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All U-High students are eligible to submit papers written during their high school career. Submissions are reviewed anonymously by our student board composed of five members. Please see page 4 for submission guidelines — we look forward to reading your papers!

Happy Reading!

The Inflame Board
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Mission Statement

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

Criteria for Submission

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

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

All submissions are reviewed anonymously by the student board. No decisions may be repealed, however all students are encouraged to revise and resubmit their papers if not accepted. No special consideration is given to papers that have received external recognition. InFlame typically publishes between 3-5 papers an issue.

Submissions should be sent in via the InFlame Turnitin Class. For instructions on how to do this, visit https://voices.uchicago.edu/inflame/. Questions about any of our policies should be directed to cgerst@ucls.uchicago.edu.
Invisible Heroines: Women in the French Resistance

Much historical scholarship on the French Resistance during World War II has concentrated on armed combat carried out by various maquis groups. This focus has led to the misconception that resistance in France was a unified, military, and predominantly male-oriented experience. In fact, a closer analysis reveals that resistance took on several different forms, many not involving combat, and that women were involved in nearly every facet, from helping to produce clandestine newspapers, to decoding messages, to working as liaison agents or couriers. Interestingly, societal gender norms of the 1940s facilitated women’s work in clandestine resistance movements, sometimes enabling them to take advantage of traditional ideas of female innocence and passivity, and thus take on roles that men could not. At the same time, these gender roles limited women to secondary or auxiliary positions within the French Resistance; while women were essential in maintaining resistance networks, they were rarely leaders. Despite the importance of women’s roles, their contributions have often been overlooked, in part due to the post-war glorification of male combat work but also, quite ironically, because women downplayed the significance of their own acts of resistance.

The German invasion, defeat, and occupation of France in 1940 was a traumatic experience, one whose consequences led to a undeclared civil war in France between those who collaborated and those who resisted Nazi rule. The French army fell to the Germans in a shocking six-week defeat and the French government signed an armistice with Germany on June 22, 1940, initiating the division of France into a northern zone occupied by the Nazis and a southern “free” zone that was largely under French control. The terms of this armistice led to the destruction of the democratically elected French government known as the Third Republic and the emergence of an authoritarian government called “the French State” in its place. This new regime set up its capital in the town of Vichy and was led by Marshal Philippe Pétain. Pétain, a famous World War I general who had led his troops in the Battle of Verdun, inspired the trust and respect of large numbers of the French populace, who looked to him to lead during this time of crisis. Pétain’s government rejected the democratic values of the Third Republic and instead
promoted what it called a National Revolution, a xenophobic and traditionalist regime. French general Charles de Gaulle, by contrast, argued for an offensive stance against Nazi Germany. Refusing to admit defeat, he flew to London where he set up his headquarters and declared himself leader of the Free French Nation. De Gaulle made a now famous speech on the radio on June 18, 1940 telling French military personnel as well as civilians to join him -- to not give up, and keep fighting.¹

Although the majority of the French people at the start of the German Occupation kept their heads down and tried to get by, a small number simply refused to accept this defeat and undertook acts of resistance against the Nazis as well as the collaborationist Vichy state. Resistance in its early years consisted of small, separate groups, but by 1942 these groups became more like organized movements with clear networks linked to General de Gaulle in London. The resistance groups in the southern free zone of France were stronger than those of the occupied north. There were three important resistance movements: Combat, Libération-Sud, and Franc-Tireur. Resistance movements were initially most successful in distributing information and using methods of trickery rather than taking up arms because participants were outnumbered in terms of bodies and weapons; eventually, though, acts of sabotage became important as well. In the face of growing anti-Semitic policies, thousands of ordinary French citizens hid Jews on the run from Vichy and the Nazis. After the Nazis occupied the southern zone in 1942, Jean Moulin, working for de Gaulle’s Free France, organized the National Resistance Council (NRC) through which the disparate resistance groups and representatives of the Third Republic met in secret. Around the same time, Vichy instituted a new compulsory labor program (Service du travail obligatoire) that required French men to work in German labor factories, but this service backfired because many of those men instead joined the Resistance in order to escape the STO. This, then, was the moment when the Resistance became a mass movement focused on armed struggle.²

Where did women fit in this resistance story? Traditionally, historical narratives about the French Resistance have focused on the move from isolated movements to organized networks, the tensions between Gaullist and Communist groups, and the socio-economic divisions within movements. The question of women’s presence and gender roles, however, has virtually been ignored. Historian Claire Andrieu has recently addressed this blindspot in scholarship, noting that only two percent of the books written about the Resistance published between 1944 and 1995 examined women resistance fighters. A classic work on the French Resistance by H. R. Kedward demonstrates in striking fashion this lack of attention to the roles of women. For example, of the thirty interviews of resistance members conducted by Kedward for his study, only two were with women, and of the sixty-seven memoirs he read, only four were by women. More recent scholars, such as Margaret Collins Weitz and Paula Schwartz, have attempted to address gender politics as well as incorporate women into the resistance narrative, and in doing so redefine the very idea of what constitutes resistance.

During the Occupation, gender roles dictated women’s responsibilities in the Resistance, as women often sought roles that were, in some sense, extensions of their everyday activities. Women’s resistance activities included hiding Jews, the clerical work of typing and coding, and distributing underground newspapers. Historian Robert Gildea notes that men at the time did not even know how to type, and so women took on that secondary but essential job. Female résistante Agnès Humbert understood this convention when she said in her resistance memoir, “The men wrote and talked while I typed up their articles [...] I am the typist.

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Humbert clearly recognized the division of resistance tasks based on society’s preconceived notions regarding gender. However, her addition of the word “naturally” could indicate that she accepted the gendered nature of resistance work and appreciated how everyone had a distinct job -- the men thought of ideas and she wrote them down. In addition, it seems as though Humbert sometimes was able to extend her possible activities by drawing on traditional notions of women’s work. At one point in her autobiography, she asserts, “I appoint myself the group’s ‘runner,’ like the apprentices in Couture houses who run errands between the different ateliers.” By comparing her task to women’s accepted work in the fashion industry, she normalized the dangerous job of a runner or liaison agent.

Agnès Humbert was not the only female resister who utilized gender norms to shape her resistance identity. Claire Chevrillon became an important code clerk for a Gaullist resistance organization and was able to pick the members of her coding team. It is interesting that all the people she chose or who expressed interest in the job were women, establishing how this kind of painstaking, clerical work was appealing to women at the time. Additionally, in the memoirs of resistance leader Christian Pineau, he talks about the woman who hid him when he was a fugitive from Vichy. He remembers, “Thérèse takes charge of my food, my clothes, my laundry, with touching care [...] I gently scold her: ‘Thérèse, you’ll get tired, you should not still be working after two a.m.’ She answers simply: ‘It’s for France.’” Clearly, the woman who sheltered Pineau saw her resistance work through the lens of mother and domestic caretaker.

In the French Resistance, women were able to exaggerate or take advantage of widely held female stereotypes in order to accomplish important and dangerous jobs. First, as women were considered passive and naive, it was generally assumed that most resistance members were men. In this respect, women sometimes took on transport and carrying jobs because they were much less likely than men to be stopped and searched by Nazi or Vichy officials. For instance, resistance member Cécile Goldet recalls the brave work of a nun who secretly carried

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9 Humbert, 15.
11 Andrieu, 22.
documents, supplies, and messages “under her voluminous habit.” Moreover, Andrée Monier Blanchère was asked to transport a suitcase of propaganda leaflets from one town to another. She was told, “women pass more easily, especially if they smile charmingly.” Finally, famous résistante Lucie Aubrac was all too aware of her ability as a woman -- and in this case a mother -- to provide cover for her husband while he was meeting with another resistance member in a public space. She said, “A mother with her child, what could be more transparently innocent in a public park on a Sunday afternoon? I’m happy to provide some slight cover for this meeting between these two [male] résistants.” As all of these examples reveal, women took advantage of limiting female stereotypes to fulfill essential roles, turning their restrictive image into an asset.

By playing on traditional gender assumptions and using conventionally feminine attributes or skills, women carried out important acts of resistance. Impressively, Lucie Aubrac, a member of Libération-Sud, pretended to be the pregnant fiancée of her jailed husband and demanded the right to marry him before he was to be executed. This allowed her to gain access to the prison in which he was held and learn its layout in order to plan an attack and rescue him. Profiting from the gender expectations of her time, she referred to the experience as playing “the part of the young girl seduced.” Aubrac’s actions definitely qualify as extraordinarily dangerous and brave, and, therefore, they were not the norm. However, her exaggeration of her feminine characteristics to get what she wanted did represent the actions of a great number of female resisters. Berty Albrecht, for example, used her purported innocence and purity as a member of a well-off family to get a shorter jail sentence, claiming that “a young lady from a good family’ should not be kept in prison with prostitutes.” Indeed, this logic seemed to work, as she was released after just three weeks. In a different scenario, Marguerite Blot from Alsace-Lorraine used her position as a beauty salon owner as well as her ability to speak German to spy

13 Gildea, 145.
14 Lucie Aubrac, Outwitting the Gestapo, trans. Konrad Bieber (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 64.
15 Aubrac, 163.
16 Gildea, 134.
on the girlfriends of German officers while doing their hair. She then passed on the important information she acquired to male members of the Resistance.\textsuperscript{17}

In spite of all that women accomplished in the French Resistance, they were often frustrated by the gender constraints they encountered. These limitations are visible through women’s descriptions of their working conditions and the various restrictions they endured, frequently imposed by men who led resistance movements. The \textit{Corps des volontaires françaises} (CVF) was a Free French Gaullist organization aimed at recruiting female volunteers for auxiliary jobs in order to make male volunteers’ jobs easier so the men could focus on fighting. As a result, women were “trained as military personnel but worked as shorthand typists, telephonists, drivers, nurses and social workers.”\textsuperscript{18} CVF volunteer Tereska Szwarc expressed her dissatisfaction with this limitation: “I joined the army with great enthusiasm but am useless because I can’t take shorthand or type. Yet the only thing that counts here is being able to type.”\textsuperscript{19} Jeanne Bohec also struggled against stereotypes in the course of her resistance work. Trained as a chemist, she wanted to utilize her knowledge of nitrates to help produce weapons for the Free French, but was denied this opportunity. Like Szwarc, Bohec resents these restrictions: “They tried to train me as a nurse’s aide. I hated it. I had chemistry and scientific training and had worked with gunpowder. I hadn’t escaped France and joined up just to fold bandages.”\textsuperscript{20} Therefore, even military-oriented groups could only imagine women in non-combat, secondary roles, and what female volunteers were allowed to do was shaped by the social norms of the day.

Certain women accepted these limitations without obvious resentment. Female resister Claire Chevrillon remembered a time when she was asked by her boss, Robert Gautier, to pick up a suitcase packed with radio equipment. She wrote, “Later Gautier told me how angry he had been with himself for asking me to get the bag while he stayed safe at home. But we agreed that he had been right because he was mission chief: my arrest would obviously be less important than his.”\textsuperscript{21} It is clear from Chevrillon’s remarks that women not only fulfilled secondary roles

\textsuperscript{17} Gildea, 141.
\textsuperscript{18} Gildea, 132.
\textsuperscript{19} Gildea, 132.
\textsuperscript{20} Weitz, Sisters in the Resistance, 153.
\textsuperscript{21} Chevrillon, 76.
such as runners and couriers, but also were more expendable than men. Traditional gender roles are also perceptible in Chevrillon’s own understanding of her work as a code clerk. She declared, “Not being privy to what was happening higher up, I frequently didn’t understand the messages I worked on.” Here, it is evident that while her work was essential, she was prohibited from knowing the intricate details of the very messages she decoded.

Other women who experienced this kind of reduction in the importance of their roles in the Resistance were Agnès Humbert and Genia Deschamps. Humbert helped to create a resistance cell in early 1940 by approaching her work colleague, Jean Cassou, with the idea. Yet, when the group formalized positions, she assumed without protest, “[Cassou] will be the leader of our group” -- as indeed he became. Genia Deschamps was a member of the resistance movement Défense de France in the northern zone. She took on typically feminine tasks such as organizing supplies, contacts, and meetings for the group. Sometimes she felt that “men regarded women’s role as mending socks but, she riposted, ‘if I had darned the socks of everyone who was in the maquis, we would never have got off the start.’” Deschamps undoubtedly recognized the way gender norms reduced her role in the Resistance to that of “mending socks,” but, at the same time, asserted the significance of her work by noting that, without her, the group never would have been successful.

Not only were women in the Resistance limited by men’s gender expectations, but they also limited themselves, usually in the form of actively downplaying the importance of their own contributions. Postwar writings, reflections, and interviews by women on the nature of their work shows how they internalized their secondary status. For instance, throughout her memoir, Agnès Humbert completed tasks that were essential to the success of her movement and dangerous enough to eventually be sent to jail, yet she constantly minimized the importance of her role in the Resistance. In one instance, she recalled that after the arrest of their movement’s leader, the group enlisted new men to fill the positions left behind. When referring to herself, she simply stated, “I shall carry on with all my humble duties: typist, secretary, go-between and runner.”

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22 Chevrillon, 120.
23 Humbert, 12.
24 Gildea, 144.
25 Humbert, 36.
In an earlier passage, she described her important task of arranging the secret meetings of male members of the Resistance, but she speaks of herself in this self-deprecating way: “I feel like a huntsman’s dog laying game birds at its master’s feet.”\textsuperscript{26} In both these cases, Humbert was overly modest about her key contributions, and, in some sense, willingly accepted her subordinate position.

Many women displayed similar attitudes with regard to their own roles in the Resistance. Claire Chevrillon, for example, remembering her lesser standing in her resistance movement, described it in a way that suggests almost complete acquiescence: “When I was around Gautier I could sense that important things were happening -- what, I couldn’t tell, and asked no questions. I was a small cog in a big machine and that was knowledge enough.”\textsuperscript{27} From this memory, Chevrillon was well aware of her lower place in her resistance cell, and it is clear from her assertion “that was knowledge enough” that she readily accepted it. She also made no effort here to increase her awareness or enlarge her role; she “asked no questions.” In a similar vein, résistante Jacqueline Bernard refused to take on the title of editor of the left-wing underground newspaper \textit{Combat}, even though that was technically her job, claiming that “men would command more respect in the position and be able to recruit writers more readily.”\textsuperscript{28} Despite her evident abilities, Bernard is yet another case in the larger pattern of women subordinating themselves to men in the Resistance.

The tendency of resistance women to belittle their own importance transcended ideological beliefs or political differences. Regardless of whether women were members of Gaullist movements or more radical Communist groups, they typically downplayed their own contributions. Edith Thomas is a good case in point. She helped to establish the National Committee of Writers, a Communist group, in 1942 and held their clandestine meetings in her own apartment. She recounts one such gathering: “‘When I had managed to find enough chairs [...] I sat and kept quiet in my corner.’”\textsuperscript{29} Thus, even in the more militant Communist movement, traditional gender roles as well as women’s propensity to diminish themselves often held firm.

\textsuperscript{26} Humbert, 29.
\textsuperscript{27} Chevrillon, 79.
\textsuperscript{28} Weitz, Sisters in the Resistance, 71.
\textsuperscript{29} Andrieu, 16.
Even when women stepped out of their usual auxiliary roles, such as engaging in armed combat, they were still unable to overturn prevailing female gender conceptions. Most women were denied entry into fighting units and maquis groups, and they were usually refused access to weapons, as was the case with Tereska Szwarc; the use of women in combat was very much an exception. Intriguing, though, is the fact that when women did become involved in armed resistance, they were usually thought of and referred to as “honorary men,” thus losing their gender identity entirely.30 Feminist historian Paula Schwartz provides two interesting examples of this phenomenon. Juliette Dubois Plissonnier was a supervisor in a French Communist organization. She remembers that “upon arriving for a meeting [over] which she was to preside, a male activist expressed surprise at finding her present, exclaiming: ‘What?! A woman here?’ This provoked the reply from one of the group members, ‘She’s not a woman, she’s the boss.’”31 Similarly, Anna Pouzache was the liaison agent for the leader of a maquis, and often camped in the woods with the other members. When a new arrival to the group said, “‘What? A woman in the maquis?’” another résistant responded, “‘It’s not a woman, it’s Anna.’”32 These two instances suggest that even when women held leadership positions in combat work, they were no longer thought of as women.

This situation held true for Lucie Aubrac as well, who took up arms to free her husband from jail. After the escape, while they hid with a French family, one of the men in hiding with them called out for the women to take care of a small child. Aubrac recounted that she stood up obediently, but was told, “‘Not you! I was speaking to my women [the women in his family]. You’re a man, you know. You fight like a man. You stay with us.’” Aubrac was visibly pregnant at the time, which made the comment all the more ironic. She noted this by contemplating, “I look down at my stomach [...] Is there anything masculine about that? Why is it that the greatest compliment a man can pay a woman is to tell her: you write, you work, you act like a man.”33 Lucie Aubrac was quite exceptional in her courageous actions, but it is evident here that her male colleagues simply could not imagine a woman acting in this way and so they

33 Aubrac, 195.
called her a man instead. Therefore, even in the rare cases when women stepped out of their designated roles, they could never rework the gender norms of the period.

In conclusion, women were involved in nearly every component of the French Resistance, their jobs ranging from delivering messages, to producing clandestine newspapers, to even occasionally bearing arms. Traditional gender norms, however, determined the tasks and responsibilities that women typically took on within this resistance environment. On the one hand, these societal standards created space for women’s contributions, as certain jobs were thought of as more feminine, and thus gave women a distinct calling or line of work to fulfill. Women could even profit from perceptions of female naïveté and submissiveness by adopting roles that men could not carry out without attracting suspicion. Conversely, women were in some instances greatly restricted by prevailing female stereotypes, and were often denied leadership positions in their movements as well as entry into maquis fighting groups. In spite of women’s key contributions to the Resistance, their presence has remained largely undocumented in resistance literature. More recent scholars have attributed this lack of recognition to the idea of women not asserting themselves after the war. As one historian of the Resistance notes, “women resisters were not feminists”; they joined the Resistance for moral and patriotic reasons and did not think of their work through the lens of women’s activism. Consequently, most did not deliberately seek recognition for their actions after the war and were willing to return to their former lives as wives, mothers, and daughters.

Additionally, resistance became increasingly identified with military action after the war itself was over. General de Gaulle, in particular, sought to memorialize the men who fought for his Free French forces. Post-war medals for resistance activities such as the Compagnon de la Libération were given almost exclusively to these men for taking up arms against the Nazis. Indeed, of the 1,059 medals awarded after the war, only six were given to women. In this context, clandestine acts of resistance, usually performed by women, turned from hidden to essentially invisible. Thus began the resistance myth of combat heroics, recognizing men’s achievements while further obscuring women’s involvement.

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34 Andrieu, 16-17.
35 Schwartz, “Redefining Resistance,” 144.
In the face of this male-dominated narrative, historians such as Paula Schwartz have endeavored to expand the definition of resistance to include the smaller, clandestine, non-combat actions that were routinely carried out by women.\(^{36}\) In fact, one can go even further by incorporating the efforts of those who were not full-time members of the Resistance, but nonetheless played crucial supporting roles in making larger acts possible. These contributors were concierges who hid people in their buildings, people who brought food to maquis groups in the woods, or family members willing to take care of the children of full-time résistants. These figures, almost all women, are mentioned in many resistance memoirs, but have not yet achieved due recognition. One such example is Léonie Villard, a professor of English in Lyon, France. She was not an active member of any resistance group, but distributed anti-Vichy tracts for the Resistance. Her story has only recently become known after her unpublished diary was deposited to the archives of Mount Holyoke for scholarly use.\(^{37}\) No doubt, there are untold numbers of women who, like Villard, engaged in these informal acts of resistance, and their stories are waiting to be told.

It is also useful to consider the hidden effect of women’s resistance work on post-war gender norms and political activism. As already mentioned, these female resisters were not women’s rights advocates, but they might have become more feminist in orientation during the years that followed World War II. Women also received the right to vote in 1944. It would be interesting to examine if and how women’s contributions to the Resistance, combined with this new civic right, might have eventually changed their perceptions of themselves with regards to gender status. In other words, did these women simply go back to their previous lives before the war, or did they become more interested in carving a new path for themselves going forward?

\(^{36}\) Schwartz, “Redefining Resistance,” 142-143.

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The Influence of the Trans-Saharan Trade on the Mali Empire

The Trans-Saharan Trade originated around the third century C.E. At this time, camels were widely used as pack animals, which enabled the transportation of commercial goods by camel caravan across the treacherous Sahara Desert. The trade developed quickly over the next few centuries and was a primary connection between the civilizations of West and North Africa. The principal commodities of the Trans-Saharan Trade were gold, slaves, and salt, as well as other goods including textiles and various agricultural products. Carthaginian coins dating around the 6th century CE contained West African gold, proving the existence of a steady gold trade and a strong Trans-Saharan connection by that time. The gold trade was particularly important because it prompted the Arab conquests of the late 7th century, which would have great influence on the civilizations of West Africa in the centuries to come. In 688, the Berber queen Kahina said, “the Arabs seek for towns, gold and silver.” The gold trade served as a key encouraging factor for Arab expansion--it did not begin as a result of the Arab conquests. The growing Trans-Saharan Trade and increased Arab Islamic influence began to cause extensive change in West Africa. Notably, the Trans-Saharan Trade networks enabled the introduction of Islam to West African civilizations. After the decline of the Ghana Empire, West Africa saw the rise of King Sundiata and the Mali Empire around 1230. Not only did the Trans-Saharan Trade help with consolidation of power, but it also shaped the social structures of Mali. By expanding political influence, increasing economic opportunity, and creating additional cross-cultural interaction, the Trans-Saharan Trade served as a critical component in the changes and maintenance of key political, financial, and religious institutions in the Mali Empire.

First, the Trans-Saharan Trade was a catalyst for the influx of Islam, which caused crucial changes to religious and non-religious facets of Malian society. Since gold was a significant factor in the Arab expansion into Africa, the Trans-Saharan Trade inevitably brought

3 Garrard, 450.
4 Ibid.
Islamic influence along with trade products. Although Islamic influence had been present in the preceding Ghana Empire, it made important developments in the Mali Empire. Most notably, the Trans-Saharan Trade made pilgrimage possible, and leaders like Mansa Musa were inspired from what they learned in Mecca. Many Muslim writers commended Mansa Musa as “a great king because of his piety and pilgrimage.”\textsuperscript{5} The Trans-Saharan Trade also established a Malian footprint elsewhere, implementing relations with foreign powers and advertising Mali’s rich natural resources.\textsuperscript{6} However, the Malian interpretation of Islam mixed with the pre-existing local beliefs and practices of Mali, which received some criticism from Arab writers like Ibn Battuta.\textsuperscript{7} Outside of religion, Islam affected the educational and scholarly institutions of Mali. The Islamic value of being able to understand the Quran inspired scholarship and emphasized education in Malian society. Timbuktu became a center for Islamic scholarship, with the emergence of many Koranic schools and libraries, which led to the development of scholarship in other fields as well.\textsuperscript{8} In the rival city of Jenne, most scholars were traders who practiced Islam, and attempted to convert middlemen along trade routes.\textsuperscript{9} This connection between scholarship and the Trans-Saharan trade meant that “Islam, learning, and commerce were closely intertwined, and the weakening of one caused the deterioration of the other two.”\textsuperscript{10} However, it should be noted that while Islam became an important part of Malian society and a major guide for the empire, it never overtook the Trans-Saharan Trade in importance. Though the presence of trade incentivized conversion to Islam, leaders still prioritized the strength of trade over Islam. Although Malian leaders had control over animistic gold-bearing districts, “they never tried to convert them to Islam, as when they did the gold production decreased.”\textsuperscript{11} The leaders’ value of trade stability over religious unity revealed their highest priority. Overall, however, the entrance of Islamic religion into Mali via the Trans-Saharan Trade was a crucial step to the growth of the empire, as it expanded Mali’s global network while also developing domestic institutions.

\textsuperscript{5} Zoghby, 188.
\textsuperscript{8} Timothy A. Insoll, "The Road to Timbuktu: Trade & Empire," Archaeology 53, no. 6 (2000): 51-2.
\textsuperscript{9} Zoghby, 233.
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 242.
The Trans-Saharan Trade also changed the landscape of Mali’s economic and financial affairs. While the Mali Empire and preceding civilizations in the same region all took advantage of abundant natural resources, the development of the Trans-Saharan Trade created the opportunity to trade for previously unavailable goods. The trade was lucrative for merchants and the Malian government via the creation of taxes and tariffs to regulate it. The government even instituted a policy declaring that all gold nuggets were the property of the state.\(^{12}\) Moreover, Mali was able to put excess and nonessential resources to use trading for textiles, horses, as well as trading agricultural goods for resources like gold and copper.\(^{13}\) As the demand for gold currency persisted for centuries, the Trans-Saharan Trade remained stable and reliable. Even when the gold trade was not booming, the variety of goods involved with the trade created a consistent exchange across the desert. That Mansa Musa is sometimes referred to as the richest person in history goes to show the Mali Empire’s success as a result of the Trans-Saharan Trade.\(^{14}\) Ghana’s success with the Trans-Saharan Trade was significant, but the Mali Empire simply took wealth and trade to another level, reaching a previously unheard of level of capital and global economic leverage.

Finally, the Trans-Saharan Trade created a foundation on which the Mali Empire could build politically. The trade enabled consolidation and maintenance of power, expanded political control and reach, and even built diplomatic relations. From the birth of the empire, it was evident that the Trans-Saharan Trade was critical to political stability, as King Sundiata seized power in a time of instability largely due to trade monopolies: “Western Sudanic states diverted considerable trade to their frontiers simply by Saharan passes, desert towns, salt mines, wells, and other resources.”\(^{15}\) Mali was also placed conveniently along the Niger River and key trade routes, which was instrumental in creating trade opportunity.\(^{16}\) By amassing trade authority, the Mali Empire gained legitimacy in the eyes of its people and others. Moreover, such control of trade built up an important economic base that contributed to political stability. In particular,

\(^{12}\) Zogby, 235-6.
\(^{13}\) Ibid., 209-10.
\(^{14}\) Ibid., 190.
\(^{16}\) Ibid., 419

University of Chicago Laboratory High School
control over a vast area meant that tribute taxes could be collected and used to fund political activity, such as purchasing goods or financing war. The gold trade in particular was so critical to the success of Mali that political officials near the gold mines created complex structures to maximize efficiency and protect key resources. Not only were exports important, but political officials also took advantage of weaponry and horses brought in from across the Sahara to build strong militaries. Ibn Battuta recounted that “in all the vastness of Mali a complete security prevails; one can dwell and travel without fear of theft of pillage.” Beyond the scope of its own kingdom, the Trans-Saharan Trade also gave Mali distinction and recognition even across the Mediterranean in Spain as they became famed for their gold. The Catalan atlas (c. 1375), pictured right, depicts renown Malian ruler Mansa Musa sitting on a throne holding a piece of gold. Additionally, copper alloy vessels from Britain were transported across the Sahara to West Africa around the period of the Mali Empire, proving the existence of trade connections beyond even nearby Spain. Lastly, the Trans-Saharan Trade enabled the spread of Islam to West Africa. Devout Muslim Malian leaders would often make pilgrimages, and along the way they would often establish diplomatic relationships with North African and Arab rulers. Such relationships were maintained by written correspondence between leaders, and delegations were often sent across the Sahara to give gifts and deal with business matters. Hence, the Trans-Saharan Trade was a major factor in the Mali Empire’s political strength, enabling the empire to maintain power and stabilize domestic affairs while growing its quickly expanding circle of

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18 Ibid.
19 Zoghby, 197.
20 Abraham Cresques, *Nomade d'Afrique et le seigneur de Guinée*, illuminated manuscript on parchment, 1375, (Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris).
22 Masonen, 136-7.
Thus, the development of the Mali Empire as a widely recognized political and economic superpower largely depended on the Trans-Saharan Trade. The trade acted as a catalyst for growth by raising economic volume, creating connections with foreign civilizations, allowing financial and political stability, expanding influence and diplomacy, and introducing Islam to Mali. Ultimately, the Trans-Saharan Trade did far more than enable the exchange of goods between West and North Africa. Commercial goods did cross the desert, but so did the culture and politics that empowered West African progress.
Bibliography


Music in the Antebellum Air: National Identities and Ideologies Embodied in Song

“A patriotic song is an enchanted key to memory’s deepest cells [...] kindles sacred flames in chambers unvisited by other agencies.”¹ Nationalist music serves a unique and major role in rallying patriotism and forming national identity. For example, the songs “God Bless America” and “God Bless the USA” were both used to rally support during wars and presidential campaigns, as well as to present and defend the idea of the American Dream.² However, music also represents the American national identity in a variety of social aspects, especially during the Revolutionary Era and throughout the Antebellum period. The colonists used music to express both intra-national and international sentiments and relationships. Throughout the Antebellum period, Americans used music in religion, entertainment, and military proceedings to represent their national identity both internally and to other groups: to establish a unique identity separate from Britain, communicate diplomatically with other groups, such as Native Americans and the French, and embody their major political ideologies after the creation of the party system.

Music was widespread during the Antebellum period, serving as a method of spreading ideas throughout society. For example, music was integrated into entertainment in many forms, with pioneers of Westward expansion bringing instruments and reporting back the new lands’ dangers alongside their popular musical practices.³ Composers were able to gain popularity through the broad media exposure of both musical performances and publications, as Willig and Mozart did in the Philadelphia market.⁴ Students were also exposed to popular pieces since music was taught nationwide because many saw it as necessary for mental and spiritual growth

Music was integrated into society, reaching a wide variety of people to the point that it could be used to spread information and ideologies, especially during the Revolutionary War.

Throughout the Revolutionary Era, the colonists used music to establish an identity distinct from Britain. Before the revolution, American music was heavily influenced by Britain because the country had no other musical history to draw upon. Popular European styles of composition (like traditional classical music) and composers (including Tans’ur, Knapp, Williams, and Stephenson) were quickly imported. However, during the Revolution, Americans used music to inspire nationalism and discourage lingering British support; pieces with this purpose were often called outlaw ballads and symbolized freedom and the right to rebel among colonists, commonly citing figures like Robin Hood. Even before the outbreak of war, colonists ridiculed actions they felt threatened their rights in song. For example, in 1733, British Governor Cosby burned popular American books and two nationalist ballads. In response, the popular song “Come on, Brave Boys” declared that the British oppressors should be “condemned by every man that’s fond of liberty,” justifying the colonists’ right to rebel and spreading the idea of their obvious moral superiority. These sentiments continued throughout the Revolutionary War: “The Parody,” a popular melody published in the Boston Gazette calls British troops “mobs, knaves, and villains” who are reaping the consequences of depriving the colonists of their “fair Liberty.” These ideas were often spread among the army through published volumes of patriotic music (such as Billings’ popular works), as well as public protests playing nationalist music in the streets, called rough music. Following the Boston Massacre, America continued to

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8 Pencak, et. al. pp. 144-150.


10 Pencak, et. al., pp. 130, 144-148.


12 Pencak, et. al., pp. 6-8.
denounce Britain through popular music like “You Simple Bostonians.” Another piece, “Unhappy Boston,” describes the “hallowed walks [of Boston as] besmear’d with guiltless gore” left by “faithless [and] fierce barbarians.”13 This portrays the British soldiers as uncivilized and sacrilegious enemies suppressing the divinely chosen Americans. This negative depiction is paralleled in “Liberty Song” which served as a call to arms, claiming that joining the rebellion was the only way “our Children [could] gather the fruits of our pain.”14 In these Revolutionary Era songs, the colonists’ rebellion is displayed as righteous and vital.

The colonists also used music to mock and separate themselves from Britain during The War of 1812, creating some nationalist compositions that are still known today. A good example of this is “Yankee Doodle,” a song mocking British Nationalism that emerged just before the war. Before the growth of this song, Yankee (deriving from a Dutch female name) was used as a derogatory term that mocked the colonists as inexperienced. However, this became an honorific term (for example in the ballad “Yankee Tars,” which asserted America as a place of hope and prosperity), spurring Nationalism in the colonies and becoming a global identifier for their nation.15 This song showcased the energetic spirit and innovation of the colonies, as well as their distinctiveness from the Old World; it quickly attained immense popularity, spurring many parodies.16 Another piece rallying patriotism during this time was the song that would become the National Anthem in 1931, “The Star Spangled Banner,” written by Francis Scott Key in 1814 to spread the news of the victory of the Battle of Baltimore and ignite hope.17 The news was also spread through “The Battle of Baltimore,” which summoned able-bodied men to fight.18 The spontaneity and style of both of these pieces were distinct from typical European music of the time in order to distinguish their identity.19 Throughout the second war against Britain, American composers continued to rally nationalism and gather hope through song, especially by emphasizing and spreading the news of victories.

13 Pencak, et. al., pp. 141-142.
14 Pencak, et. al., pp. 145.
15 Hildebrand, pp. 253–271.
16 Pencak, et. al., pp. 148-151.
18 Hildebrand, pp. 253–271.
Following the Revolutionary Era, Americans used British and European music as a foundation for cultural revolution. During the Romantic Period (1800-1850), there was a fundamental change in the American view of music, with a shift away from their compositional past and current European trends; instead, people focused on pieces composed by Americans that were put in direct competition with the European market. Rejection of British music in this period was especially marked by the waning popularity of famous British composers (like Flagg, Bayley, Stickney, and Law) and the rejection of various motifs used in traditional European classical music. As the nation began to develop their own style of music, American composers and sympathists (like French composer Chateaudun) began to develop motifs and draw from new influences that appealed distinctly to America. Americans used music to declare their cultural identity and communicate to Britain that they were a separate entity, and this musical independence “served as a touchstone of the developing national culture of the United States.”

Besides defining their national identity in relation to Britain, Americans also used music to communicate their identity with other groups, especially as a tool for diplomacy. For instance, music that was shared reflects the close relationship between revolutionary America and France. During the Revolutionary Era, Thomas Jefferson’s international letters as French ambassador described his admiration for French music and his desire to import their style. He also invited French musicians to come to America, even offering to pay necessary expenses.

Besides reflecting diplomatic relations with France, music also reflects the shifting view of Native American groups. During the colonial era, religious hymns were used as a method of diplomacy, and whites attempting to teach American culture to assimilate Native Americans used music to communicate their identity with other groups, especially as a tool for diplomacy. For instance, music that was shared reflects the close relationship between revolutionary America and France.

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21 Daniel, pp. 49–58.
Americans taught popular vocal music alongside the English language. However, as the national perception of Native Americans soured in the Antebellum period, Native American music was viewed as increasingly savage and sacrilegious. While conquering the West, military tunes spread the idea of Manifest Destiny, the divine right to take over the Native American lands. In international communications, such as with the Native Americans or the French, music was often used either as a diplomatic tool or as a way to spread ideas of superiority.

Besides directly communicating their views of other nations, music was also used to distinguish unique elements of American culture. For example, the youthful enthusiasm and new ways of the American people were often emphasized in song, especially to contrast the old ways of Europe: “Chester” describes how British soldiers “flee before our youth” and the first stanza of “Yankee Doodle,” which became a global identifier of America, describes young men courting women while energetically harvesting corn. Music also elevated some national figures to heroes in order to distinguish Americans from the Europeans. An example of this is Tammany, the Indian chief who signed a peace treaty with William Penn in 1683. Soon after the Revolutionary War, the popular tune “Tammany” brought him back into the public awareness, describing the titular “Saint” as “heroic [and] brave,” and elevating him to a legendary status. Another example of an elevated national figure is Columbus, especially as Europe began to refer to New England as “Columbia.” Americans embraced this, naming the female head adorning their new coins of 1785 Columbia and allowing her to become the figurehead for the new nation. A song inspired by this figurehead, “Columbia” by Timothy Dwight, published in 1787, served as “an unofficial national anthem into the 19th century.”

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29 Pencak, et. al., pp. 130, 144-148.
30 Pencak, et. al., pp. 148-151.
31 Pencak, et. al., pp. 184-185.
32 Pencak, et. al., pp. 211.
church singers that gained popularity and political influence.\textsuperscript{33} They were held as an example of the common man’s voice having success and influence via only their talent, thus achieving the American Dream.\textsuperscript{34} Music played a significant role in differentiating the nation both internally and internationally, often promoting distinguishing features of American culture.

Especially after their identity was cemented as separate from Britain, music also reflected many types of internal divides, including differentiating sectionalist ideologies and playing a major role in the politics of the time. Many groups, including religious groups, rural communities, and elite socio-economic classes, tried to distinguish themselves from others through associating themselves with different music. Besides this, music was used throughout the Antebellum period politically. Both parties rallied behind music and mocked each others’ motifs, while many without political power united under kinds of music to try to attain rights. Music did not only distinguish the new nation from others, but also smaller, internal groups from those outside of them.

Many sectionalist ideologies were expressed through music, including religious philosophies and the divide between rural and urban communities. Religious hymns were often used as a vehicle of congregational worship, since Puritan settlers used tunes from the Ainsworth Psalter to spread their religion.\textsuperscript{35} People often described religious songs as drifting out of church windows in a “most beautiful manner,”\textsuperscript{36} making it a useful tool to draw others to convert. When new religious distinctions emerged, religious music also diversified to reflect this.\textsuperscript{37} Besides dividing Evangelicals and non-evangelicals, this musical divergence also occurred between rural and urban communities. Rural areas often clung to more simple, traditionalist music passed

\textsuperscript{37} Daniel, pp. 49–58.
down orally, which was seen representative of being a “country[man] in the heart of” the land.38
This divide can especially be seen in the music taught in regional educational institutions.39
Identifying oneself as a true countryman or a member of some religion required devotion to
particular styles of music, demonstrating the importance of music to sectional identities.

Diverging styles of music in this period also represented another divide: socio-economic
class. The duality between upper-class and lower-class composers and styles only grew more
apparent over America’s history. After the Battle of Baltimore in the War of 1812, both “The Star
Spangled Banner” and “The Battle of Baltimore” were written to spread the news. However, the
use of lower class vocabulary (like “Our cannon an’t all plac’d yet”),40 purely descriptive
language and the climatic call to action all label “The Battle of Baltimore” as an anthem of the
‘lower-class.’ In contrast, Francis Key’s ‘high-class’ background and flowery language, as well
as his use of the tune from “The Anacreontic Song” (the anthem of a popular London
gentlemen’s club) demonstrate the upper class appeal of “The Star Spangled Banner.”41 Over
time, “The Battle of Baltimore” has been mostly forgotten because of its direct appeal to the
lower class; in contrast, “The Star Spangled Banner,” as a sophisticated and flowery tune,
remains the National Anthem today. After the Revolutionary War, styles of music played during
formal gatherings or within private parlors continued to be associated with the upper class.42
Classical music became so intertwined with the idea of class that by the end of the century, “the
symphony orchestra more than any other institution came to represent high culture in most
American cities.”43 This demonstrates the extent to which music represented the socio-political
class divide during this period. Since music deeply represented sectionalist divides like socio-
economic class, it also played a major role in the political system.

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American History Online, online.infobase.com/Auth/Index?aid=18118&itemid=WE52&articleId=553924. Accessed
39 Eaklor, pp. 87–99.
40 “The Battle of Baltimore” on K. Hildebrand, David. Music of the War of 1812 [2-disc audio CD set] Annapolis,
41 Hildebrand, pp. 253–271.

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Music often reflected the major political ideologies after the emergence of the two party system. Both parties taunted each other musically, mocking each others’ European influences. The Democratic Republican cause became intertwined with French revolutionary music by both those who supported and opposed their position, especially as some of these pieces gained immense popularity and exposure. “Carmanole,” “Ca Ira” and “Marseillaise” all served as political anthems for this party. In contrast, the Federalist Party became associated, especially among the upper class, with anti-French Revolutionary music such as “Captivity,” “Louis the Sixteenth’s Lamentation,” and “Maria Antoinette’s Complaint.” Federalist music more closely followed British influences since Federalists more closely aligned with British political views, such as “Hail Columbia” and “The Star Spangled Banner,” which was set to the tune of an English song. Music also played a vital role in election campaigns; the Presidential election of 1840 involved frequent musical performances. Throughout the Antebellum period, political parties used music to represent their major ideologies.

Antebellum music also played a crucial role in the political system by spreading the influence of many groups that were previously unheard. For example, many upper class women were first exposed to political sentiments through music played in parlors and during public gatherings. Since women’s suffrage had already been granted in France, many women especially rallied behind French Revolutionary Music, which quickly became associated with the push for women’s rights in the late Antebellum period. People of color also rallied behind music to push for their rights. For example, in a tradition beginning in the 1850s, abolitionists, often of Native American or African American ancestry, would embody the Founding Fathers in song and dance, expressing that whites were not the only race of Yankee to fight and die in the

49 Pencak, et. al., pp. 241-243.
American Revolution for freedom. In opposition to their cause, those against African American rights mocked these performances as underdeveloped and unpattered, claiming they were barely music at all. Throughout this period, many people used music to represent and spread political messages, including advocating for their own freedom and rights through song. Often, certain styles of music became intertwined with specific political causes, making them a rallying call for supporters and a target for opponents’ mockery.

Antebellum music represented many aspects of the emerging American national identity, such as cementing cultural independence from Britain, communicating relationships with other nations, and expressing internal cultural and political divides, including political causes and sectionalist ideologies. Music continued to reflect divided national ideologies through the Civil War; for example, Union soldiers would mock Confederate pride by whistling the tune “Dixie” after military victories. Throughout this period, music was vital in not only the self-expression of the American people, but also propagating select views in a widespread manner; for instance, it was often used in political propaganda, diplomatic relations, and as a rallying cry to ignite patriotism. All of these uses demonstrate the extent that music is integrated into cultural expression and can serve as a widely understandable form of disseminating information. Ultimately, music is affected by the national cultural identity and its associated ideologies, as well as various intra-national identities that the composer identifies with. John Dewey once called these influences the “collective individuality” of any culture: “Like the individuality of the person from whom a work of art issues, this collective individuality leaves its indelible imprint upon the art that is produced [within that culture].”

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