Ascents

A.S.C.E.N.T.S.

A Suggested Collection of Essays from North Texas Students

A.S.C.E.N.T.S.

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ROBERT KENNEMER III

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Bismarck's Grand Strategy:

A Re-evaluation of the Prussian Success During the Second Schleswig War

Robert Kennemer III

BA Student, University of North Texas

The Second Schleswig War (1864) is much like the Korean War (1950-53) of recent memory.[1] Many historians have overlooked the Second Schleswig War's importance; this is because the larger German Wars of Unification have overshadowed the Second Schleswig War's impact on Prussia. However as Stacie Goddard suggests in *When Might Makes Right*, the Second Schleswig War should not be a "forgotten war". On the contrary, the Danish-Prussian wars as the best conflict to generalize the Prussian success during the German Wars of Unification.

Common belief indicates industrialization and new operational warfare by Helmuth von Moltke brought the Prussian success during the German Wars of Unification. In fact, scholars have identified three keys to Prussian dominance: the theories of Aufmarsch, *or the initial deployment and mobilization of armed forces*; *Bewegungskrie,* or the war of movement on the operational level; and the Dreyse needle-gun, also known as the earliest European breach-loading rifle.[2] However, a more recent interpretation of Prussian success during the German Wars of Unification emphasize policy over operational innovations. These new theories recognize the impact of Otto Von Bismarck's balancing coalition policy on the German Wars of

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[1] The Second Schleswig War was a conflict between the German powers and the Kingdom of Denmark from February 1, 1864 to October 30, 1864. The conflict began when King Christian IX signed the November Constitution in an attempt to join the Duchy of Schleswig to the Danish crown. However, without foreign assistance the Danes were soundly defeated and forced to sign the Treaty of Vienna. In this treaty, the Danes had to cede the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg to Prussia and Austria.

[2] See Dennis Showalter, *Railroads and rifles: soldiers, technology, and the unification of Germany* (Hamden: Archon, 1975), 46-50; Robert Citino, *The German Way of War: From the Thirty Years' War to the Third Reich* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2005), 151. And Geoffre Wawro, *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792-1912* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 80-82. For an overview of *Bewegungskrieg* and *Auftragstaktik* see Daniel Hughes, *Moltke on the Art of War: Selected Writings* (Novato: Presidio Press, 1995), 184-185. See also Antulio Echevarria II, *After Clausewitz: German Military Thinkers before the Great War* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2000), 32-42; and Robert Citino, *The German Way of War: From the Thirty Years' War to the Third Reich* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2005), 152; Geoffre Wawro, *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792-1912* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 84. For a synopsis of the Dreyse needle-gun see Steven Ross, *From Flintlock to Rifle: Infantry Tactics, 1740-1866* (Cranbury: University Press, 1979), 175-177; see also Daniel, Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford Press, 1981), 96-98; and Robert Citino, *The German Way of War: From the Thirty Years' War to the Third Reich* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2005), 150-151; Geoffre Wawro, *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792-1912* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 83-84.

Unification.[3] With this new thesis, it seems a re-evaluation of the Prussian success during German Wars of Unification becomes necessary. This study addresses both the traditional and modern theories of operational warfare through the evaluation of their effectiveness during the Second Schleswig War. This essay will argue that Otto Von Bismarck's balancing coalition policy is the only theory that demonstrates significant change between the failures of the First Schleswig War and the success of the Second Schleswig War.

The Danish Prussian conflict began long before the Secound Schleswig war. In fact, hostilities began in 1806 when the duchy of Holstein was accepted into the German Confederation[4]. In 1863 however, the Danish-Prussian conflict intensified when the Eider-Danes attempted to annex the duchy of Schleswig.[5] On March 30, 1863, a Royal ordinance titled the March Patent, attempted to incorporate the duchy of Schleswig into the Danish Kingdom.[6] In response to the "violation" of the London Treaty, the German Confederation voted to send troops into Holstein and Lauenburg.[7] Following this initial ad hoc force, the main Austro-Prussian coalition entered Schleswig on February 1, 1864. The conflict lasted a mere 272 days and was a relatively bloodless affair. The Treaty of Vienna finally resolved the Danish-German conflict on October 30, 1864. This treaty re-organized the territory of Schleswig by granting all lands south of

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[3] For an understanding of Bismarck's balancing coalition policy See W.E. Mosse, *European Power and The German Question 1848-1871* (Cambridge: University Press, 1958), 1958. See also Stacie Goddard, "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power". Journal of International Security 33, no. 3 (2008): 111-113.

[4] W. Carr, *Schleswig-Holstein 1815-1849: A Study in National Conflict.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1963), 35.

[5] The Eider-Danes were a political group who believed the Danish Crown should absorb the Duchy of Schleswig. Further, the group believed the Southern border of Demark was the Eider River.

[6] Lawrence Steefel, *The Schleswig-Holstein Question.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 56.

[7] The London Protocol stated that King Frederick VII must decree independent rights to Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig; these duchies would be free from direct Danish control. This treaty officaly ended the First Schleswig War

the Tønder-Flensburg line to Prussia & Austria.[8] The Second Schleswig War (1864) began the era of German Unification, and was a watershed moment in German history.[9] This war also conclusively proved the effectiveness of Moltke's and Bismarck's new military and diplomatic innovations.

Many scholars identified Prussian rapid mobilization as a leading factor for Prussian success during the German Wars of Unification. *Moltke stated in the* Reichstag *on October 18 1867 that the "… time [required to mobilize] is an important element to success…".*[10] In fact, Moltke argued that "A well planned initial deployment…must invariably lead to the desired result".[11] If the *Aufmarsch* was influential to the Prussian success during the Second Schleswig War, one can assume this success was due to a more rapid entrance of the *Bundearmee,*[12] which led to disequilibrium in the Danish army and the observing powers.[13] To test this theory, one must compare and contrast the Prussian mobilization period during the First and Second Schleswig wars.

Prussian mobilization time decreased between the First and Second Schleswig Wars, yet this was not significant enough to influence the Prussian success during the Second Schleswig War. The First Schleswig War opened with the Danish army entering the duchy of Schleswig on March 29 1848. On April 9, the Danish army was able to win a decisive victory over the Schleswig Holstein Rebels at the Battle of Bov. The *Bundesarmee* was able to field opposition to the Danish army by April 21 and

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[8] Ibid, 262.

[9] The German Wars of Unification were three consecutive wars beginning with the Second Schleswig War (1864), followed by the Austro-Prussian War(1866), and finally the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71). The German Wars of Unification answered the German Question by uniting the German Confederation under Prussia.

[10] Helmuth Von Moltke, *Essays, speeches, and memoirs of Field-Marshal Count Helmuth von Moltke, Vol. 2. (*New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893), 104.

[11] Robert Citino, *The German Way of War: From the Thirty Years' War to the Third Reich* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2005), 151.

[12] The German confederation's coalition army.

[13] For a synopsis of equilibrium, see Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War: The Complete Edition*, ed. J.J Graham. (Wildside Press, 2009), 395-398.

successfully defeated the entrenched Danish army at the battle of Schleswig on April 23.[14] The Prussians were effectively able to mobilize twelve thousand soldiers in only twenty-three days. As previously mentioned however, the Prussians were able to mobilize more rapidly during the Second Schleswig War. The Second Schleswig War opened with the Danish refusal to withdraw the March Patent on January 14 1864. After this refusal, the German Confederation voted to occupy the duchy until *status quo* was reached. The First Allied forces entered the duchy of Schleswig on February 1, a mere eighteen days after the German Confederation proposal. [15]

It stands to reason that the five days saved during the Second Schleswig War's mobilization period failed to achieve its goal, which was to cause disequilibrium in the Danish army. The rapid entrance of the Bundesarmee did not faze the Danish defenders at the Danewerke.*[16]* In fact, Daniel Bruhn, a junior officer in the Danish army, wrote that the troops continued to have high moral, structure, and discipline after the initial assault against the Danewerke.[17] Further, the Danish moral continued to be high until it became clear that the great powers would not intervene in the war.[18] Only after this realization did the Danish moral weaken, and shortly after the Danish government capitulated. Because the Prussian *Aufmarsch* failed to demonstrate significant changes between the First and Second Schleswig wars, the next logical step is to examine the Prussian primary firearm.

The Dreyse Needle Gun (*Zündnadelgewehr*) was one of the earliest European

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[14] For an overview of the opening hostilities see, Nick Svendsen, *The First Schleswig-Holstein War 1848-50*. (Trowbridge: Helion & Company Ltd, 2008), 46-66.

[15] For an overview of the opening hostilities see, Michael Embree, *Bismarck's First War: The Campaign of Schleswig & Jutland 1864*.(Solihull: Helion Publishing Company, 2006), 18-40.

[16] A defensive trench system that stretched the length of the Jutland peninsula at its narrow point; this fortification was located along the Lauenburg-Holstein border.

[17] Daniel Bruhn was a junior officer and eventual aid to the Danish commanding officer. During the Second Schleswig War, he was a captain and fought in many of the major engagements. Mr. Bruhn is referenced because of his vast experience during the war, as well as his rank in the Danish army. Daniel Bruhn, *Denmark and Slesvig (1848-1864).* (London: Oxford Press, 1946), 77-102.

[18] Arden Bucholz, *Moltke and the German Wars, 1864-1871*. (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), 85

breach loading rifles first patented in 1828. [19] The rifle's first large-scale troop trials in 1839 went well and the Prussian government formally adopted the Dreyse Needle Gun on December 4, 1840.[20] By 1849, these rifles were for the first time used in large quantities against the rebels of Baden and Dresden and in the First Schleswig War.[21] The strengths of the Needle Gun were its increased rate of fire, as well as its ability to be loaded in the prone position. The Needle Gun also had weaknesses, which limited its use by other powers. First, a faulty gasket that sealed the rifles breech diminished the gun's accuracy. In addition, the Needle Gun had an increased rate of fire that allowed Prussian conscripts to run through their ammunition in a mere fifteen minutes.[22] To test the effectiveness of the Dreyse Needle Gun one must identify when the *Bundesarmee* formally adopted the Dreyse Needle Gun, as well as if the Prussian army increased its casualty ratio.

The Prussian army's primary firearm did evolve slightly between the First and Second Schleswig War; however, the Prussian government issued the Dreyse Needle Gun in large quantities during both wars. By 1850, a majority of the Prussian units in Schleswig used the Dreyse Needle Gun.[23] It took two years into the First Schleswig War for the majority of units in the Prussian army to be equipped with the Needle Gun. By the start of the Second Schleswig War in 1864 the entire army was equipped with this bolt-action rifle. A brief analysis of the Prussian-Danish casualty ratio will fallow. [24]

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[19] Before Johann Dreyse's (1787-1867) Needle Gun, two other breach loading rifles were patented: the Hall (1820) and Sharp's (1848) carbine. However, designed and utilized in America, these American rifles and the Needle Gun developed in separate spheres of influence.

[20] John Walter, *The Rifle Story: an Illustrated History from 1776 to the Present Day*. (London: Greenhill Book, 2006), 48.

[21] Ibid, 48-49.

[22] In contrast, a typical solder equipped with a rifled musket would take an hour to run through his entire 60 rounds of ammunition. See Geoffre Wawro, *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792-1912* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 83.

[23] Ibid, 48.

[24] In this analysis, battlefield injuries and deaths are calculated in the casualty ratio. This analysis excludes deaths resulting from illness, MIA, and prisoners. The rational for these exclusions are to review only the casualties where the Needle Gun could have an impact.

The Danish-Prussian casualty ratio during the First Schleswig War was 1.31:1(8,154:6,223), while the Danish-Prussian casualty ratio during the Second Schleswig War only increased slightly to 1.5: 1(4,027:2,698). [25] The Dreyse Needle Gun was used in large quantities in the Prussian army by 1849, and the casualty ratio is identical between the First and Second Schleswig wars. From this assessment, it is clear that the Dreyse Needle Gun could not have influenced the significant change in the Prussian army. If the Aufmarsch *and the Dreyse Needle Gun failed to create the Prussian success of the* Second Schleswig War, success could have developed from the Prussian reliance on *Bewegungskrieg.*

Robert Citino defines *Bewegungskrieg* in *The German Way of War* as a "… war of movement on the operational level".[26] *Bewegungskrieg* is a large-scale maneuver to strike at one or more of the opponents flank. Success brought about a *Kesselschlacht,* and the destruction of the opponents' main force in a single powerful blow.[27] Moltke was a master at this form of warfare, and he demonstrated his skill at the battle of Königgrätz. The Prussian first, second, and Elbe Armee was able to surround the Austrian army near the city of Königgrätz, and effectively dismantled the northern Austrian army in a single decisive victory.[28] If the theory of *Bewegungskrieg* was influential to the Prussian success, one would expect the Danish positions to be

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[25] The First Schleswig Wars' battle casualties for the Danish army were 2,254 dead and 5,463 wounded, while the battle casualties for the Prussian army was 1,298 dead and 4,003 wounded. For a breakdown of Danish, Prussian, and Schleswig Holstein Rebels' casualties by battle, see Svendsen, *The First Schleswig-Holstein War 1848-50*, 129-130. The Second Schleswig Wars' battle casualties for the Danish army were 1,261 dead and 2763 wounded, while the battle casualties for the Prussian army was 763 dead and 1,935 wounded. The final casualty totals of the Second Schleswig are very large at 16,473; however fourth-five percent of these casualties (death and discharge) are illness related. For a breakdown of Danish, Prussian, casualties by battle see "The Dano-German Question. The Danish Losses During the War," *New York Times*, 7 June 1864; see also Embree, *Bismarck's First War: The Campaign of Schleswig & Jutland 1864*, 54-322.

[26] Citino, *The German Way of War*, xiv.

[27] *Kesselschlacht* is translated as a cauldron battle, or the encirclement of the opponents' main force. See Ibid, xiv-xvii.

[28] Geoffre Wawro, *The Austro-Prussian War: Austria's War with Prussia and Italy in 1866*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 238-265.

encircled by multiple Prussian armies, which would have culminated in a final decisive battle that destroyed the entire Danish army. An examination of the geography of the Jutland peninsula, as well as Moltke's ability to maneuver around the Danish fortifications.

The Jutland peninsula is a long, narrow piece of land with many rivers, swamps, steep hills, and deep "tunnel valleys". [29] These natural barriers make the Jutland peninsula a logistics nightmare. There is only one route that a pre-modern army could have used when invading Denmark and this is the Army or Oxen Road. Further, there are various "chokepoints" along the Army road from the southern border of Holstein along the Eider River to the northern boundary of Schleswig along the Kongeaen River. [30] The Danish army could easily limit the Prussian superior numbers by defending these "chokepoints". The defensive positions forced the Prussian Army to attack frontally with less force than in an open field. The Danes knew this fact and utilized fortification in many of these "chokepoints." The two strongest positions were the Dannevirk along the Lauenburg- Holstein border, and the Dybbøl fortifications that defended the major city of Sønderborg.[31] Because of the natural barriers and "chokepoint" fortifications, the Prussian forces were unable to Kessel the Danish army.

The Prussians gained first-hand experience about the unforgiving Danish terrain from the First Schleswig War. From these lessons, Moltke decided to invade Jutland in the dead of winter hoping that the marshes of western Jutland had hardened into passable terrain. This strategy resulted in limited success. The marshes were passable at first, but eventually the large mass of soldiers churned up the frozen swamp into an

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[29] These are deep valleys eroded by glaciers between the cliffs and hills throughout the Jutland peninsula.

[30] Natural narrowing of the Jutland peninsula caused by swamps, rivers, and rocky sea coasts that cut into the peninsula.

[31] Before the Second Schleswig War, no previous army successfully breached the Dannevirk position. In fact the novel *Tina*, this described Denmark and a prominent family in the Duchy of Schleswig during the Second Schleswig War; describes the Dannevirk as a symbol of Danish resilience. However, the novel also describes the fall of the Dannevirk as at the very least a dark omen. See, Herman Bang, *Tina* (London: The Athlone Press, 1984.), 43-50 . For an understanding of the Dybbol and the Dannevirk fortification see, Embree, *Bismarck's First War, 201-272.*

impassable freezing bog.[32] This negated Moltke's attempt to create more terrain for Prussian *Bewegungskrieg*. The *Bundesarmee* was unable to maneuver around the Danish positions due to the broken terrain and strong "chokepoint" fortifications.

Since the three traditional keys to the Prussian dominance *(*Aufmarsch, *Bewegungskrieg,* and Dreyse needle-gun*) failed to create the Prussian success of the* Second Schleswig War, the success may have developed from Otto Von Bismarck's balancing coalition policy.

Stacie Goddard suggests this theory in her article *When Might Makes Right*. Goddard questioned the reasoning for Prussia's rapid ascension to a great power position in Europe, as well as the fact that in only seven years Prussia had fundamentally altered the European balance of power.[33] Goddard concluded that Prussia was able to ensure that Britain, France and Russia would not intervene in the Second Schleswig War through Otto Von Bismarck's "legitimation strategy".[34] Bismarck's "legitimation strategies" consist of various diplomatic tools and rhetoric designed specifically for each individual Great Power; this was the reason why the Second Schleswig War was so swift and successful for Prussia.[35] Goddard was influential in igniting a re-evaluation of the Prussian success during the German Wars of Unification. However, she purely analyzed the political and diplomatic aspects of the Second Schleswig War. Unlike *When Right Makes Might,* this re-evaluation will examine the historical impact of Bismarck's "legitimation strategys". If Bismarck's "legitimation strategy" was influential to the Prussian success during the Second Schleswig War; one can assume the Prussian agent's success at keeping the Great Powers "on the

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[32] For an overview of the Prussian entrance into Jutland peninsula see , Embree, *Bismarck's First War* , 47-54.

[33] Goddard, "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power*".* Journal of International Security 33, no. 3 (2008): 110.

[34] Ibid, 111-112.

[35] Geoffre Wawro, *The Austro-Prussian War: Austria's War with Prussia and Italy in 1866*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 238-265.

sidelines" at the onset of the Second Schleswig War.[36] This policy led to the Danish capitulation due to the Great Powers failure to form balancing coalitions. Unlike the previous three theories, Bismarck's balancing coalition theory effectively demonstrated a significant change between the First and Second Schleswig War.

The Prussian defeat during the First Schleswig War resulted from a balancing coalition that formed in opposition to the Prussian support of the Schleswig-Holstein rebels.[37] Bismarck understood this assessment, and, in his memoirs, Bismarck used the Prussian defeat to define his position in warfare, which was, "…to judge whether and with what motives other Powers might be inclined to assist the adversary…and whether there is danger of further wars being developed from the intervention of neutrals".[38] Colonel George Malleson, a British officer stated "If [Bismarck's policy] was a policy of 'blood and iron', it was also a policy of 'fraud and falsehood' ".[39]

Malleson described Bismarck's policies effectiveness before the onset of the Second Schleswig War. [40] Colonel Malleson briefly described Bismarck's policy toward each potential coalition member.[41] First, Russia would not intervene because Bismarck supported Russia during a Polish revolt in 1861.[42] France's Napoleon III believed that if he supported the Prussian position with the Danish question, Bismarck would not

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[36] The five Great Powers of the late 19th century were Britain, Austria, France, Russia and Prussia.

[37] See, Svendsen, *The First Schleswig-Holstein War 1848-50*, 121-123. See also, Embree, *Bismarck's First War* , 18-20.

[38] Otto Von Bismarck, *The Memoirs Vol. 2*. ed. Howard Fertig (Noble Offset Printers, 1966), 106 .

[39] G.B Malleson, *The Refounding of the German Empire: 1848-1871* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), 74

[40] George Malleson was an observer during the German Wars of Unification and wrote a compilation of his observations.

[41] For full analysis on Bismarck's policy twords each of the four Great Powers see, Malleson, *The Refounding of the German Empire,* 89-99

[42] From 1795-1914, the Polish population and territory were absorbed into the Russian, Austrian and Prussian empires. In 1864, however, The January Uprising, a large Polish rebellion, occurred in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Russian Army was able to quickly restore order to the region with assistance from Bismarck and Prussia.

contest French expansion in the Rhineland. However, as Colonel Malleson stated, he was "hoodwinked". [43]Bismarck had a far different policy for England; Bismarck kept England out of the war by limiting Prussia's official war goals to only restore Danish status-quo, yet this was not the case. Finally, Colonel Malleson described Bismarck's most "…marvelous feat of diplomacy" by negotiating an alliance with Austria to invade Denmark and where Austria shared control of Schleswig-Holstein. [44] However, Bismarck eventually took full control of these duchies. It is clear that Bismarck did develop diplomatic balancing strategies for the Prussian Wars of Unification, and these strategies were successful in balancing the Great Powers before the Second Schleswig War. For this theory to be influential to the Prussian success during the Second Schleswig War, the Danish army had to capitulate because the Great Powers failed to form a balancing coalition.

The Danish resilience was strong after the early evacuations from the Danewerke and the Dybbøl fortifications. Even after the failed London Conference, the Danish position remained firm and the moral of Denmark was steady. [45] On July 6, 1864, the Danish government attempted a last ditch effort to enlist the aid of England. This request was rejected. Because of this event, the Danish government could not keep up the façade of hope, and the cabinet resigned on July 8 1864. The newly elected Ministry led by Count Bluhme, proposed the final armistice on July 12 1864. This was not unexpected by the Great Power of Europe; even an editorial in the *New York Times* believed the Great Powers should have intervened in the Second Schleswig War to save the Danes from this "unequal war".[46]

From this brief re-evaluation of the Prussian success during German Wars of Unification, Bismarck's balancing coalition policy is the only theory that demonstrates significant change between the failures of the First Schleswig War and the success of the Second Schleswig War. From these new findings, further analysis is needed to

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[43] Ibid, 92.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Embree, *Bismarck's First War* , 293.

[46] "The Danish War Losses," *New York Times*, 7 June 1864

prove this new theory's impact on the success of the later Wars of Unification. Yet this re-evaluation has set the foundation for new research. "If the legitimation theory is convincing here [Second Schleswig War], it is more likely to be generalizable to other cases [Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian Wars]".[47] Because the military success of the German Wars of Unification has influenced many aspects of our modern society and military, it seems that the new information posed in this brief re-evaluation should be a high priority to military and diplomatic scholars. This is most true during this turbulent time in American history where the pen far outweighs the sword in America's foreign policy.

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[47] Goddard, "When Right Makes Might, 112

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The Argei: Sympathetic Magic, Crucifixion, and War Prisoners in Ancient Rome

Kristan Foust Ewin

MA Student, University of North Texas

The *Argei* ceremony began in March, just a few short weeks after the New Year. The Vestals harvested the newly sun-kissed, chartreuse braids of unripenned *far* which was Rome's oldest known grain preferred for religious ceremonies.[48] They gathered the young *far* from each of the twenty-seven sacred fields scattered around the borders of the city.[49] After threshing these first-fruits they made offering cakes with the *far* flour.[50] The maidens tied the remaining rushes into bundles which resembled men with bound hands and feet.[51] These bundles were then displayed in the twenty-seven temples of the sacred fields.[52]

A few months later, on the ides of May, the second part of the *Argei* ceremony took place. The Flaminica Dialis priestess, unbathed, with hair in disarray, led the counter-clockwise procession, from each of the sacred temples through the four regions of Rome. During this tour through the four regions, the priestess gathered the dangling images of bound men as the parade participants ambled through the roads along the

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[48] According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae,* 2.25.2 *far* was among the oldest grains known to the Romans, primarily used to initiate sacrifices. Regarding the green first fruits, According to Varro the Romans harvested spelt after the summer solstice, Varro, *Re Rustica*, 1.32.1. Even after the calendar adjustments this early March harvest would have likely been about a month prior to full ripening. Holland, *Janus and the Bridge,* 317-318; Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis,18.62.*
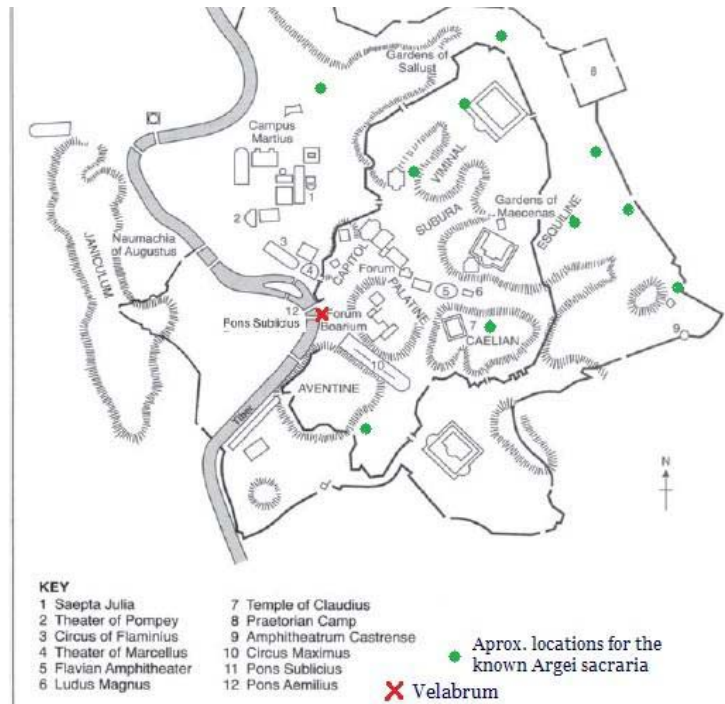
[49] Also known as the Argei shrines. The location of many of these shrines are lost. Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 5.45-54 provided fourteen locations, of these twelve are currently know and marked on the map on Figure 1. Platner, "Argeorum Sacraria," *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome.*

[50] Servius, *Auctus, In Vergilii Aeneidos Libros*, 8.77-82; Dionysius had thirty puppets and temples, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, 1.38.3; Some debate exists regarding the number of temples and corresponding *Salii*. Graf claimed their may have been only twenty-four. Graf, "The Right of the Argei…," 96.

[51] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, 1.38.1-4 ; Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 7.44; Festus, *Breviarium Rerum Gestarum Populi Romani*, 334; Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.627; Macrobius, *Saturnalia,* 1.7.28; Nagy, "The Argei Puzzle," 21; Takács, *Vestal Virgins, Sibyls, and Matrons*, 46.

[52] Open air temples with sacred gardens. Holland, *Janus and the Bridge,* 325; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 40.51.8; Ulpian. In Justinian *Dig.* 1.8.9.2. "*Illud notandum est aliud esse sacrum locum, aliud sacrarium. sacer locus est locus consecratus, sacrarium est locus, in quo sacra reponuntur, quod etiam in aedificio privato esse potest, et solent, qui liberare eum locum religione volunt, sacra inde evocare.*"

city's *pomerium*.[53] The parade finally concluded at the Sublicius bridge overlooking the Tiber river. The Vestals Virgins carried the previously bundled bales of *far* foliage, bleached and dried from the sun's rays that had pierced through the open-air temples, to the river's edge. The Vestals cast the dried, packaged blades of grain into the river. The spectators of the ceremony noticed that the Vestals dressed these manlike bales in costumes fitting of war captives.[54]

KEY

1 Saepta Julia	7 Temple of Claudius
2 Theater of Pompey	8 Praetorian Camp
3 Circus of Flaminius	9 Amphitheatrum Castrense
4 Theater of Marcellus	10 Circus Maximus
5 Flavian Amphitheater	11 Pons Sublicius
6 Ludus Magnus	12 Pons Aemilius

● Aprox. locations for the known Argei sacraria

✗ Velabrum

From Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*. Indications for the *Argei sacraria* and Velabrum are mine based on Varro's description.

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[53] Dionysius of Halicarnassus placed the celebration on May fifteenth, Ovid on May fourteenth and the fifteenth. Plutarch gave the full moon of May as the correct date, but tells the reader the ceremony occurred on an odd instead of an even day. If the festival happened on a full moon, it is possible it may have started as an odd day and over time and calendar revisions switched to an even day. The original year had ten months, or ten completions of the lunar cycle, though the ancients added months as needed to keep the seasons accurate. Even the ancients and eye witnesses disagreed about the elite and mysterious rite. Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.603; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 32; Graf, "The Right of the Argei," 95; Pearce, "*Origins and Festivals*," 1, 6-7. The *Argei* procession marked an early form of the *pomerium*, but perhaps the earliest was around the Paletine hill. The triumph also traversed counter-clockwise around the city along what seems to be the same trail as the Argei. Warren, "Roman Triumphs and Etruscan King," 54. *Pomerium* ceremonies related to the protection of borders, war, and agriculture. For more information on the division of the quadrants see also Taylor, "Watching the Skies," 20-24.

[54] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, 1.38.1-4.

The purpose and origin of this rite continues to plague historians today, as it has since the days of late Republic and early Empire when it was initially recorded. In this paper I compare the *Argei* to other rites that incorporate fertility by using the display of victims through hanging, impaling, or crucifixion. Through comparison I connect the elements of war and husbandry and claim that the *Argei* ceremony was a form of pre- and inter-war magic as well as an agricultural and purification rite.[55] As of yet, no author has proposed the *Argei* related to war. For ancient agrarian societies, agriculture, religion, and war overlapped.[56] With this in mind, the historian must revisit the *Argei* debate holistically.[57]

There are three current theories for the purpose of the *Argei*: first, that it was agrarian magic for abundant crops, second, that it acted as a scapegoat decontamination offering, and finally that it was a cleansing ceremony catering to the spirits of the deceased, known as *Lemuria* or *Lares*.[58] The *Lares* and *Lemuria* received offerings through hanging and impaling.[59] These three theories use surrounding events

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[55] Sympathetic magic combines the two ideas of homeopathic and contagious magic, such that a similar object contains the force and power of the object they resemble, and something that has touched an object contains some power and association to the that object even after removal. For more information on sympathetic magic see Frazer's *Golden Bough* chapter three which is devoted to sympathetic magic.

[56] Plutarch, *Lives, Marcellus*, 21.5. For more information on the correlation between agrarian society and the incorporation of religion into legal aspects of life see Stark, "Gods, Rituals, and the Moral Order," especially page 623 on which he provides a table of correlation between agrarian societies and concepts of religious morality. For Greek political control through religious practice see Ruebel, "Politics and Folktale in the Classical World," 11-13.

[57] It seems following Frazer and Wissowa's popularity on the topic, the Argei became viewed only as a cleansing offering of human sacrifice to the infernal-gods and river deities. Smith, et. al. *"Argei" A Concise Dictionary.*

[58] A scapegoat is essentially a sacrificial victim, animal or human, upon which the sins, misdeeds, or ill-fate were placed in order to clean a person or community from the mar or repercussions of sin. The victim was a substitute offering for the individual or the entire community. The victim was usually sacrificed or expelled and essentially served as a sin offering. Nagy, B. "The Argei Puzzle," 1-27. For additional historiographies on the Argei see Harmon "The Public Festivals of Rome."

[59] *Lemuria* were associated with *Lares,* but both were chthonic deities or spirits usually interpreted as "the souls of the deceased," There were multiple types of *Lares* both usually good, as earlier mentioned, but not always. Various types included *Lares praestites, Lares familiaris, Lares militares*, etc. Laing, "The Origin of the Cult of the Lares," 126, 137. Classical

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in the Roman calendar to prove the content and purpose of the *Argei*.[60] For example, historians have suggested the *Argei* was a sequel to the *Lemuria* celebration, during which the spirits were offered hanging effigies and ladies draped their hairnets and girdles within the branches of the trees.[61] I suggest a combination of these three theories by introducing the element of war as a unifying factor for agriculture, decontamination offerings, and offerings to the spirit of the untimely deceased.

Regarding the *Argei*'s relationship to war, a study of events on and near the Ides of March and May should be considered. In a ceremony called *Liberalia*, which took place on the same day as the March *Argei*, sacred war priests, called *Salii*, preformed sacrifices and symbolic war dances. Women adorned their heads with ivy crowns and

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authors were not exactly consistent with their definition of the *Lares*. Ovid said they were children of Lara, Varro and Festus called them deified dead. Ovid, *Fasti*, 2.597; Festus, *Breviarium Rerum Gestarum Populi Romani*, 108; Varro in Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 3.41; King, "The Organization of Roman Religious Beliefs," 286-288, 296-297. On *Laribus*, May first, the Romans offered a dog to the *Lares*, spirits of the dead. The canine was offered to the *Lares* by impaling, as seen on a coin form the second century B.C.E. Image from Ab Urbe Condita. Information regarding this image is from Sarolta A. Takács, *Vestal Virgins, Sibyls*, 45. It should be noted that early on the Romans did not make clear distinctions between impaling and crucifixion. Impaling was a form of crucifixion. Furthermore, there was an ambiguity between hanging, such as on a tree, and crucifixion- being affixed to a tree. Often these terms were interchangeable.

[60] Two days following the *Argei* Sacred war priests were actively involved in worshiping Mars by purifying the sacred shields. Continuing with the theme of military purification and preparedness, March twenty-third and twenty fourth were dedicated to purifying the brass military instruments. The month of March centered on both agricultural and military rituals. It seems these two concepts may not have originated separately. Fowler, *The Roman Festivals,* 57-59, 62-63. Here Fowler quotes Charisius on his definition of *quinuare*, to purify. Charisius states that the *Salli* purified their sacred shields on this day.

[61] Laing, "The Origin of the Cult of the Lares," 132-133. This type of behavior across ancient cultures could be associated with mourning, but could also be associated with fertility and war. See Frazer's section regarding the taboos on hair. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 21.6-8. During this celebration to the spirits of the dead or underworld wooden balls and woolen human effigies suspended from the crossroads chapels to deter the sprites from harming people. Using ceremonies that surrounded the *Argei* and contained similar rituals it becomes increasingly probable that the *Argei* originated as a war ritual. The March *Argei* ceremony included war priests and rituals as well as suspended effigies.

Nagy, "The Argei Puzzle," 15; Pearce, *Origins and Festivals of the Roman Calendar* , 23; Laing, "The Origin of the Cult of the Lares," 127-128; Macrobius tells his readers that these were originally human sacrifices of slaves whose heads were hung to distract evil spirits and ward off danger.

offered oil and honey cakes. In this rite boys transitioned to men via a coming of age ceremony that signified their readiness for military service.[62] Phallic images led the parade of these new soldiers. This display may have been similar to the phallic images displayed on the chariots that were used in the triumphal procession. Also, during *Liberalia* masks were hung in trees similar to the puppets hung in the sacred temples during the *Argei.* Cotton and wooden balls, representing human heads were also hung for the *Lares* and *Lemuria*.[63]

Historians surmise that the *Argei* was connected to the Plebian New Year celebration of *Anna Perenna*.[64] Like the *Liberalia* and the first *Argei* ceremony, *Anna Perenna* also took place on March fifteenth. *Anna Perenna* involved drunken couples on the *Campus Martius*. The *Campus Martius was* a plain used for military training which bordered the Tiber river and was not far from the Sublicius bridge (where the Vestal Virgins cast their bundles of *far* into the river). The participants of *Anna Perenna* threw an old woman, representing the last year, into the Tiber. From the river a maiden emerged as a young *Anna Perenna,* or new year.

The March *Argei*, *Liberalia*, and *Anna Perenna,*which each occurred on the Ides of March, likely originated as one large and supreme celebration. On this one day several elements of war and agriculture coincided. Regarding the elements specific to the *Argei*, we notice, first, processions. Processions were used in agricultural ceremonies to mark out and protect territory, in funerals possibly to remove or honor the spirits of the dead, and also in triumphs. The Romans placed great significance in the border of the city. During several Roman holidays participants or officials marched the circumference of a field or the city's borders in a form of sympathetic magic to protect that which lay within the perimeter.[65] The focus on borders in the *Argei* not only

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[62] Fowler, *The Roman Festivals,* 50-57.

[63] Pearce, *Origins and Festivals of the Roman Calendar,* 65; Fowler, *The Roman Festivals,* 50-57.

[64] Anna is the feminine form of *annus*, or year. This tradition strongly resembled the Ancient Near East New Year Festival with the sacred marriage ceremony of Mars and Anna.

[65] *Sympathetic magic* -Combines the two ideas of homeopathic and contagious magic, such that a similar object contains the force and power of the object they resemble, and something that has touched an object contains some power and association to the that object even after

strengthens the argument for purification, but also the likelihood that the *Argei* was a war ritual.[66] Borders symbolize protection. When boarders were breached crops, animals, and women fell into danger and this often led to war.

Another prominent element of the *Argei* were the *Salii*, who danced at the Sublicius bridge. They impersonated Janus, the guardian deity of the bridge.[67] Suited in antiquated armor, the war priests chanted in a language that predated the Latin dialect spoken in the Republic This meant that the spectators and participants of the ceremony, who are the primary sources on the *Argei*, did not fully understand the chants. However, the opening invocation mentioned Cerus, a god or spirit of growth connected to Janus. Janus is connected to the bridges and guarding the City. It is believed that the name Cerus derived from the term *creare*, "to bring forth, produce, make or beget," and *crescere*, "to grow," [68] The priests' invocation proves an archaic connection between war and agriculture. The war priest, at the city's border, called on a primitive growth spirit, and this growth spirit was connected to Janus, a god who protected the borders.[69] Here it seems that the chants of the *Argei* were related to not only agriculture, but also war through the guardian of the bridge and the protection of the city's borders.

Bridges in general played an important role in boundaries, protection, and war. They were at times considered a breach in the boundaries, hence the necessity for the guardian Janus. The Sublicius bridge was considered especially sacred. In fact, the ritualistic opening or closing of the bridge represented war or peace. The sacred *Argei* services, that marked the original boundaries of the city through procession ended on the Sublicius bridge.

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removal. For more information on sympathetic magic see Frazer's *Golden Bough* chapter three which is devoted to sympathetic magic.

[66] Cato, *De Re Rustica*, 141.3, 144; Varro, *Re Rustica*, 2.1.9-10; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 1.44, 8.10.
[67] Holland, 267.

[68] Spaeth, 1.

[69] James, 164-165; as an occasional or possibly later exception, the *Salii* were present in triumphal processions, Warren, 52.

The Romans used symbols and mimetic images as substitutions and magical icons. Through the processions and at the bridge the effigies of bound men played a prominent role. Representations held full the significance and potential of the items they represented. This means when the Vestals marched along the borders they left magical remnants of protection, like an invisible wall. [70] Also, the rush puppets embodied the full value of whomever they may have represented. The dolls, created in March, dangled in the temples through the spring during some of the most important military and fertility ceremonies. Agriculture and war dominated themes of Roman religious history. The outcome of a battle depended on the Romans devotion to tradition and religious precision. If a religious ceremony was performed incorrectly on even the most minute detail the gods could become angry and choose not to aid the Romans to victory in battle or to allow the rain necessary for the crops to bear fruit. So ceremonies such as the *Argei* and others were necessary to cover the city with magical borders, to satiate the gods, and to ensure fecundity.

In order to show the *Argei* as a ceremony that was related to war, it is helpful to notice the joining of war and agriculture in other Roman celebrations. On May ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth Roman citizens celebrated the *Lemuria*.[71] These were the three odd numbered days preceding the Ides of May when the second *Argei* ceremony occurred. Historians have connected the *Argei* ceremony to the *Lares* and *Lemuria,* specifically unburied or depraved spirits, commonly believed to be unburied casualties of war.[72] It is possible the *Argei* on the Ides of May followed the pattern of honoring the unrested or unburied dead.[73] The *Argei* effigies dwelt in the temple from mid-March to mid-May. Historians have interpreted these sacred temples as symbolic tombs to provide a representative funeral and burial for the *Lares* and *Lemuria*. However, the bodily images were thrown into the Tiber river on the Ides of May. Tossing a body into the Tiber conflicted with proper burial and was actually a dishonorable disposal.

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[70] Holland, 5, 7.

[71] Nagy, 10; Ovid, *Fasti* 5.429-444; Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, 106-109.
[72] Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, 101.

[73] Holland, 325.

Therefore, interpreting the *Argei* as a reenactment of burial for the spirits of the dead cannot epitomize the true purpose of the *Argei* puppets. However, the exposure of the representative bodies in open-air temples, and discarding of the bodies in the Tiber would have been appropriate treatment of war captives.[74]

This coin reveals a dog speared as a sacrifice to the *Lares*. The coin is from the second century BCE. The obverse side has an image of Vejovis, a Roman god who may have received human sacrifices. The reverse side shows *Lares* receiving an impaled dog. Image from Ancient Coin Search Engine.

On *Laribus*, May first, the Romans offered a dog to the *Lares*, spirits of the dead. The canine was offered to the *Lares* by impaling, as seen on a coin form the second century B.C.E.27 It should be noted that early on the Romans did not make clear distinctions between impaling and crucifixion. Impaling was a form of crucifixion. Furthermore, there was an ambiguity between hanging, such as on a tree, and crucifixion- being affixed to a tree. Often these terms were interchangeable.

In battle war captives were sometimes chained to mass graves. More specifically, Roman soldiers who had fallen in battle were not returned home for a proper burial. They were, however, buried when and where it was possible. The survivors placed their fallen comrades into mass graves. At these battle sites a tree was erected as a monument to the slain soldiers. On the memorial tree the Roman survivors hung armor and weapons from their slain enemies. This display must have looked

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[74] Hope, "Trophies and Tombstones" 80.

similar to the enemies' armor displayed by Sulla and Pompey in the triumphal processions.[75] The survivors even chained enemy war captives to the memorial tree.[76]

Roman Coin from 56 B.C.E under Sulla.[77]
Image from ancient Coin Search Engine; a similar coin also appears in Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 20.

Perhaps a more plausible purpose for the *Argei* was that the bundles of *far* represented the enemy soldiers who had killed a Roman ancestor or comrade in a previous campaign. So, the *Lares* and *Lemuria*, spirits of men denied proper burial, received an offering of a men, or effigies, exposed and denied their burial.[78] This would have been an offering most acceptable for the spirits as it represented restitution and retribution for their untimely death. Because the *Argei* ceremony began in March,

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[75] During the triumph prisoners were marched around and through the city like the animals sacrifices for other border protection rituals. Then, near the temple of Mars the captives were hanged. The mangled bodies remained displayed for several days. Beard, *Triumphs*, 129; Holliday, "Roman Triumphal Painting" 133. The trophies often created and paraded through the triumph included the enemy's armor erected on tree trunks or stakes, sometimes on a cross type structure to resemble the form of a man, Beard, *Triumphs*, 15. Romulus hung war captives' armor on a sacred oak, Pompey and Sulla did the same. From Josephus it is clear that that Vespasian crucified many of his captives. Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, 5.429-452. The tale of Evander in the Aeneid explains that he slaughtered war captives for the chthonic spirits with their armor displayed on trees. Virgil, *Aeneid,* 11.81-115.

[76] Stone grave markers of fallen soldiers became characteristic in the early Empire. Hope, 80, 84.

[77] Image from ancient Coin Search Engine; a similar coin also appears in Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 20.

[78] Nagy, 21.

during the pre-war purification, actual war casualties may be disqualified as the original victims of the Argei as Wissowa suggested.[79] Rather, the *Argei* offerings likely originated with effigies representative of future, enemy, war victims. Because of the Romans belief structure these representations would have held full significance of the people whom they immolated. This would have essentially enacted and summoned the death of the Romans' enemies in battle.

Another indication that the *Argei* was a pre-war ritual is seen in similarities between the *Argei* and triumphal processions. War prisoners were displayed and executed similarly to the *Argei* dolls. The armor displayed in the triumph processions emulated the defeated warriors' armor, which was hung on the tombstone of Roman soldiers' graves when they were lost in battle. During the triumph, prisoners were marched around the city like animal sacrifices used in border protection ceremonies. Then, near the temple of Mars, the captives were hanged. The mangled bodies remained displayed for several days.[80] The Tiber river usually received the remains of those executed, just as it received the *Argei* puppets on the Ides of May.

When considering these features it is likely that the *Argei* related not only to agriculture and the spirits of the dead, but also to war. Additionally, on the first day of the *Argei,* boys became soldiers as discussed in *Liberalia.* The intermixing of war and agricultural were not isolated to the *Argei.*[81] Finally, the Roman triumph contained many of the same elements as the *Argei*; the perimeter of the city's earliest borders were marched, war casualties were hanged and displayed, and images of men were formed by hanging the enemies' armor on trees. It is clear that the *Argei,* beginning the spring growth and campaign season, related not only to agriculture and the spirits of the dead, but also worked as a pre-war magic ceremony paralleling the desired triumphal procession.   By looking at the *Argei* holistically this research has opened the door for a new direction of inquiry into the significance and purpose of this debated ceremony and on the execution of war criminals. Undoubtedly, more research can, and should, be

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[79] Wissowa, "The Argei"; Fowler, "Dr. Wissowa on the Argei…" 115-119.

[80] Beard, *Triumphs*, 129; Holliday, "Roman Triumphal Painting" 133.

[81] Pearce, *Origins and Festivals of the Roman Calendar,* 65.

done concerning the topics discussed. Though, given the examples and parallels in this work, the *Argei* clearly seemed to imitate war rituals.

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Southern vs. Western: Slavery's Role in the establishment of Northwestern Texas

Debbie Liles

PhD Student, University of North Texas

The persistent discussion about the geographic identity of Texas is one that seems never-ending. Hindering the final decision is the vast size of the state and the different regions contained within. While it is easier to place identifying labels that characterize certain regions such as the northeastern area, other regions have debatable identities attached to them. Northwestern Texas is one of those with a questionable identity as it is generally considered western. This is due in large part to the memory of cattle drives, cowboys, and ranches, and the image that was portrayed in the 1920s and 1930s by individuals such as Amon G. Carter, who promoted Fort Worth as "Where the West Begins." However, evidence shows that during the formative years, early settlers were intent on establishing communities that were in line with the southern way of life.

Early writers of community history, throughout northwestern Texas and elsewhere, tended to gloss over, or completely ignore, many of the topics deemed negative – such as slavery and its role within the communities. These historians were intent on writing history that glorified the early settlers and promoted the towns and villages as wonderful places to establish homesteads.   The majority of these early histories were forms of boosterism, in part to attract the throngs of people who were moving into the state. When compared to other southern states, Texas was the only state that experienced growth immediately after the Civil War. Indeed, from 1870 until 1920, when most of these books, brochures, and newspapers were being penned, the population of Texas soared from 818,579 to 4,663,228. This growth fueled the production of more literature, as it was understandably believed that the promotional material was working.[82]

While it is generally understood that slavery played a big role in the formation of southern and eastern Texas, there is no acknowledgement as to how the institution contributed to the northwestern region, especially, for the purpose of this study, to Parker and Palo Pinto counties. Their early community histories fall in line with the

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[82] Carol Kammen, *On Doing Local History* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2003), 11-16; "United States and Texas Populations, 1850-2010," Texas State Library and Archives Commission (https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/census.html [accessed June 18, 2011]); Carl Moneyhon, *Texas After the Civil War: The Struggle of Reconstruction* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).

aforementioned pattern, including the omission of slaves, who the slaveholders were, and their roles within the communities. It should also be remembered that these counties had not existed long enough to build up their slave holdings before the Civil War began. Because of this, the institution never truly had the opportunity to develop in these counties as it had in other, more established, regions of Texas. Another factor came after the Civil War, when both counties contributed immensely to cattle drives and cowboy culture. With an increased demand for cattle products, the western identity quickly, and willingly, replaced the southern one.

Very little evidence has survived that documents the fact that slavery was alive and well in these two counties, which makes the adoption of a western identity easy. However, there are sources that show how these counties were established with a southern identity: Schedule 2 from the Eighth Census of the United States and the county property tax records – neither of which was preserved by the individual counties.

As already mentioned both counties have an abundance of literature that tells how pious western settlers cultivated the frontier and defeated savages to establish laudable societies. The most revered of these books are Henry Smythe's *Historical Sketch of Parker County and Weatherford, Texas* and Mary Whatley Clarke's *The Palo Pinto Story.* Again, these books make few references to slaves, never address the facts that slave owners had major roles within the establishment of the counties, or that southern principles guided much of the mindset of the times. While this can be understood in the early days, due to the community growing efforts that were taking place, it is hard to overlook the fact that this trend continues into the present day. The newest Parker County's history publication, Jon Vandargriff's *The Story of Parker County*, *Texas: 1852-1956,* was published in 2010, and the topic of slavery was again completely ignored.[83]

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[83] Henry Smythe, *Historical Sketch of Parker County and Weatherford, Texas* (St. Louis: Louis C. Lavat, 1877); Mary Whatley Clarke, *The Palo Pinto Story* (Fort Worth: The Manney Company, 1956); Jon Vandargriff, *The Story of Parker County*, *Texas: 1852-1956* (Virginia Beach: Donning Company Publishers, 2010). Smythe wrote his book when many of the former slave owners were still living and were his acquaintances at the time. Evidence of this can be seen in the congratulatory statement and advertisements in the beginning of his book. It should be noted that Edmund Whatley listed thirteen slaves on Schedule 2, 1860 and declared eighteen slaves worth $8,900 on his 1860 property taxes. Exactly how Mary Whatley Clarke and Whatley were related has not yet been established.

When it comes to the assumed reason of why the area's early settlers fought in the Civil War, the general consensus is best summed up in a 1937 book, written by Weatherford's then mayor, G. A. Holland. Holland stated that "of the 800 men from Parker County who joined the Confederate army, perhaps not one was a slave owner. With them the question of slavery was not so much an issue as state rights, and for that they fought." Like all of the authors, Holland portrays the first settlers as "high class, devout, and pious people," not slaveholding individuals who went to war to fight for the right to keep their property, protect their families, and preserve a way of life that accepted and encouraged slavery.[84]

According to Schedule 2 and the property tax rolls, slavery was more than a footnote in the county's history. Because slaves were considered property, an examination of the county tax records reveals that there were 300 declared slave owners in Parker County and approximately 100 in Palo Pinto County from 1856 until 1864. By analyzing these records, then cross-referencing information provided by early authors, it can be seen that the founding fathers were fully integrated into the southern market economy based on slavery. As Southerners moved further westward, they naturally took their southern lifestyles with them. When they settled Parker and Palo Pinto counties, these perceptions, values, and ideals concerning daily activities simply made their new communities an extension of the Southern way of life.[85]

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[84] G. A. Holland, *History of Parker County and the Double Log Cabin* (Weatherford: The Herald Publishing Company, 1937), 18. The quote about the sacrifice of the 800 men is still used to highlight the sacrifice the veterans of Parker County's branch of Sons of Confederate Veterans, and can be seen when visiting their website. "Confederate Veterans of Parker County," available at http://www.samlanhamscv.org/confederateparkercounty.htm (accessed November 18, 2009). Kenneth E. Foote suggests that it is problematic to write the history of African Americans (or Indians) without maligning the Anglos involved: "To mark the sites of … resistance to slavery and racism is to call attention to glaring failures of the democratic institutions and egalitarian values in which the nation takes great pride." See Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 322.

[85] Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 2,(Slave Inhabitants); Parker County Tax Rolls, 1856-1910 (Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas), microfilm; Palo Pinto County Tax Rolls, 1856-1910 (Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas), microfilm. Property tax records survived four courthouse fires in Parker County as they were sent to the state Comptroller's office each year.

Parker County was created on December 12, 1855, and Palo Pinto County followed on August 27, 1856. By 1860, the property taxes show that there were 341 slaves in Parker (approximately eight percent of the population) and 115 in Palo Pinto (approximately twelve percent of the population). As previously stated, when compared to other Texas counties this number represents a negligible total, but it should be taken into consideration that many of the counties with a higher number of slaves had been established in or around 1837. When put into a group of counties that were formed at approximately the same time a more accurate picture of the institutions potential and popularity can be seen. Out of the twenty-five counties that were formed between 1855 and 1860, Parker County had the fourth highest number of slaves and Palo Pinto County had the seventh.[86]

In order for slavery to be readily accepted in the two counties, it was imperative that a southern mentality be present. In his article, discussing how settlement patterns affect the human characteristics of an area, noted geographer Terry Jordan states that "population origins can contribute appreciably to the understanding of the character of a region. Differences in the economic, social, and political structures can often be related to differences in origin." To find out if northern or southern characteristics were established in this area of study, it is essential to look at the place of origin of the early settlers. Information taken from the 1860 census, which lists state (or country) of birth, shows that Parker and Palo Pinto Counties were settled by people from the South, and a more specific breakdown shows that most of those were overwhelmingly from the Upper South. [87]

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[86] H. P. N. Gammel, comp., *The Laws of Texas,1822-1897*, 10 vols. (Portal to Texas History, accessed April 20,2009) ,4: 183; Charles G. Davis, "PALO PINTO, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hlp03), accessed January 18, 2011. Parker County's numbers dispute Randolph B. Campbell's total, which is 324. His number came from the tally line on the 1860 tax records but was found to be incorrect when the numbers were refigured. See Randolph B. Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1989), 264-266.

[87] Terry G. Jordan, "Population Origins in Texas, 1850" *Geographical Review,* 59 (Jan., 1969): 83-103 (quote from page 83); Eighth Census of the United States. Only property owners were used for this portion of the study. The Parker County Historical Commission's *History of Parker County* states that those who settled in the area came via three different routes, but this does not hold true. The authors suggested that settlers came up the Indian trails on the Brazos River, from the eastern counties of Tarrant, Denton, and Collin, and along the path of the

Those from the Upper South included emigrants from the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Missouri, and Arkansas. These southerners were typically non-slaveholders or small slaveholding "yeoman" farmers who raised grain crops such as wheat and corn but little or no cotton. The counties in Texas where they were dominant, for example, were responsible for 92% of the wheat grown in the state. The Lower South refers to the Atlantic and Gulf coast states from Louisiana to South Carolina. This region was dominated by the plantation/slave system of agriculture that was a commercial enterprise which produced cotton, sugar, and rice. Counties that were primarily settled by Lower South immigrants produced 69% of the cotton in Texas. An examination of the 1860 Schedule 4 shows that Indian corn, wheat, oats, and sweet potatoes were the dominant crops in Parker and Palo Pinto counties. Cotton was not produced as a cash crop at this time in either county. With a variety of crops in lieu of a cash crop, plantations were not established and owning a large numbers of slaves was not the norm, whereas owning one to three slaves was. This pattern is clearly reflected in the tax records; indeed, only a handful of slave owners in both counties owned five or more slaves.[88]

Despite the numerical dominance of Upper Southerners in Parker and Palo Pinto counties, and the production of crops associated with them, from the moment the counties were formed, slave owners were in positions of influence, owned the most popular businesses, and occupied political offices at a rate out of proportion to their actual numbers. After Parker County was organized, an election to vote in temporary representatives was held in early 1856. Out of the seven who were elected as county

Butterfield Mail route, which ran east and west a few miles north of Aledo. Not one adult in the 1860 census lists Texas as their home state, which directly contradicts the first assertion; the second suggestion appears to be partially true but immigrants came from many locations besides these three counties; the third is also partially true but as the Butterfield Overland Mail was not established until September 16, 1858, this would cut out many of the early settlers. See Parker County Historical Commission, *History of Parker County* (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1980), 491.

[88] Jordan, "Population Origins in Texas, 1850," 85-89; Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 4, Agricultural Census.

officials, two were slave owners; they were Joshua Barker from Kentucky, who was the new sheriff, and John Parker, one of the county commissioners.[89]

In subsequent elections, community members showed their approval for slave owners and elected them into a variety of positions of authority, along with non-slave owners, that they would have influenced with their southern mentality. In the first official elections of Parker County, slave owner John W. Curtis was elected mayor of the county seat of Weatherford and Joshua Barker became one of four aldermen.[90] When the second county elections were held in August 1858, Barker was again elected as sheriff along with slave owners William B. Hayes and John Parker as commissioners. In 1860, the trend of electing those with slaves continued as R. A. Eddleman became a county commissioner and A. Y. Simmons a city alderman, and in 1862, J. W. H. Blackwell was elected sheriff, and J. Gilley and S. H. Puryear became commissioners. This year also saw the beginnings of the Weatherford police force. Among the first members of this organization were slave owners N. R. Wilson, Monroe Upton, William Mosely, Oliver Loving, W. Frank Carter, F. Martin Bates, Jon M. Luckey, and R. E. Creel. By 1864, there was a decline in the number of slave owning men who were elected to office, possibly because they were away fighting for the Confederacy or on the northern frontier fighting against the Indians. only S. H. Puryear and Jesse A. Gilley were elected this year, both as county commissioners. When A. J. Hamilton was appointed the provisionary governor of Texas in 1865, Puryear and Gilley were among those who were removed from office and new officers were appointed. The newly elected were not listed as prior slave owners but their mind-set was apparently little different as one of the courts first official acts was "to prohibit the distribution of intoxicating liquors, either by sale or gift, among the negroes." Starting with the first election, and going through the last, many slave owners were elected or accepted in positions of authority within their consenting community. It was only after they were

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[89] Jno. S. Grace and R. B. Jones, *A New History of Parker County* (Weatherford: The Democrat, 1906; Reprinted by Parker County Historical Commission, 1987), 34. Barker's home and a tent that belonged to the Mrs. Mahala Hart family were the only homes located within one mile of the "square" – or the center of Weatherford – by April 1857.

[90] Curtis was shot and killed in 1858 but his estate, with its ten slaves, was administrated through 1862 by Thomas Jansen.

forcibly removed on November 1, 1866, that Parker County elected a local government that held no previous slave holders. [91]

Palo Pinto County had much the same story. Slave owners always held public office. In the early years this included J. A. McClaren as the first chief justice; J. J. Cureton, R. W. Pollard, and Washington Hullum as commissioners; J.W. Lynn, R. W. Pollard, Washington Hullum, and W. McKinney as grand jurors; general store owner and postmaster J. H. Dillahunty. Perhaps the better known story that comes out of Palo Pinto County is the success that slave owners had in business and battle. Just two of the men in these fields are Oliver Loving and J. J. Cureton. Loving, the man on whom Larry McMurtry based his character Gus McRae, was an extremely successful stock raiser. He was involved in both Parker and Palo Pinto Counties and paid property taxes in both locations. As a Mason, stock raiser, co-partner in the Goodnight-Loving Cattle Drives, and member of various organizations in the early histories, he was also one of the larger slave owners in each county. Captain J. J. Cureton is best remembered for his leadership at the 1858 Battle of Salt Creek and the 1860 rescue of Cynthia Ann Parker at the Pease River. He left Palo Pinto County in 1861 to serve in the Civil War, and returned in 1863 to become captain of a Frontier Regiment. Cureton was not engaged in warfare for unselfish reasons. As the owner of five slaves, and as the son of a man who owned twelve or more slaves, he was fighting for personal reasons.[92]

Added to these positions of influential leadership, the institution represented wealth and a source of potential income for the proprietors. This was evident when slaves were hired out, sold, and inherited. Two diarists recorded the practice of hiring slaves (aka "hands") within their communities. Henry Maxwell from Parker County and Jonathan Hamilton Baker from Palo Pinto County, were not slave owners, but both recorded obtaining extra hands for a few days to help with demanding tasks. Maxwell does not use the word "hire" but makes it clear that he went and got hands to help him,

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[91] Smythe, *Historical Sketch of Parker County,* 80; Parker County Tax Rolls, 1856-1910; Grace, *A New History of Parker County,* 50, 132-133, 137, quote from 142.

[92] Palo Pinto County Tax Rolls, 1856-1910; Clarke, *The Palo Pinto Story,* 6-10; Parker County Tax Rolls, 1856-1910; Carolyn Hyman, "CURETON, J. J.," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcu27), accessed January 15, 2011.

while Baker states, "went to Col. Ward's this morning to try and hire a [N]egro, but failed." There is also the intriguing case of Polly Young, one of seven women who owned slaves in Parker County. Young maintained between eight and ten slaves from 1860 until 1865. The youngest was nine, the oldest was fifty-five, and both male and females were recorded. It is uncertain how they generated an income for her, as she owned two city lots in Weatherford but no acreage. It was not uncommon, however, for women who had no other means of support, or who had inherited slaves and did not need their labor, to participate in the hiring-out business.[93]

One source from Parker County that was used in this study is the will of J. L. Edwards. While many legal records were destroyed in courthouse fires, the only one that survived concerns a petition to sell a slave. The "negro boy" belonged to Eliza and her deceased husband J. L Edwards. Supporting the views of historian Randolph B. Campbell, who proposed that bondsmen "functioned as a highly liquid form of capital," the documents tell how the "negro boy" was purchased for $700 dollars by both parties - $300 from their community property and $400 from Eliza – and how he was now valued at $1,400. The request was that he be sold at the public sale on May 1, 1860, at Weatherford's courthouse to pay back the money Eliza had invested and to help replace other money owed to her. As Eliza shows up in the tax records for the following year (as the new Mrs. Hedrick), with one slave less than the year before, it can only be assumed that his request was granted.[94]

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[93] Mary Maxwell, Ed. and Compiler, *Day Book of Henry Maxwell from 1853-1860. Collin County, Texas to Parker County, Texas* (N.p., n.d.) located at the Weatherford Public Library Maxwell; Jonathan Hamilton Baker Diary, Tarrant County Archives, Fort Worth, Texas (entry for Dec. 8, 1862); Parker County Tax Rolls, 1856-1910; United States Census for 1860, Schedule 2; Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery*, 83. State law required that those who hired out slaves advertise in three places, one was the local court house.

[94] Maxwell, *Day Book of Henry Maxwell,* 81; Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery,* 92; Probate Case Papers, 1860 (Case #53, Reel #1548860), University of Texas at Arlington Special Collections, " Eliza Edwards vs Chief Justice of Parker County, Petition Sale of Property" and "Petition for the sale of Negro boy belonging to estate of J.L. Edwards Dec'd." The fact that the only record to survive the fire of 1874 concerns the sale of a slave raises the question of how many others record of this nature were lost. The county tax records show that Eliza (Clifton) Edwards owned two slaves in 1860 valued at $1,900 and one (as Eliza Hedricks) in 1861 valued at $400. The records never show J. L Edwards as the owner of any slaves.

Speculation in the future of slavery can be seen in the number of women in both counties. Out of the 222 slaves listed on Parker County's Schedule 2, the majority were female; out of the sixty-nine slaves listed on Palo Pinto County's Schedule 2, it can be seen that females were also the majority - despite the fact that stock raisers owned most of the slaves in Palo Pinto County. It can be seen from these numbers that adult slave women were needed more than their counterpart and so were the younger girls. As only a fraction of the slave owners from 1856 through 18

Slaves	13 and under	14 and older	Total amount
Parker County Males	51	50	101
Parker County Females	59	62	121
Palo Pinto County Males	11	19	30
Palo Pinto County Females	17	22	39
Total	138	153	291

Fig. 3. Ages and sexes of slaves in Parker and Palo Pinto County according to Schedule 2.

were obviously women - initials on tax rolls tend to hide the sex of the tax payer - it can be assumed that men who owned the slave women needed more help with household chores than with the man's traditional heavy labor. Women were cheaper to buy than men and the simple fact that they had children made them a wise long term investment for small slave owners. Historian Fredric Bancroft noted: "As soon as a man had the money he bought a girl, and before many years she had a family that was worth $10,000." Along with raising children – their own and their owner's – the slave women ended up working in the fields, the family garden, and doing general domestic chores.[95]

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[95] Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 2; Parker County Tax Records 1856-1864; Frederic Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1931), 87, 357 (quote from 357). Bancroft states that children were bought for speculation purposes.

Slavery developed in northwest Texas despite the fact that, located on the cusp of society, Parker and Palo Pinto counties had to constantly deal with Indian problems – most of their own making. A year after the Indians were moved off their Reservations in nearby Young County – due in large part to the insistence of John Robert Baylor of Parker County, and other local residents – Indian raids intensified.[96] It is estimated that six million dollars worth of property was damaged or destroyed and about 400 people were killed or kidnapped between 1854 and 1874 in Northwest Texas and the Palo Pinto-Parker County line was recognized by J. Frank Dobie "as one of the most extensively molested by the Indians." By 1860 settlers were leaving in droves to locate to more secure places. Jonathan Hamilton Baker noted: "Met horses and people leaving the Frontier… . Came on to town this evening and learn that trains of wagons and families miles in length are leaving this country for more secure abodes. Consternation and excitement prevail and the indications are for our own county to be depopulated very soon." "Depopulation" only increased when Texas seceded and Federal troops left Fort Belknap, in neighboring Young County, and the forts in Indian Territory leaving frontiersmen to fend for themselves during the Civil War.[97]

Indians did not retard the development of slavery in northeastern Texas, but the Civil War did. Despite the fact that slave owners continued to move into the two counties throughout the Civil War, more left the area than moved in during 1863 and 1864. As the Civil War brought the end to the institution, the loss of owners and their

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[96] A letter that demanded the resignation of Robert Neighbors, Indian Agent over the reservations, was signed by 128 residents of the Palo Pinto- Parker area on April 25, 1859. The signatures included those of influential slave holders Oliver Loving, J. J. Cureton, Fuller Millsaps, and John R. Baylor. By May 23, 1859, an "Army of Defense" of 250 volunteers led by Baylor marched on the Brazos reserve and by June 23, 1859 the citizens expressed their sentiments that the only solution to the problem of frontier safety was the removal of the Brazos Reserve Indians from Texas. See in Doyle Marshall, *A Cry Unheard: The Story of Indian Attacks In and Around Parker County, Texas 1858–1872* (Aledo: Annetta Valley Farm Press, 1990), 63-65.

[97] Edith Jordan, "History of Parker County" (M.A. Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1935), 36; Marshall, *A Cry Unheard*, 17; J. H. Baker, November 30, 1860; Parker County Tax Rolls, 1856-1910; Palo Pinto County Tax Rolls, 1856-1910.

human property to other locations would not affect the future growth of slavery, and all it stood for, in Parker and Palo Pinto Counties.[98]

This is only a sample of how slavery had an effect on the early history of these counties.   As has been shown, the northwestern section of Texas and its many counties were not immune to the institution of slavery. Residents not only owned, sold, rented, and inherited human property, but the general population supported its slave holders in every walk of life. This could only have been done in a community that as a whole, subscribed to the ways of the South.

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[98] Parker County Tax Rolls, 1856-1910; Palo Pinto Tax Rolls, 1856-1910.

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