Informally Approves Resolution to Cut Economic Ties with Cuba."

Washington Post and Times Herald, June 25, 1964.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130088-1>.

Prewett, Virginia. "Cuba-Mexico are Working a Double Play." *Washington Daily News*, April 27,

1964. [https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-](https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130098-0)

[01315r000400130098-0](https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130098-0).

Prewett, Virginia. "Mexico Feels 'Backlash' on Castro Issue." *Washington Daily News*,

September 16, 1964. [https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp73-](https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp73-00475r000200600001-9)

[00475r000200600001-9](https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp73-00475r000200600001-9).

Prewett, Virginia. "Mexico Fights OAS Action Against Cuba." *Washington Daily News*, June 24,

1964. [https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-](https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130091-7)

[01315r000400130091-7](https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130091-7).

Representative Rogers (FL). "Action by the OAS or Form a Pan American NATO

Organization." *Congressional Record* (December 2),

[https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp65b00383r000200240063-](https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp65b00383r000200240063-7)

[7](https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp65b00383r000200240063-7) (accessed October 14, 2019).

Representative Rogers (FL). "OAS Can End Castro in Cuba." *Congressional Record*

(July 20, 1964). [https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-](https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp66b00403r000200170043-3)

[rdp66b00403r000200170043-3](https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp66b00403r000200170043-3) (accessed October 14, 2019).

"Sanctions Against Cuba." *New York Times*. July 27, 1964,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130066-5>.

Szulc, Tad. "OAS States Sign Cuban Sanctions, US Hails Actions as 'Body Blow' To Castro Regime." *New York Times*, July 27, 1964.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp88-01315r000400130067-4>.

US National Security Council, "NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security." April 14, 1950.

Secondary Sources

Kuri, Ariel Rodríguez. "México: Guerra Fría e Historia Política." *Historia Mexicana* 66, no. 2 (October-December 2016).

Smith, Peter. "Mexico since 1946: Dynamics of an Authoritarian Regime." In *Mexico Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

One God, One Master?
Leo Tolstoy's Anarchism and its Effects on His Views of Christ as
Supernatural

Jorma Krebs
Appalachian State University

In the context of the conceptual content of both political anarchism as well as Christian theology, the ties between both are made apparent by examining the role of Christianity in the formation of the Western intellectual tradition, which ultimately developed into the secular positions of modern Western government models. Secular movements during the enlightenment era questioned the role of a God figure in politics and government, or attempted to revise God into a figure of some sort of transcendental Man. The Liberal tradition that came out of the enlightenment proposed purely secular systems in which it was the State, as opposed to the Church, that played a dominant role in the governance of society. Political Anarchism as it developed in the late 19th century criticized the use of the State and its counterpart, capital, in all aspects of society, arguing for the abolition of both constructs. Ruth Kinna, a modern scholar of political anarchism states that, "Anarchism is a doctrine that aims at the liberation of peoples from political domination and economic exploitation by the encouragement of direct or non-governmental action."¹⁴⁹ The modernists' development of Anarchism in the 19th century

¹⁴⁹ Ruth Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginners Guide* (Oxford, UK: Oneworld Publications, 2005), 3.

explicitly positioned that the philosophy of political Anarchism be inherently atheistic; no gods, no masters. Anarchism denied the validity of the claim that God, or any god, has any rule over the material world.

The anarchists claim that the concept of God is an oppressive one, and that subjecting oneself to God's rule is a form of spiritual bondage. Man is above oppression, even by an all-powerful being; and so, anarchism was atheistic. This view was most heavily outlined in well-known anarchist philosopher Mikhail Bakunin's work *God and the State*, where he said "He [God] expressly forbade them from touching the fruit of the tree of knowledge. He wished, therefore, that man, destitute of all understanding of himself, should remain an eternal beast, ever on all-fours before the eternal God, his creator and his master."¹⁵⁰ So the point is firm, then: anarchists do not accept the authority of God. However, where most anarchists chanted that there was "no God, no masters", a Christian anarchist might reply with "One God, One Master". The Christian anarchists state that the relationship between God and man is not an illegitimate hierarchy, but a legitimate one, and that this relationship is only beneficial to mankind.

Leo Tolstoy fully believed in the tenets outlined previously, specifically that the Christian God and his relationship with Man represented a legitimate hierarchy, one that should be accepted within the foundations of his image of Anarchism. Tolstoy found that his views of the relationship and hierarchy between God and Man were embodied in one specific verse of the Bible perfectly, citing that, "The kingdom of God cometh not with outward show; neither shall they say, Lo here! or, Lo there! for behold, the kingdom of God is within you. (Luke xvii. 20, 21.)"¹⁵¹.

¹⁵⁰ Mikhail Bakunin, *God and the State*, trans. Benjamin R. Tucker (New York, NY: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1916), 5.

¹⁵¹ Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You: Christianity Not as a Mystic Religion But as a New Theory of Life*, trans. Constance Garnett (New York, NY: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 2005), 280.

Tolstoy was an intellectual and social anarchist; he outwardly spoke about the virtues of the ideology and the many sentiments he shared with it. In addition to Tolstoy's transgressive political thought, he was a devout Christian. Christianity and Anarchism, in the traditional sense made popular by Bakunin, Stirner, et. al., were seen as contradictory belief or faith systems. In attempt to reconcile the two schools of thought, some anarchists attempted to synthesize the two systems, suggesting that God represented a legitimate ruler over man, and that no Man under God had any right to rule over another; thus, Christian Anarchism. Leo Tolstoy was perhaps the most influential intellectual of this hybrid of faith and revolutionary anarchism.

Tolstoy primarily cited scripture as supporting evidence for his theological anarchism. Tolstoy very much admired certain groups of modern Christians; namely, the American Quakers. Tolstoy saw the American Quakers as anarchistic by nature and recognized that they also held the belief of Christ being the one and only legitimate ruler.

Tolstoy's anarchist beliefs shaped not only his view of politics, but also his view of his religion itself. He questioned the ability of religious institutions to accurately portray the message of Christ, and outwardly accuses these same institutions of heresy. Tolstoy claimed that the Church had deceived humanity into believing this myth about Christ being supernatural, and Tolstoy argues that this myth dilutes the message of Christ. Tolstoy's anarchist views humanize Jesus and portrays him to not as some supernatural being, but as a man, no different than any other flesh and blood mortal, except in Christ's wisdom.

Examining the culture, attitudes, and philosophies of the earliest Christians, the American Quakers, and Biblical scripture itself, Tolstoy concluded that Christ was not an authoritarian figure or ruler, but rather a teacher, thus making the relationship between God and Man a form of legitimate hierarchy. It was Tolstoy's anarchist beliefs that shaped this view, it was a

rationalization for the relationship between Christ and man that allowed anarchism and Christianity to exist together and created a more rationalistic view of Christianity and perspective on Christ as a supernatural being. Tolstoy was clearly a staunch believer that there is only one authority in this world, and that authority is none other than God. Tolstoy's anarchist views persuaded his view that Christ was not almighty, but instead that Christ the greatest teacher humanity has ever witnessed, and that Christianity as a faith is anarchistic by nature.

The work done by Tolstoy has reached a number of different authors that study this subject. As mentioned, authors such as Alexandre Christoyannopoulos, who recognized that Tolstoy created a new interpretation of both Christianity and anarchism, did not seem to mention how Tolstoy believed that these ideas are actually one-in-the-same, that it is not an excuse for compatibility but Christianity is actually an anarchistic faith. Tolstoy's work is also opposed to authors such as N. T. Wright, who have a different historical interpretation on early Christianity and a different philosophical interpretation of Christ as human or supernatural. saying that Christ was indeed supernatural and that he must be supernatural to have any real worth as a political figure, which Tolstoy completely disagrees with. The idea that Tolstoy offered a different interpretation of both anarchism and Christianity is not necessarily new, however this reconciliation of these two seemingly different ideas that Tolstoy managed to make is what is really important. This reconciliation is also not merely just an excuse or a work-around to make "incompatible" ideas work together, his point was that these ideas should naturally be seen as compatible and two parts of a whole, when this was not the traditional viewpoint. This is what really separated Tolstoy, and since the idea that anarchism and Christianity are deeply compatible was established, from this conclusion entire historical studies on the nature of early Christianity as anarchistic can be made without constant debate on the validity of that claim.

The reason for the anarchists' view on God being oppressive goes back to how anarchists intellectually define "hierarchy", which claims that there are two valid forms of hierarchy, legitimate and illegitimate. Legitimate hierarchy is any system of one individual holding power over another where both parties benefit from said hierarchy. Examples of this include a mother and her child; or a student and their teacher. Of course, these are both are forms of hierarchy, but the individual on the lower end of the system is receiving only positive outcomes from being on the bottom. In the example of a student/teacher relationship, the teacher's hierarchy exists as a way to benefit the student, to raise the lower position to the higher position; not only is this not harmful to the party on the bottom, it is beneficial. Illegitimate hierarchy is the opposite of this, where one or both parties are receiving negative outcomes from their position.¹⁵² These forms of hierarchy are nothing more than oppressive constructs. Hierarchy in some forms is wholly compatible with political anarchism, but its legitimacy must be critically questioned and examined.

Despite the prevalence of the thought that the relationship between God and man was an illegitimate hierarchy, and despite the intellectual trend of the 19th century for radical-left politics to be secular or atheistic, or sometimes both, a number of anarchists in Europe and the United States held onto their Christian faith. Alexander Salter states that, "Tolstoy claims that the very institution of private property is exploitative: While it claims to safeguard one's right to the product of his or her labor, it is actually used as a method of forcibly extracting that product from its rightful owner."¹⁵³ This viewpoint rejects the liberal capitalist philosophy which defined the

¹⁵² Noam Chomsky, "What is Anarchism?" (video of lecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, November 18, 2013), accessed December 3, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oB9rp_SAp2U.

¹⁵³ Alexander W. Salter "Christian Anarchism: Communitarian or Capitalist?" *Libertarian Papers* 4, no. 8 (Apr 17, 2012), accessed December 3, 2018, <https://login.proxy006.nclive.org/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1221524349?accountid=8337>.

center and right wing political philosophies of the 19th centuries onwards. Tolstoy's philosophy on private property firmly cements his belonging within the anti-capitalist tradition of political anarchism.

Tolstoy, while admitting to not having come up with the idea himself, claimed that the only legitimate authority that exists in the world is God.¹⁵⁴ This belief formed the foundations of what would become so-called Christian anarchism. Tolstoy takes use of the words of the American Quakers. The Quakers themselves have been compared to the Christian anarchists for some time. Tolstoy repeated the words of the Quakers in his writings in *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, stating that, "A Christian, according to the teaching of God himself, can act only peaceably toward all men, and therefore there can be no authority able to force the Christians to act in opposition to the teaching of God and to the principal virtue of the Christian in his relation with his neighbors."¹⁵⁵ Tolstoy and the Quakers suggested again that no authority exists that can make one go against God, and if there is an authority like that, then that authority and its hierarchy are both illegitimate.

Tolstoy claimed that "Christ's teaching is not generally understood in its true, simple, and direct sense even in these days, when the light of the Gospel has penetrated even to the darkest recesses of human consciousness."¹⁵⁶ Tolstoy believed the understanding of Christianity as literal, supernatural, and mystic, that was prevalent both in his day and now, is simply incorrect: "Christianity is understood now by all who profess the doctrines of the Church as a supernatural miraculous revelation of everything which is repeated in the Creed."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, 280.

¹⁵⁵ Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, 2.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

The idea that there is only one legitimate authority in this world, and that authority is God, is not specific to Christianity, but is actually born from the first Abrahamic faith, Judaism. That being said, early Christians had much of the same argument. According to N. T. Wright, the early Christians had an interpretation of Jesus as “kyrios”, the contrast to Caesar.¹⁵⁸ The reason that they did this was to say that Christ was king, not Caesar. “Romans 1.3-5 declares the ‘gospel’ that Jesus is the royal and powerful ‘son of God’ to whom the world owes loyal allegiance”.¹⁵⁹ The statement that these verses and this treatment of Jesus as the only Lord makes is very powerful, and shows a distaste that early Christians had for the state, claiming that only their Lord, their Messiah, the Son of God, is fit to rule; all other states are illegitimate. This then puts us at a dead end in regards to how “anarchist” the early Christians were, because it raises the question once again about whether or not the God-to-man relationship is legitimate or illegitimate, which is not what is being argued here by Wright. However, it does show that the early Christians were not fond of Roman rule, and only had one king in mind. While anarchism is intellectually a world-view of life with absolutely no rulers, this does follow the religious Christian anarchist perspective of “One God, One Master”, simply put. Even if that does not stand-up on its own, it does show a clear distaste for the states of men, leadership by man, and kingdoms of men, these kingdoms which are still present today in many cases, or if they have fallen have merely risen again in other forms through the states of the modern world.

Tolstoy goes a bit further with the point regarding Christ’s and Christian’s denouncement of authority aside from God, expanding where N. T. Wright did not in chapter 3 of *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, titled “Christianity Misunderstood by Believers”. He says:

In the midst of the elaborate religious observances of Judaism, in which, in the words of Isaiah, law was laid upon law, and in the midst of the Roman legal

¹⁵⁸ N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003), 568.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

system worked out to the highest point of perfection, a new doctrine appeared, which denied not only every deity, and all fear and worship of them, but even all human institutions and all necessity for them. In place of all the rules of the old religions, this doctrine sets up only a type of inward perfection, truth, and love in the person of Christ. . .¹⁶⁰

In the previous text Tolstoy is attempting to display his thoughts on the beliefs/practices of early Christians. He describes this time period (“in the midst of Jewish religious observances and Roman law,” as he phrased it) and claims that the early Christians denied all religious deities and human institutions. Tolstoy states that the early Christians found these human institutions to be completely illegitimate; Further, he denies the spirituality of Jesus. Tolstoy’s theology did not see Christ as a supernatural being, but as a wise teacher who offered the greatest lessons. It was not belief in God that brought these people together, it was a love for their Christ. Not only was it not belief in God in favor of Christ as Man that brought them together, or state-mandated religion, rather it was love for their Messiah.

After discussing several supernatural biblical phenomena, Tolstoy stated:

A man who regarded the heavens as a solid, finite vault could believe or disbelieve that God created the heavens, that the heavens opened, that Christ ascended into heaven, but for us all these phrases have no sense whatever. Men of the present can only believe, as indeed they do, that they ought to believe in this; but believe it they cannot, because it has no meaning for them.¹⁶¹

Tolstoy understood, especially in the above text, that the scripture was not to be taken literally. The Scripture is a figurative story, meant for imparting lessons, rather than historical fact, says Tolstoy. Tolstoy did not believe in Christ as a supernatural being, but as a wise teacher. Tolstoy says, “Let the church stop its work of hypnotizing the masses, and deceiving children even for the briefest interval of time, and men would begin to understand Christ’s teaching.”¹⁶² Tolstoy

¹⁶⁰ Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, 39.

¹⁶¹ Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, 60.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 62.

claims that the church is deceiving people with literal interpretations of scripture, i.e., that Christ literally ascended into Heaven. Tolstoy continues in an anarchistic tradition with his disdain for organized religion. Tolstoy says that the institutional religion pushes incorrect interpretations of Christ's teachings onto people. Tolstoy, in essence, blames organized religion and the hierarchy present in the Christian church for these misinterpretations of Christ's teachings. The problems in these readings of the scripture lay immediately in the use of illegitimate hierarchy abused by the Church.

Tolstoy represents these beliefs in other texts as well. In his essay "On Anarchy", Tolstoy claims that "In this precisely consists the power of Christ's teaching and that not because Christ is God or a great man, but because His teaching is irrefutable. The merit of His teaching consists in the fact that it transferred the matter from the domain of eternal doubt and conjecture on to the ground of certainty."¹⁶³ At this point Tolstoy outright claims that he believes in Christ as the greatest teacher among men, though the point that Christ may or may not be divine is actually quite irrelevant. Tolstoy goes further down this line of thought in his essay "Patriotism and Government" in which he examines the concept of patriotism and the immorality of that concept. Tolstoy claims that patriotism "is an immoral feeling, because, instead of confessing oneself a son of God, as Christianity teaches us, or even a free man guided by his own reason, each man under the influence of patriotism confesses himself the son of his fatherland and the slave of his government, and commits actions contrary to his reason and his conscience."¹⁶⁴ This quote points out that Tolstoy sees a clear difference between proclaiming ones faith to Christ and proclaiming ones faith to a government or state of any kind. The difference between pledging

¹⁶³ Leo Tolstoy, "On Anarchy," The Anarchist Library, February 7, 2011, accessed May 4, 2020, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/leo-tolstoy-on-anarchy>

¹⁶⁴ Leo Tolstoy, "Patriotism and Government," The Anarchist Library, accessed May 4, 2020, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/leo-tolstoy-patriotism-and-government#toc7>

oneself to Christ and pledging oneself to a state is exactly the point that Christ is not an illegitimate authority figure, Christ is a teacher that is worthy of following.

There are some valid counter-arguments to these claims that Christ and the early Christians denied the state authorities of his day, usually found in the form of Bible verses that suggest the contrary. One verse that might be cited is I Timothy 2:1-2, “First of all, then, I urge that requests, prayers, intercessions, and thanks be offered on behalf of all people, ²even for kings and all who are in authority, that we may lead a peaceful and quiet life in all godliness and dignity.”¹⁶⁵ This verse does not have to inherently be taken as “obey all earthly authority”, the prime part of the verse that indicates this is “that we may lead a peaceful and quiet life in all godliness and dignity”; this is as if to say “obey all earthly authority for the sake of your own health”, implying that if one does not obey earthly authority, one cannot live a peaceful and quiet life, which Tolstoy would likely agree quite full-heartedly with.

Another verse that one might call into question is I Peter 2:13-16:

Be subject to every human institution for the Lord’s sake, whether to a king as supreme ¹⁴or to governors as those he commissions to punish wrongdoers and praise those who do good. ¹⁵For God wants you to silence the ignorance of foolish people by doing good. ¹⁶Live as free people, not using your freedom as a pretext for evil, but as God’s slaves.¹⁶⁶

Firstly, these verses outright state that one should be subject to human authority “for the Lord’s sake,” this is of course in contrast to being subject to human authority for the sake of oneself, which directly implies that human authority is dangerous for the sake of a human being.

Secondly, I Peter 2:15 claims that “God wants you to silence the ignorance of foolish people by doing good”, when previously discussing obeying kings and governors, this is to imply that those kings and governors are the foolish and ignorant people and doing good is what silences them,

¹⁶⁵ “The Bible”, NET Bible, accessed December 3, 2018, <https://netbible.org/bible>

¹⁶⁶ “The Bible”, NET Bible.

which Tolstoy would also agree with to the fullest extent due to his firm belief in non-resistance to authority.¹⁶⁷

Yet another Bible verse that one might use to suggest that early Christians did not have a distaste for authority is Romans 13:1-2, which states: “Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except by God’s appointment, and the authorities that exist have been instituted by God. ² So the person who resists such authority resists the ordinance of God, and those who resist will incur judgement.”¹⁶⁸ The point of this verse is very clear, all man should be subject to the governing authorities. However, only a few verses later in the chapter, Romans 13:8 states “Owe no one anything, except to love one another, for the one who loves his neighbor has fulfilled the law.”¹⁶⁹ If this is the case, that no man should owe any other man anything, this would carry over into owing allegiance to a man. If the only true law is to love thy neighbor, then allegiance to man is not required. Tolstoy would likely argue as well, due to his left-wing stance on the bourgeoisie/ruling classes being an exploitive class, that they are the people who have gone against the teachings of Christ in this situation, not the Christians.

A valid counter-argument to Tolstoy’s claim that Christ said “the kingdom of God is within you”, from Luke 17:20-21, which implies that God exists only within oneself and one can make of God what they wish, is that Leo Tolstoy used a now outdated translation of the Bible. Tolstoy never cited which version of the Bible he took his verses from, but it is reasonable to believe that Tolstoy would have read the Russian Synodal version of the Bible, simply based on the date of publication of his book. The Russian Synodal version of the Bible translates Luke 17:20-21 (“Царствие Божие приметным образом, ^{21н} не скажут: вот, оно здесь, или: вот,

¹⁶⁷ Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, 13.

¹⁶⁸ “The Bible”, NET Bible.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

там. Ибо вот, Царствие Божие внутрь вас есть”) the same way as the King James version (“The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: ²¹Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you”).¹⁷⁰ The New English Translation of the Bible, which is seen as a more scholarly translation of the text, translates the verse as “The kingdom of God is not coming with signs to be observed, ²¹nor will they say, ‘Look, here it is!’ or ‘There!’ For indeed, the kingdom of God is in your midst.”, with the accompanying translation note: “This is a far better translation than ‘in you.’ Jesus would never tell the hostile Pharisees that the kingdom was inside them. The reference is to Jesus present in their midst. He brings the kingdom.”¹⁷¹

The primary hermeneutical issue is the difference between “the kingdom of God is within you” and “the kingdom of God is in your midst”. The question then becomes whether or not this changes the meaning of the passage enough to change the way Tolstoy used it to stress his point. First and foremost, this question implies that the entire intellectual basis of Tolstoy’s argument hinges entirely on this single bible verse, which is not true. As stated, Tolstoy got a lot of his influence from the American Quakers, and his beliefs stem also from a historical perspective of Jesus as anarchistic in nature and the early Christians denouncements of authority other than God. Secondly, the New English Translation does not change the meaning of the phrase enough to tear down Tolstoy’s argument. According to the translator, the New English Translation states “He [Jesus] brings the kingdom”, this is still the central message of the verse regardless of how it is worded. While Tolstoy claims that the kingdom “is within you”, the central point is that Jesus brings the kingdom, and by extension, Jesus is the central authority. Tolstoy would only go a bit

¹⁷⁰ “The Bible, Russian Synodal Translation”, New Christian Bible Study, accessed December 3, 2018, <https://newchristianbiblestudy.org/bible/russian-synodal-1876/luke/17/>.

¹⁷¹ “The Bible”, NET Bible.

farther to claim that Christ is the only legitimate authority in this world. Tolstoy did not hinge his entire argument or beliefs on this one single bible verse, he just used it to summarize his beliefs in a meaningful and concise way.

Tolstoy recognized the anarchistic nature of the early Christians and he recognized that the idea of Christ as supernatural comes directly from institutional Christianity; from authority and illegitimate hierarchies. Alexandre Christoyannopoulos, a scholar of Tolstoy's work calls what Tolstoy described in *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, "rationalistic Christianity." ". . . in his urge to purge what he saw as a corrupted version of Jesus' teaching, Tolstoy imposed a very rationalistic approach to Christianity, one that does away with all mysteries, rituals or traditions,"¹⁷² and proceeds with "he came to believe that Jesus was simply the most rational but human teacher ever to have walked the planet – not some incredible 'son of God' whose body was resurrected and actually flew back into heaven".¹⁷³ Tolstoy had an utter disinterest for the rituals and institutions that came alongside his view of Christianity as it was in his age. In this sense, Tolstoy's anarchism came to define his thought primarily on the institution of the Church, secondarily on his internal relationship with God.

Tolstoy's Christian Anarchism is in direct opposition to N. T. Wright and his views on Christ as a resurrected being, and thus also a supernatural one. Wright discusses this mostly in the closing remarks of his book *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, stating that "No tyrant is threatened by Jesus going to heaven, leaving his body in a tomb."¹⁷⁴ On the surface level, this statement is true, and it is not illogical in the slightest. This statement is to say that

¹⁷² Alexandre Christoyannopoulos, "Tolstoy the Peculiar Christian Anarchist", Archive.org, last modified July 5, 2012, accessed December 3, 2018. <https://archive.org/details/TolstoyThePeculiarChristianAnarchist>

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 730-731.

Christ without the resurrection is just a dead man in a tomb, he holds no threat over the tyrants of any given government. Alternatively, Tolstoy suggests that Christ challenges authority as a teacher rather than as a supernatural being. The problematic nature of Wright's statement is that it hinges on a suspension of reason; it depends on the suggestion that the supernatural figure of Christ as a Man, a Man who was resurrected after His death on the Cross, is a fully reasonable process. A resurrected Christ only threatens tyrants if they also believe that he was resurrected. What does the master care if some of the tyrant's servants believe in a resurrected Christ and the tyrant does not? As far as the Tyrant is concerned, Christ is still just a fairy-tale believed by the oppressed. It is only when the ruler believes that Christ could return that he is threatened by divine wrath. Tolstoy would argue that it was the Church who pushed this notion of Christ's authority as a supernatural figure, as discussed by Wright. The strength of this discourse made by the Church on Christ's authority is derived from the fact that eventually, the masters and tyrants of the world began to believe Christ's tale and resurrection, thus making the resurrected Christ a threat to them. To live as an anarchist is to live without rulers; to live in a way that only you can dominate your life, and none other. When Tolstoy read the words of the American Quakers and when his personal philosophies of anarchism had begun to form, he was forced into questioning his religious beliefs, as many anarchists of his time did. While most anarchists simply gave up on Christ, either becoming atheists or choosing to discuss political ideology in a secular manner, Tolstoy did not, and instead revolutionized his views about the relationship between Man and God. Tolstoy stated that Christ was not God, and Christ was not a ruler, but a teacher. Recall, if you will, that the relationship between teachers and students are fully justifiable and legitimate forms of hierarchy to the anarchists. As Christ was not a ruler, it did not

deny the principles of anarchism, and therefore neither did Tolstoy's peculiar views on the messiah.

Tolstoy did what anyone questioning the co-operation of any religious, political, or economic belief synthesized with anarchism should do, and questioned the legitimacy of the hierarchy between Christ and Man. Tolstoy proposed that the relationship between Christ and Man was a co-beneficial one of love and education. He justified a way in which anarchism and Christianity could intellectually co-exist with each other.

Tolstoy justified anarchist thought for those of faith. Tolstoy provided the anarchists a way to fit God into their lives that did not contradict anarchism's own principles. Tolstoy's contribution to this form of theological anarchism was that Christ was not supernatural, he was man. He was not a ruler, he was a teacher. That the Kingdom of God does not rule over you, but rather it is within you. In an effort to finish things in the same way that Tolstoy finishes his major work on Christianity and Anarchism, *The Kingdom of God is in You*, heed Tolstoy's words that, "The Kingdom of God cometh not with outward show; neither shall they say, Lo here! or, Lo there! for behold, the kingdom of God is within you.' (Luke xviii. 20, 21)."¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, 280.

Bibliography

- Bakunin, Mikhail. *God and the State*. Translated by Benjamin R. Tucker. New York, NY: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1916.
- “The Bible”. NET Bible. Accessed December 3, 2018. <https://netbible.org/bible>.
- “The Bible, Russian Synodal Translation”. New Christian Bible Study. Accessed December 3, 2018. <https://newchristianbiblestudy.org/bible/russian-synodal-1876/luke/17/>.
- Chomsky, Noam. “What is Anarchism?” (video of lecture) Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, November 18, 2013. Posted November 20, 2013. Accessed December 3, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oB9rp_SAp2U.
- Christoyannopoulos, Alexandre. “Tolstoy the Peculiar Christian Anarchist”. Archive.org. Last modified July 5, 2012. Accessed December 3, 2018. <https://archive.org/details/TolstoyThePeculiarChristianAnarchist>.
- Kinna, Ruth. *Anarchism: A Beginners Guide*. Oxford, UK: Oneworld Publications, 2005.
- Salter, Alexander W. "Christian Anarchism: Communitarian or Capitalist?" *Libertarian Papers* 4, no. 8 (Apr 17, 2012). Accessed December 3, 2018. <https://login.proxy006.nclive.org/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1221524349?accountid=8337>.
- Tolstoy, Leo. “On Anarchy.” The Anarchist Library. Last modified February 7, 2011. Accessed May 4, 2020. <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/leo-tolstoy-on-anarchy>
- Tolstoy, Leo. “Patriotism and Government.” The Anarchist Library. Accessed May 4, 2020. <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/leo-tolstoy-patriotism-and-government#toc7>

Tolstoy, Leo. *The Kingdom of God is Within You: Christianity Not as a Mystic Religion But as a New Theory of Life*. Translated by Constance Garnett. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Wright, N. T. *The Resurrection of the Son of God*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003.