



U-HIGH HISTORY JOURNAL

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Dear Reader--

Welcome to the first issue of U-High's new history Journal, *InFlame*!

This journal will publish history and economics papers written by U-High Students. The Journal will be published semi-annually on the Lab School Website, and annually in print.

Submissions to the Journal will be reviewed by a student and faculty editorial board composed of four students and two history teachers. The board will have a blind selection process, and will select between four and eight papers to publish.

If you have a paper you'd like to submit, please send it to
inflame.journal@gmail.com.

Happy Reading!

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Mission Statement

We are a student-run journal dedicated to publications in history and economics. We wish to promote scholarly discussion by providing students a forum on which to publish and share work with their peers. Our editorial staff will work 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 historical and economic writing.

Criteria for Submission

Must be a double spaced history or economics paper between 4 and 18 pages in length

Bibliography and endnotes in Turabian Style ([guidelines here](#))

Must be submitted in a Word Document

Cover Page should contain title (and subtitle if applicable), author name, name of history class

1 inch margins

Double spaced

12 pt., Times New Roman font

Header: Author last name and page number

Illustrations, maps, and tables welcome

Spotlight on a Historian: Anne Lester

InFlame: What drew you to history and your field?

Anne Lester: Hmm, a number of things: the stories about the second world war that my grandfather would tell led me to an appreciation of the significance of events in the past and their impact on our lives in the present. And he was a good story-teller, so that also taught me about how to construct a narrative; how we write makes our ideas compelling and clear. There were other things too: time spent in the Oriental Institute as a child, surrounded by a sense of the deep past — the shared human experience of life lived and the mundane reality of much of it that we all share across so many countless generations was always deeply compelling for me. At U-High, courses with Earl Bell were critical for me. I am not sure how or why, but his passion for the past and for individual lives and decisions was infectious, and his encouragement was utterly invaluable!

In college I was a Classics and History double major and it was then that I decided to focus on the Middle Ages and medieval France specifically. I spent three summers working on an archeological excavation of a thirteenth-century abbey in northern France (the city of Soissons-- a city, that just by chance, my grandfather (who was also, by the way, a U-High alum, class of.... ca.1931) was stationed in during WWII) and that was an amazing firsthand experience of the past from which I never turned back. That also instilled in me a love of France, french culture and its history and that has become the focus of my current research.

IF: What is your favorite topic to research?

AL: Whatever I am working on at the moment! Mostly those topics that we don't fully understand or don't have all the information for — which I think is why I am drawn to the medieval period. Right now my research has turned to consider material culture and the role of objects in peoples lives. My current book project focuses on relics that come into northern France following the Fourth Crusade of 1204 when contingents of French and Flemish knights captured and took over the Byzantine (Greek) Empire and its capital, Constantinople. Historians have considered this an example of the failure of the ideals of the crusades, but the holy objects they brought or sent back to France suggest the opposite, so I wanted to know more about what happened and why. The interaction of cultures and peoples that occurred as a consequence is particularly interesting and has led me to begin taking Greek this semester, which has been tons of fun!

IF: Why do you think it's important to study history?

AL: We have so much to learn about ourselves as human beings, about the choices we make, how we function as societies and individuals and so much of this is reflected in the past. I don't necessarily believe the old adage that we are doomed to repeat history if we don't study it, but we should be aware of events — especially mistakes — in the past and consider parallels and resonances now. For example, never has a state fought a major overseas war without taxing its population to do so first (one thinks of the great

crusade taxes that allowed kings to go to war in the eastern Mediterranean). It is quite shocking that although the U.S. has been involved in several wars on several fronts in the past decade there has never been a tax to pay for them; in fact we have cut taxes during this time. Medieval rulers would think we were nuts... The past also allows us to look critically at ideas and institutions, to see their roots and genesis, and this helps us to understand the the consequences they have in turn. one thinks of things like slavery, constitutions, democracy, women's rights, etc.

IF: What role do you think history has in shaping the present?

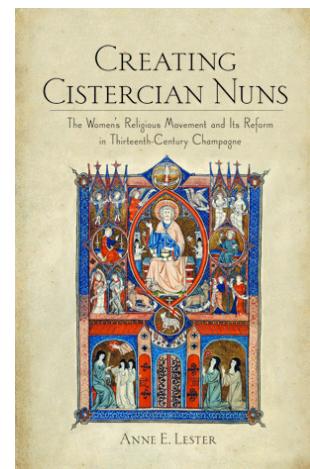
AL: A very significant role. It is not always clear to us what that is, or what historical aspects shape the present, but they are certainly there. One can clearly make arguments about this in our current elections, or with respect to the roles of women and minorities in positions of power. Even medieval historians think about these things. The major journal in our field is call "the Mirror" (under the Latin title *Speculum*) referring to the fact that what medieval historians write about reflects our present and shapes it in turn. I also think—something people often disregard—that the way we narrate events, the ways we tell stories and write histories, shapes our present profoundly. Political events often dominate this narrative, give it shape and form, but this is not always the case. Thinking anew and in new ways about how we tell stories of the past and what kinds of evidence we use could produce a different past that would shape the present differently in turn. And of course, for good and for bad, events in the past often are used to justify events or decisions in the present. They create precedent or they offer cautionary anti-models and occasionally ideas to strive toward.

Anne Lester (U-High class of '92) recently published her first book, "Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne." The book focuses on the role women played in the religious reform movement of the thirteenth century. More information can be found [here](#).

Lester, who completed her B.A at Brown University, and her doctorate at Princeton University, is now an associate professor at the University of Colorado at Boulder, where she teaches classes on legal history, the medieval church, colonization and the crusades, and the role of women in the pre-modern world.



Anne Lester



Her First Book

Photos courtesy of Anne Lester

With Such High Zest: Children's Literature in Pre and Post-World I

By Eleanor Shuttenberg

Literature always reflects, in some form or another, the attitudes and zeitgeist of the historical time, and children's literature is no exception. From its inception in the eighteenth century, children's literature has mirrored and brought to light important social issues transpiring at the time. At the turn of the twentieth century in England, children's literature reflected the fairies and fantasy beloved by Edwardian upper class and echoed the unthinking patriotism and the traditions of the times; however after the First World War, it grew to incorporate the more complex and reality-based outlook of a post-war generation.

Children's literature was only developed as its own genre a little over two hundred years ago.¹ Before the seventeenth century, childhood was not considered to be its own separate stage of development.² However, during the nineteenth century children began to be seen as people who should be taught morals and conduct in preparation for adulthood.³ The literature for children was not for their amusement, but to impress upon them the rules and philosophies of the time.⁴ The emphasis on religion, strict social class divisions and gender constructs in the nineteenth century was clearly reflected in children's literature.⁵ These were all constructs of the Victorian era, which lasted in England from 1837 to about 1901.⁶ Fairy tales were criticized and often overlooked for more moralistic, didactic literature until later in the nineteenth century.⁷ *Alice* by Lewis Carroll (England, 1865) was the best example, but a lonely one, that children's books could exist without a moral or a conventional educational point. *Alice* foreshadowed the next phase in children's literature beginning in 1902, known as Edwardian children's literature, which opened up a new emphasis on the world of fantasy.⁸

As the 20th century dawned and the Victorian era was replaced by the Edwardian, the upper classes redefined childhood as a playful stage in development, and began to value the child more than

ever before. Once the primly modest and high moral age of Queen Victoria was over, people began exploring the concepts of sex and frivolity, while at the same time using concepts from childhood to write fantasy books.⁹ King Edward the VII, whose rule began in 1902, was often seen as childish in terms of his appetites and adventurism.¹⁰ He also loved the “costume of military.”¹¹ The Edwardian Age was a new time in which experimentation was permitted, and creativity was fostered especially in the arts and literature. During this time, parents became interested in their children in a way they never had before, taking delight in observing them as they developed.¹²

This Edwardian phase would end with the start of World War I, which began in 1914 when a Serbian nationalist assassinated the Archduke of Austria Franz Ferdinand.¹³ Germany, in support, then invaded Belgium, Luxembourg, and France, which sparked Britain to declare war on Germany.¹⁴ This war, often referred to as the “Great War,” was bloodier than any other war that came before it. Seventy million men were enlisted to serve in World War I, and out of those seventy million, ten million were killed and twenty million were wounded.¹⁵ Battles were fought in many locations including in European- colonized countries. The majority of the soldiers died in Europe, specifically on the four hundred miles of trenches, which spanned from Switzerland to the English Channel and across the part of northeastern France known as the Western Front.¹⁶ The Western Front was a particularly bloody battlefield,¹⁷ and in three years of brutal trench warfare it barely moved five miles.¹⁸ The First World War was also the first war that used machine guns and mustard gas, which increased the number of casualties.¹⁹ Because of the number of soldiers that fought in the war, enlistment was not restricted to a particular class; upper class, lower class, and people of various races were all soldiers. After the war was over, the pre-existing rigid social class system in England began to loosen as universal male suffrage was established.²⁰

Children's literature of the time reflected the new focus on fantasy and playfulness. J.M. Barrie was a Scottish author who lived from 1860 to 1937, and published the popular, *Peter and Wendy* in 1902.²¹ *Peter and Wendy* is a story about a girl named Wendy and her two brothers who are invited away from their home and parents and even the "authority" of their nurse (dog) Nana by a boy named Peter Pan, who will never grow up. He shows them the world of Never-Never Land and teaches them how to fly. The four of them, along with the other children in Never-Never Land, face many exciting and improbable adventures, and must bravely fight the evil Captain Hook, who is eventually eaten by a crocodile (so the children don't have to kill him themselves). At the end of the story, Wendy, her brothers, and the boys from Never-Never Land return to their home in England and grow up, but Peter Pan never does, choosing to remain a child forever.

Peter and Wendy is often seen as the perfect example of the freedom and the lack of responsibility associated with childhood that the adults of the upper classes valued so highly during the Edwardian era. At the very end of the story, when Wendy is a grown-up and her daughter is old enough to ask questions, she asks, "'Why can't you fly now, Mother?'" Wendy responds, "'Because I am grown up, dearest. When people grow up they forget the way.'"²² When Jane asks why that is, Wendy answers: "'Because they are no longer gay and innocent and heartless. It is only the gay and innocent and heartless who can fly.'"²² This passage illustrates the sentimental and somewhat unreal image that childhood was given during this time. Adults, in this image, do not seem as pure or unburdened, because they have forgotten how to fly, and they are not truly happy anymore. *Peter and Wendy* is incredibly fantastical, experimental, and inevitably childish, which mirrored the feeling of England at the turn of the century.

The First World War, however, changed the role of the child in society, and therefore the literature written for them was also altered. The Edwardian era ended with the war, and though its

influence lives on, a more practical, grounded, sense of the world in children's literature began to emerge. In the 1920s, adults began to believe that pre-school children needed literature that encompassed their everyday experiences.²³ As the 20th century continued, the individual depicted in literature was no longer unbridled; he was completely controlled.²⁴ Peter Pan was not the typical protagonist anymore. And gone with Peter Pan were also the rampant fantasies for children. The period after World War I was when children's literature became both more controlled and more complex.

After the First World War, children's books encompassed more of a sense of reality, even if they included fantasy themes. World War I imposed a sense of reality on England, which reflected children's literature. In *Peter Pan* and *Wind in the Willows*, as well as many other books of the time, the featured plots integrated magic into reality without any separation. Peter flew to Wendy's window in England from Never-Never Land.. However, after the war, children's literature often has two distinct worlds, a reality and a make-believe world.

One example of this is the children's classic, *Winnie-the-Pooh*. A.A. Milne, who lived from 1882 to 1956, first published *Winnie-the-Pooh* in 1925.²⁵ *Winnie-the-Pooh* is about a boy, Christopher Robin, who has adventures with a collection of his toys who talk and have adventures and live in a community of their own. Pooh Bear, Christopher's teddy bear, is the star of most of these adventures. While *Winnie-the-Pooh* might initially be misconstrued as an example of the Edwardian era, upon closer examination it is clear that the story is strikingly different from the classics of pre World War I. *Winnie-the-Pooh* ends with Christopher Robin dragging Pooh, who is no longer animated, but a regular stuffed bear, by his leg upstairs to a bath, pulling the reader back into reality, and putting the story into the perspective of "make-believe."²⁶

The Velveteen Rabbit, a children's book, published in 1922 by Marjery Williams (1881-1944), shares this separation of reality and toy-world.²⁷ *The Velveteen Rabbit* is a story of a boy's toy rabbit.

One day the boy can't find his shinier, more intricate toy, so he settles down to sleep with the Velveteen Rabbit, whom he soon grows to love. Throughout the story, the Velveteen Rabbit hopes to become Real, which he has been told happens when a human loves you very, very much. However, when he stumbles upon real rabbits that can hop, he discovers he is not Real. When the boy comes down with scarlet fever, and the rabbit is ordered to be burned, to prevent spreading germs, the Velveteen Rabbit cries real tears and a fairy appears who turns him into a real rabbit. *The Velveteen Rabbit* is similar to *Winnie-the-Pooh* because it also has a distinct, separate reality in the story. This separate reality shows that childhood was being put in a different context during the post-war era. The whimsical nature of children's books was still preserved from the Edwardian Era, but they were now a game of pretend, always forcing the reader to come back to the more somber reality of post-World War I England.

While the upper classes of England were moving into this fantastical, childish era, in the reign of Edward VII, the country still contained the political and social rigidity that was reflected in children's books. Even though English literature for children was changing, England's class structure was still very much in effect, and its influence was shown in children's literature. Kenneth Grahame was born in Edinburgh, England and lived from 1859-1932.²⁸ He initially wrote *Wind in the Willows* to amuse his son, and published it in 1908.²⁹ *Wind in the Willows* is a story about four animals—Mole, Ratty, Badger and Toad—who go on a series of adventures together. Mole, Ratty and Badger often have to save Toad, who is quite wealthy, from situations he gets himself into by being careless. Mole, Ratty and Badger, who represent different strata of the middle and lower classes, vow to protect Toad from himself after he gets in a car crash. *Wind in the Willows* shows the fantastical feeling of the Edwardian era as well, with its world of talking animals. There is likewise no clear Victorian era, religious moral.

However, *Wind in the Willows* demonstrates the distinct separation between the classes in England at the dawn of the 20th century. Mole, Ratty and Badger drop everything simply to stop Toad

from hurting himself, even though it is unclear whether or not he wants the help. The job of Mole, Ratty, and Badger, or the classes that they are symbolizing, is simply to serve the upper class no matter how recklessly they behave. During the story, when Toad's horse-drawn caravan gets overturned, Mole and Ratty diligently attempt to fix the problem, and Toad refuses to help. While Mole and Ratty stay at an inn while they attempt to sort out the problem with the caravan, Toad orders a car and goes home. Toad's refusal to help shows the disconnect that many people in the upper classes felt between themselves and the lower class. Furthermore, when Toad finally gets arrested and sentenced to time in jail for causing a car crash, he befriends the daughter of the Jailer and escapes prison.³⁰ Toad's success in escaping prison illustrates the common feeling in England that the upper class was always protected. Toad's escape is also an example of the entitlement, and unfair advantages that the upper class had in comparison with the lower class. Although England was going through changes after the reign of Queen Victoria, it still exhibited the immutability of the strict class structure, which held that people knew where they belonged.

Post-war, the rigid class structure began to break down as well as the idea of home as a strong and central theme in children's literature. In the muddy trenches, after so many years and so much death, in which every soldier suffered the same as every other soldier, class structure was essentially irrelevant. Literature following the war, therefore, did not commonly contain strong symbols of the rigid class structure. In *The Velveteen Rabbit*, some toys may be shinier than the Rabbit, but they are not demonstrated as being above him in any way. Likewise in *Winnie-the-Pooh*, Christopher Robin, even though he is human, is not wealthier than his animal friends, nor is he their boss. Instead, the animals of *Winnie-the-Pooh* form a type of domestic community of equals. The change in social emphasis of literature after the First World War shows the uncertainty that was felt after both the poor and wealthy fought shoulder-to-shoulder in the trenches.

Thus the importance of home and the hearth is evident in both *Wind in the Willows*, and *Peter and Wendy*. The boys who live in Never-Never Land, appropriately named the Lost Boys, claim to reject conventional homes, but in the end they move into Wendy's home in England, although Peter Pan never does. In *Wind in the Willows*, each animal has his own distinctive home: Ratty has his river, Mole lives in an underground burrow, Badger lives in a tree deep in the woods and Toad has his estate, Toad Hall, which plays a central role in the story. At the end of *Wind in the Willows*, all of the animals rally to save Toad's ancestral estate from the evil weasels who have invaded it. The theme of home in pre-World War I children's literature illustrates that everyone knows his place. Ratty's home is the river while Toad's home is a luxurious hall, and the effort that the animals all put in to save Toad Hall clearly shows whose home and place is valued more highly.

After the war, the theme of home is not nearly as clear or as emphasized in children's literature. In *Winnie-the-Pooh*, each of the animals and Christopher Robin have their own little homes, but they are not nearly as important as the community that is created between the characters. In fact, Pooh lives in a somewhat broken down house with the name "Mr. Sanders" written over it, showing that Pooh clearly moved into someone else's house. In *The Velveteen Rabbit*, the story ends in the opposite way of *Peter and Wendy*: the Rabbit ends up leaving the home and living as a real rabbit in the woods. The comforts of the boy's home are not as important or as desired to the Rabbit as becoming Real. The home is no longer a central theme. The Rabbit chose being Real rather than staying at home, illustrating a shift in priorities in England.

Before the First World War, children's literature also helped to prepare and entice boys into warfare. From the middle of the nineteenth century, up until the First World War, England was involved in a series of wars and battles. The Crimean war in 1853-56 began to influence children's literature and the atmosphere of a boy's childhood in general.³¹ That war shaped the imaginations of boys as well as

the literature they were reading. This influence was perpetuated on both fronts by the different encounters with military including the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the Boer War, and of course, the First World War.³² Seth Lerer, the author of *Children's Literature: A Reader's History from Aesop to Harry Potter*, compares the illustrations in *The Boys Own Paper*, a British Story Newspaper published later in the 19th century aimed at young boys, and *Union Jack*, journals that meld school tales and adventure into one creation.³³ The picture depicted in *The Boys Own Paper* is entitled "My First Football Match," and bears a remarkable similarity to the image in *Union Jack* of men on horses pointing guns at each other (see appendix). Seth Lerer describes, "The two pictures organize themselves in strikingly similar ways; the eye moves along a swift diagonal of desire."³⁴ The adults of the time used children's literature to prepare the boys for glorious lives as soldiers. In the image of "My First Football Match," the boys are all aggressively beginning to tackle the one boy with the football on the ground, which encouraged the feisty, violent attitudes of young boys as they grew into adulthood.

Motivation of boys into the military through literature was also illustrated in *Peter and Wendy*, one of the most popular books of the time.³⁵ When Captain Hook injures Peter, and Peter and Wendy get trapped on rocks by a river, a kite comes by that can only save either Wendy or Peter. Peter ties the string around Wendy, stands up and says, "To die would be an awfully big adventure."³⁶ Death, for Peter Pan, is courageous and noble, and it is easy to see how young boys would want to see through the same rose-colored glasses of heroism, especially in order to protect and show off for a vulnerable girl. Children's literature of the time used subtle imagery, whether intentionally, or subconsciously to reflect the author's values, tactics to motivate boys from a young age to believe that war and death is noble, or even as Peter Pan says, "an adventure." This was the perception of death that youth had before the First World War. This idea came to an end once their feet brushed the soil of the Western Front and the bloodshed had begun to feel all too real.

After the horrible destruction and bloodshed of the First World War, children's books no longer portrayed war and death as a wonderful victory, nor were children's books commonly used as a method to encourage youth to join the army. "What dies with Hook is an adventurist ideal that...must have rung even more hollow after the death of an entire generation of young men in the First World War,"³⁷ said Lerer. There were a series of literature and poems written after the war about the terror that the youth had faced. Poems and stories by Rudyard Kipling³⁸ might get the blood stirring before an actual battle experience, but it is difficult after reading persuasive poems by authors such as Siegfried Sassoon³⁹ and Wilfred Owen⁴⁰ to become excited about warfare. With the end of World War I came the perception that death might be meaningless, especially when fighting over four feet of land on the Western Front.

Before the war, disabilities in English children's literature were discussed in a two-dimensional way, which mirrored the lack of attention that was given to deeply understanding them. There are many characters with disabilities depicted in the classics of children's literature in the 19th and early 20th century.⁴¹ In the 19th and 20th century children's literature portrays these characters as two-dimensional.⁴² They are often either villains or saintly figures.⁴³ In *Peter and Wendy*, the villain, Captain Hook, has had his hand eaten by a crocodile, and therefore only has a hook for a hand.⁴⁴ Even his name makes him two-dimensional, refusing to give him any more character traits; his disability is his only pertinent quality other than evil. In the case of *The Secret Garden*, written by Frances Hodgson Burnett (1849-1924). Colin Craven, one of the protagonists, is eventually cured of his hunchback when he learns to look upon life in a happier way. These portrayals of disabilities illustrate that in England, before the First World War, people had a surface, immature understanding of disabled people. Disabilities were not as commonly seen as after the First World War and therefore children's literature of the time shows the thin knowledge that existed about them.

After World War I, disabled people are not as much of a foreign concept anymore, and children's literature mirrors the change. In the *Velveteen Rabbit* this change is very poignantly portrayed. When the Rabbit asks another, wiser, toy, the Skin Horse, whether becoming Real happens a little at a time, or all at once, the Skin Horse responds:

“It doesn’t happen all at once... You become. It takes a long time, that’s why it doesn’t often happen to people who break easily, or have sharp edges, or who have to be carefully kept. Generally, by the time you are Real, most of your hair has been loved off, and your eyes drop out and you get loose in the joints and very shabby. But these things don’t matter at all, because once you are Real you can’t be ugly, except to people who don’t understand.”⁴⁵

The feeling that the Skin Horse is describing was a common one of the time. In a war, soldiers form a type of brotherhood, and fellow soldiers are sometimes the only ones that understand. Soldiers who returned from World War I were wounded, scarred, and many of them had post-traumatic-stress-disorder. But these soldiers were not ugly to each other or to people who understood the war, just as the Skin Horse, the older toy, was not ugly to the Velveteen Rabbit. This quotation illustrates the shifting attitude towards people with disabilities because of their prevalence in society at that time. Because the disabilities were coming from a war, a form of service to their country, there was less of a sense of shame. The Skin Horse’s wisdom also limns the change in overall attitude towards the traditional rules over society. In *The Velveteen Rabbit*, only toys that don’t “have to be carefully kept” or don’t “break easily,” get to become Real. It is not as important anymore to be prim and proper; it is more important to be strong, because that is the only way to survive. The Victorian era is truly over. The change in tone towards disabilities shows that more complex values are being reflected in children’s literature after the war.

The First World War also saw advancement in the development of the fields of psychology and psychiatry, reflecting a more realistic outlook. Psychology technically began in 1879 when Wilhelm Wundt established the first laboratory solely for psychology.⁴⁶ Although the well-known psychoanalyst,

Sigmund Freud, delivered most of his finds on psychiatry before the war, the influence was not felt in England until after it was over.⁴⁷ Many soldiers were treated for shell shock (now identified as post-traumatic-stress-disorder, or PTSD), and although it was only gradually accepted as a medical problem, the field of psychiatry grew in response and respect after World War I.⁴⁸

Winnie-the-Pooh may be an interesting depiction of this shift. John Tyerman Williams, the author of the persuasive, witty and illuminating novel, *Pooh and the Psychologists*, (published in 2001), argues that Pooh is the “superpsychologist” in his community and a “brilliant psychotherapist.”⁴⁹ according to Williams, in the story *Winnie-the-Pooh*, many of Christopher Robin’s toys illustrate complex psychological disorders including: the donkey Eeyore, who exhibits signs of clinical depression, Piglet, who is overly dependent, Owl, who is antisocial, and Rabbit who is xenophobic.⁵⁰ At the end of the story each character makes small accomplishments in overcoming their psychological issues, and Pooh is the therapist at the center of it all.⁵¹ The psychological problems of the characters in *Winnie-the-Pooh* illustrate the growing concept of disorders in English society. The characters are more complex, and they reflect similar issues that soldiers returning from the war might be facing. *Winnie-the-Pooh* also shows the change of the author’s, thus society’s point of view, from the two-dimensional characters with disabilities, such as Captain Hook, to the maddening but lovable characters such as Eeyore.

It is clear that World War I was a shock to the status quo of the time. The Ottoman Empire, as well as an entire generation of European young men, died with the war. In England, the social repercussions were particularly impressive. In the century before the war, England had defined itself as a moral culture with a rigid social structure, which was emphasized by the imperialism of the time. Under Edward VII, at the turn of the twentieth century, small changes began, especially in labor movements. The upper classes began to act in a childish, frivolous way, exalting childhood and clinging

to the traditions of home, class, and all of the elements of “being English.” At the same time, this behavior had a kind of desperateness about it that foreshadowed the blow of war that would end this last chance at childishly clinging to traditions without question.

When World War I struck, and the combatants were side-by-side in the trenches, seeing great losses of life for very little gain, a lot of the old ideas began to be challenged. During the war, the order and values of England had to change to accommodate the needs of warfare. The post-war era was characterized by the questioning of the old social structure, and a new kind of understanding of death, injuries and warfare. In 1918, for the first time, all men (and women over thirty) in England had suffrage. England was trying to reshape a new world after the stunning reality of World War I. Just as the frivolity and childish attitudes of the upper-class in the Edwardian era faded after the war, children’s literature also began to incorporate a new sense of reality. As the understanding of death, injuries and warfare became more immediate, and more complex, children’s literature of the time mirrored the growing complexity as well. English children after World War I were being shown a more realistic world in their literature of the time, in which it was not so sweet to die for their country.

End Notes

- ¹ Picturing Childhood: Illustrated Children's Books from University of California Collections, 1550–1990, *Picturing Childhood: The Evolution of the Illustrated Children's Book*, (Regents of the University of California, 1997) <http://unitproj.library.ucla.edu/special/childhood/pictur.htm> (accessed 24 May 2012).
- ² Jocelyn Kim, Andrew Wong, and Jean Wong. "Perceptions of Children," *Children's Literature in the Eighteenth Century*, http://www.umich.edu/~ece/student_projects/childrens_lit/ (accessed 25 May 2012).
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- ⁴ Frank Eyre, *British Children's Books in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Dutton Children's 1973), 18.
- ⁵ Kim, Jocelyn, Andrew Wong, and Jean Wong. "Perceptions of Children,"
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ "Picturing Childhood: Illustrated Children's Books from University of California Collections, 1550–1990," *Picturing Childhood: The Evolution of the Illustrated Children's Book*
- ⁸ Abby Wolf, "The Golden Age of Children's Literature: An Introduction," PBS, PBS, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/masterpiece/railway/age_text.html (accessed 20 May 2012).
- ⁹ Jennifer Schuessler, "Dangerous Fantasies," *New York Times* ([New York] 8 Oct. 2009), 10.
- ¹⁰ Seth Lerer. *Children's Literature: A Reader's History, from Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008), 254.
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Eyre, *British Children's Books in the Twentieth Century*, 59.
- ¹³ "Summary of World War One," BBC News, BBC, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwone/summary_01.shtml (accessed 27 May 2012).
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Kevin Reilly, *Worlds of History: A Comparative Reader* (Boston [etc.: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007)
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ At the Battle of Somme in 1916, over fifty thousand British troops died by walking directly into German fire.
- ¹⁸ Adam Gopnik, "The Big One Historians Rethink the War to End All Wars," *The New Yorker* 23 Aug. 2004, 83.
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- ³⁸ Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) was an author of many works supporting British imperialism, including the *Jungle Book* and *Kim*.
- ³⁹ Author of "Base Details," an anti-war poem written in 1918.
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Benjamin Franklin and the Connecticut Compromise

Maddie Anderson

“If you would not be forgotten as soon as you are dead, either write something worth reading or do things worth writing,” said Benjamin Franklin.¹ Throughout history, many men and women have contributed immensely to society, literally and otherwise, but few have contributed to as vast a range of fields as Benjamin Franklin.² Printer, inventor, philosopher, humorist, diplomat, statesman, ambassador, international celebrity and civil leader, he was one of the most extraordinary men of his time. Politically, Franklin was a federalist, a staunch abolitionist, and a supporter of freedom of speech and press, economic individualism, political pragmatism and conciliation and compromise.³ By nature and experience, he was disposed to seek peace when confronted with controversy, speaking only when necessary and retaining a calm manner.⁴ It is with this façade that Benjamin Franklin, then 81, conducted himself at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, where the founding fathers drafted America’s Constitution. With his unique ability to soothe disputes and his immense intelligence, he was an instrumental member of the convention, particularly through his involvement with the Connecticut Compromise. Franklin contributed to the Connecticut Compromise by modifying the compromise proposal to better fit state interest, introducing a federal character to the proposal, and encouraging the adoption of the proposal.

Authored by Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth, the Connecticut Compromise was reached July 23, 1787, ending four weeks of disputes between large state delegates who supported the Virginia Plan—which proposed that the population of free citizens and slaves would determine state representation—and small state delegates who supported the New Jersey plan—which suggested equal state representation in congress, regardless of population size. Sherman and Ellsworth’s compromise, proposing equal representation in the Senate and proportional representation in the House of Representatives forged a compromise between large and small state interests, and was therefore the first

step in alleviating this divide.⁵

Sherman and Ellsworth's proposal, however, was not the proposal that was debated and passed by delegates. Delegates were, in fact, presented with Benjamin Franklin's modified version of Sherman and Ellsworth's proposal.⁶ It is therefore important to keep in mind that, although he did not author the motion, Franklin's alterations were decidedly important to the effectiveness of the proposal. Many scholars even attribute the success of the compromise to Benjamin Franklin: for instance, on the 200th Anniversary of Benjamin Franklin's birth, Honorary Caroll D. Wright stated:

"It is true that Randolph, of Virginia, and Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, made some suggestions looking to this provision of the balancing and checking of the two houses, but it was finally on the adoption of Franklin's compromise that the real genius of the suggestions was crystallized as part of the new Constitution."⁷

Franklin's proposal altered Sherman and Ellsworth's compromise in several key ways. Perhaps most significantly, Benjamin Franklin's modifications were of importance because they made the compromise far more acceptable to the large states. Franklin agreed with Sherman and Ellsworth that each state should have an equal vote in the Senate. However, he modified the proposal so that revenue bills originated in the large states which contributed more of the nation's financial and defense resources than small states did.⁸ With respect to the small states, Franklin kept Ellsworth and Sherman's proposition that gave small states equal representation in the House.

Benjamin Franklin further increased the effectiveness of the proposal by introducing it to a more federal character of government through his alterations regarding Senate delegations. Franklin stated that Senate delegations must no longer be chosen by state legislatures. This was monumental as, with his adjustment, state senators could act as free agents, released from the pressures of state legislatures which often encouraged senators to vote as a block in Congress. Franklin's concept was thus based on small state ideals of fair, equal representation, but also federal ideals, granting states more independence within congress.⁹

Very much a federalist in his politics, Benjamin Franklin wanted the constitution to provide America with a government focused on the people and their fair representation. Franklin supported the Connecticut Compromise because he saw it as a step in the direction of a federal government. With Franklin's alterations, the compromise proceeded several steps further.

Ultimately, the compromise could not have moved forward had it not been for Franklin's avid support and encouragement of its passing— his third instrumental contribution to the compromise. In early July of 1787, the convention's grand committee reported Franklin's modified version of the compromise to delegates, stirring much controversy regarding its content. James Madison, in fact, led debates against Franklin's measures, arguing that the proposed representation plan was unfair to the majority of the population. Nevertheless, Franklin stood by the compromise and, largely because of his influence and respectability in the convention, delegates narrowly adopted the mixed representation plan.¹⁰ The passing of the compromise allowed for proceedings to continue and consequently for Franklin to continue in his attempts to allocate support for the Constitution and the republic that it promised. Famously, in Franklin's last recorded speech towards the end of the Constitution, he said “...On the whole, sir, I cannot help expressing a wish that every member of the Convention, who may still have objections to it, would with me, on this occasion, doubt a little of his own infallibility, and to make manifest our unanimity, put his name to this instrument.”¹¹ Thus, it was partly through Franklin's encouragement of the adoption of separation of powers, and later, the adoption of the Constitution as a whole, that the Constitution and its core idea of mixed representation came into being at all.

Grounded in the same basic ideas of the separation of powers and the maintenance of a republican (as apposed to democratic) form of government, is the Electoral College System, created by the Committee of Unfinished Portions to define the way the President was to be elected.¹² Although extremely rightwing and often contested, Constitutional lawyer Phyllis Schlafly puts it well, stating:

“Its rationale and structure is the perfect mirror of the Great Compromise that made our Constitution possible: the combination of equal representation of states with representation based on population. Our Presidents are elected by a majority of votes in the Electoral College, with each state's vote weighted based on its population.”¹³

Thus, several of Benjamin Franklin’s key political ideas were embodied in the Electoral College system.

Today, and for some time now, there have been intense political disputes regarding the idea of abolishing the Electoral College system. Many people (often liberal) believe that the current system does not allow third parties an opportunity to participate, discourages minority participation, creates constitutional crises and has the potential for fraud. This group believes that abolishing the current system would give all citizens a better voice, better representation, and prevent the apparent disparity between the popular and the Electoral College vote. Further, it would prevent recounts like that which occurred in Florida in 2000, consequently causing the presidential election to be decided by the Supreme Court, and thus granting the people no representation at all. However, apart from those who call for its abolition, there are many people (often conservative) who still believe that the Electoral College is the best system of representation for our nation.¹⁴ Schlafly, for instance, states that, “The Electoral College has served us well for more than two centuries, with repeated peaceful transfers of power, and there is every reason to believe it can continue to serve us for the next century.”¹⁵

Perhaps it will, or perhaps it will not. Even if the electoral system is abolished, its central ideas—the maintenance of a republican form of government and equal representation—will remain at the core of any new system erected in its place right where Benjamin Franklin fought so hard to place them. Franklin’s ideas are his legacy; they will continue to serve us in immeasurable ways long after his death just as Franklin so profoundly served us all throughout his life.

End Notes

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Making an Impact: Jewish Immigration to the Dutch and Ottoman Empires in a Post-Spanish Inquisition World

Lillian Eckstein

You come home from a day at school and before you see your house burning, you can smell the smoke. Your mind flashes back to when you saw the Torah—your bible, your scriptures, and your book of reason—burning in flames, the pages disappearing underneath a blanket of orange heat. You shout out “¡Papa! ¡Qué pasa? ¡Mama! ¡Qué hago?” Before you know it, you are in a new country where nobody speaks your language and nothing is familiar.

In 1492, the Jews of Spain were expelled during the Spanish Inquisition. The formal expulsion occurred after many years of destruction and multiple burnings of Jewish texts, synagogues, houses, and people.¹ Jewish emigration from Spain took place over many years. Jews were not given religious freedom in many parts of Eastern Europe, and thus many sought safety in the Dutch and Ottoman Empires, both of which allowed religious freedom. Established in the late sixteenth century, the Dutch Empire followed the economic examples set by the Portuguese and Spanish empires but allowed religious freedom.² The Ottoman Empire, established in 1301, was grounded in Islamic faith and ideology.³ The Ottoman Empire also allowed for religious freedom for emigrating Jews (and Christians). Each community in the Ottoman Empire was run through the millet system, which gave one religious leader, approved by the sultan, limited power to rule in return for *dhimmis*, the necessary tax paid to the state in return for the community’s freedom.⁴ In both Empires, the Jews were allowed to establish businesses and develop partnerships, which enabled them to integrate into their new communities. Through the assimilation of cultures, the establishment of jobs, and the intertwined networks of trade, the Dutch and Ottoman Empires benefited economically from the Jews throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

Upon arrival in the Dutch Empire, the Jews needed to establish a means of income to support their families. By 1620, 1,200 Jews lived in the Dutch Empire with at least 1,000 residing in Amsterdam.⁵ At the beginning of the period of integration into Dutch life, the Jews did not possess the same business rights as gentile citizens. As Jonathan Israel states, “The Jews were mostly excluded from retailing and the crafts as well as some of the new processing industries.”⁶ Many Jews who came to the Dutch Empire did not have craftsmanship skills because they had not been allowed to be craftsmen in Spain. Many of the skills for craftsmanship were acquired by the Jews from Dutch citizens, with the exception of sugar-refining. In regards to sugar refining, which was of significant importance in the Dutch Empire, only the wealthiest of Jews were allowed to partake in the business, and only after securing permission.⁷ Beginning in the 1630s, the Jews were allowed to participate in tobacco-spinning businesses as well as in the processing of diamonds.⁸ Only the wealthier Jews were allowed to run many of these businesses, whereas the poorer Jews were employed in lower-level roles like finding scraps of food to feed civets. Using their experiences and skills from Spain, Jews established other important businesses, including printing shops during the 1640s, chocolate making beginning in the 1650s, and silk-weaving, beginning in the 1650s as well.⁹ These new Jewish-Dutch citizens provided the Dutch with expertise in areas where their other citizens had no previous knowledge, and allowed for the Dutch Empire to expand its amount of production and control in these significant areas of trade. The Dutch Empire did not recognize the Jews fully as citizens until 1645 when the Dutch States-General granted the “Hebrew Nation” the same rights as “our native-born.”¹⁰ Along with religious freedom, the Dutch Empire allowed the Jews much freedom in the establishment of businesses, which benefited the Dutch and the Jews equally.

By the time of the Spanish Inquisition, Jewish immigration to the Ottoman Empire had been established for more than a century. Societal aspects such as “Islam’s constitutional *dhimma* law provided the religious minorities with strict guarantees for their lives, property, and freedom of

religion” were among many reasons for Jews to immigrate to the Ottoman Empire.¹¹ Precise records were never taken in regards to the number of Jews immigrating to the Ottoman Empire in 1492 and following years, but many studies show that the number of such immigrants was in the tens of thousands.¹² As mentioned previously, the Ottoman Empire’s system worked differently from that of the Dutch in that it allowed Christian and Jewish communities to generally have control over their own people. This extension of control allowed for the establishment of independent, successful businesses and trades. As Daniel Goffman claims:

“Jewish merchants had several advantages. They benefited from the diversity defined by the inchoate merger of Romaniote, Ashkenazi, Sephardic and Marrano cultures...and they were strengthened by the evolving symbiosis between the Jewish community and the Ottoman state. The Jews singularly were able to leap across cultural and religious boundaries and compete in all spheres and with virtually all groups.”¹³

An interesting difference between the Dutch and Ottoman Empires was that in the Dutch Empire, there were primarily only two types of Jews — the Sephardic from Spain and Portugal, and the Ashkenazi from Eastern Europe — whereas in the Ottoman Empire, there were Romaniates, Ashkenazi, Sephardic, and Marrano.¹⁴ Due to their gradual immigration into the Ottoman Empire even before the Spanish Inquisition, Jewish merchants, middlemen and officials slowly became part of Ottoman institutional frameworks. Many people claim that the Jews “introduced to the Ottoman Empire the techniques of European capitalism, banking, and even the mercantilist concept of a state economy. International trade, tax farming, and banking operations were all interconnected at this time.”¹⁵ Within the Ottoman Empire, the Jews were more integrated into the business frameworks and institutions than the Jews were in the Dutch Empire. From the beginning of the Spanish Inquisition, the Jews who immigrated to the Ottoman Empire were more likely to succeed in their business endeavors because they had more freedom and rights than the Jews at the beginning of the Dutch Empire. These early successes allowed the Ottoman Empire to expand its connections and successes before the Dutch

Empire, although both of the Empires eventually gained equal benefits from their respective Jewish communities in terms of new skills and craftsmen and overall contributions to their economies.

In addition to local improvement of jobs and businesses, international trade continued to flourish during this period. The Jews were eventually able to participate in this trade through their connections outside of their respective Empire as well as their innovations. Mark Stein states, “Jews played an important role in transnational and transoceanic commerce.”¹⁶ Within the Dutch Empire, one of the most well-known trading companies was the Dutch East India Company, which employed Jews, who in turn used their contacts within the Portuguese and Spanish Empires to facilitate partnerships. The Dutch East India Company also traded in North Africa, England, the Atlantic Islands, and the Levant.¹⁷ The different relations and connections that the Jews of the Dutch Empire had with other Jews across the world created important business and trading partnerships that others in the Dutch Empire did not have.

Regular trade between the Portuguese and Dutch began in 1599 and continued throughout the Dutch Empire. Trade was not always constant for many reasons, including a number of embargoes put in place by the Portuguese Crown as well as the Dutch-Portuguese War (1657-61).¹⁸ A well-known mercantile family, the De Pintos, regularly facilitated trade between the Dutch Empire and their connections in Spain. In 1646, the De Pintos moved from Spain to Rotterdam, and claimed their Jewish ancestry after admitting to their feigned Marrano practice of Christianity.¹⁹ An acquaintance of the family wrote to an English military leader that the:

“Jewish Nation dwelling in Holland and Italy trafficqs with their own stock but also with the riches of many others of their own Nation, friends, kinds-mean and acquaintance with notwithstanding live in Spaine, and send unto them their moneys and goods, which they hold in their hands”²⁰

The De Pinto family also heavily invested their money in the Dutch East India Company and the

Dutch West India Company. The accomplishments of De Pinto family are some of the many examples of the benefits that the immigration and acceptance of Jews brought to the Dutch Empire. In the 1670s, the newcomers “not only brought capital but active commercial connections with Spain which rapidly transformed the whole character of Dutch Sephardi economic activity.”²¹

Although not as widely mentioned as the Dutch East India Company, the Dutch West India Company, can be credited with the establishment of a foothold for the Dutch Empire in Brazil.²² The Dutch West India Company’s focus on Brazil was largely beneficial to the Jews; it created a new group called the Port-Jews, who assisted the Dutch Empire in trade. Port-Jews traveled on the ships to Brazil, which was being colonized by the Portuguese, from which many of the Dutch Jews had emigrated, as well as other parts of the Americas and established communities along the coast.²³ Given the ports and span of colonial dominance of the areas, the many commercial and family networks of the Port-Jews provided easy relations between the ports and settlements. These Jews attained extensive privileges and eventually recognition as Dutch subjects. Recognition as citizens gained these Jews protection provided by the Dutch Empire. Lois Dubin stated, “Port Jews provide an important case study within Atlantic history. They offer a concrete example of human and merchant networks and their modes of operation. As an ethnically based commercial diaspora, they also provide an example of how minority groups and religious dissenters fared in the different colonies and trans-Atlantic networks.”²⁴ Not only did these Jews provide an example of religious and ethnic diversity, they also connected distant communities to the New World and fostered vital trading relationships.

Although the Ottoman Empire never established formal trading companies or expanded trade across the Atlantic Ocean, trade was conducted throughout the Middle East, Asia, and Europe. By the second half of the sixteenth century, Jews played an important role in Ottoman finances and long distance trade.²⁵ As previously mentioned, Jews were of much benefit to the Ottoman Empire because

they provided connections to different states, communities, and empires. From 1453 to 1481, the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmet II, was an advocate for the freedom of the practice of the Jewish religion and the participation of Jews within the trading systems of the Empire. He encouraged merchants to move to Istanbul, with a specific emphasis on Jewish traders from Europe. He wanted these Jewish traders to establish their businesses within the Ottoman Empire because he recognized the potential benefits to his Empire's economy. The economic strength of the Ottoman Empire was largely related to Mehmet's religious and economic policies of increasing the number of artisans and traders.²⁶ Not only did Jews participate in the trades of wine, textiles, spices, musk, rhubarb, porcelain, dyestuffs, and silk, but they also worked as translators.²⁷ Given the far reach of the Ottoman Empire over many areas with peoples who spoke diverse languages, traders needed multilingual agents, and the Jews, who had arrived from Europe speaking many languages, had these skills. Ottoman-Jewish industrialists, tax collectors, and merchants also functioned as translators for traders, and accompanied them on their excursions to assist with business. Goffman claims, "Even the French and English, neither of whom tolerated Jews in their own lands, utilized [the Jewish] community, often without the approval of their company directors or home governments, to lodge themselves within the Ottoman economy."²⁸ The Jews provided gateways to trade and commerce between the Ottoman Empire and peoples in surrounding nations and through these connections, the Ottoman Empire was able to expand its trade systems and economy.

In addition to the trading companies established by the Dutch Empire, there were many internal-businesses established. The stock exchange was an interesting part of the Dutch Empire's internal economy, in which Jews greatly participated. In fact, it was one of the major spheres of economic activity in which Jews were able to participate fully because they were able to risk their own capital and therefore not affect anyone else. Trading on the exchange was not subject to discriminatory regulations;

in fact it was subject to little regulation at all.²⁹ The increase in the participation of Jews in the stock market was noticeable around the late 1680s. A Dutch informational tract describes:

“It is well known and is not to be denied that the Jews have at all times the greatest share of actions in the Dutch East-India Company and that one Jew, Swasso by name, has had at one time more stock in that Company than ever an Englishman had or hath in this.”³⁰

This increase in investment opportunity allowed for further expansion of the trading companies, but periodic market volatility was blamed on the Jews by the people of the Dutch Empire. As Jonathan Israel states,

“It is easy to see how major convulsions in the stock market could generate intense antipathy to the brokers and inflame anti-Semitic phantasies about insidious Jewish conspiracies to swindle and strip great numbers of honest Christians of their money.”³¹

Diplomats also were known to blame the Jews for stock market volatility because it was a convenient explanation that was easily believed by society due to traditional prejudices. Although the market investments by Jews were very helpful to the greater economy of the Dutch Empire, there were still religious differences that created conflict in the recognition of the Jews for their beneficial work.

During this time of economic growth in both the Dutch and Ottoman Empires, many people traveled and made observations about the similarities and differences of the Jewish communities. One man, Rabbi H. Y. D. Azulai, wrote a diary describing his travels to many Jewish communities throughout Europe and Asia, including the Dutch Empire and the Ottoman Empire between 1753 and 1806. With regard to the immigration of the Ashkenazi Jews from Eastern Europe to the Ottoman Empire, he compared their poverty with that of the Sephardic Jews. Azulai states, “The Ashkenazim incurred every-growing debts, and their economic problems led to the destruction of the Ashkenazi court and their synagogue by the local Muslim creditors.”³² Sephardic Jews assumed responsibility for paying the Ashkenazi’s taxes and bribes to the Ottoman authorities in an attempt to save them from

being banished from the Empire. These circumstances in the Ottoman Empire did not particularly impress Rabbi Azulai, but in comparison to the other Jewish communities that he had visited, particularly in Eastern Europe, he saw the religious acceptance by the Ottomans as encouraging to the establishment of strong Jewish communities.³³

On the other hand, in the Dutch Empire, Azulai speaks only positively about the Jewish community. When he was welcomed, Azulai said,

“When I arrived, God gave me favor and they bestowed me with great honor and without much effort I was provided with patrons by them, from among the great, wealth and important of the congregation, from among the nobility of the nation.”³⁴

Azulai believed that Amsterdam held the largest Jewish community in Western Europe and it continued to attract the attention of immigrants in the seventeenth century, especially Ashkenazi immigrants from Germany and Poland-Lithuania.³⁵ By the late seventeenth century, there were approximately 10,000 Jews in Amsterdam, which comprised six to seven percent of the city’s population.³⁶ At the end of the seventeenth century, Gregorio Leti, a non-Jewish traveler, wrote of his appreciation for the Jewish communities within the Dutch Empire and stated:

“The Dutch Republic, by granting them freedom to trade, citizenship and public honors—if not access to public office, or economic equality with non-Jews—thereby according them higher status than they possessed elsewhere in Europe, only benefited by doing so. For the Jews so dignifiedly demonstrated a love for, and loyalty to, the state which, in turn, rendered it stronger and more prosperous than it would be otherwise.”³⁷

Jonathan Israel echoed this view and stated in reference to the Sephardic community in the Dutch Empire: “It is arguable that no other Jewish community has ever exerted so appreciable an economic influence, over several continents, as Dutch Sephardi Jewry in the seventeenth century.”³⁸ Leti, Rabbi Azulai and Israel were only three of the many people who saw the social and economic benefits of the Jews in both the Dutch and Ottoman Empires between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Although separated by thousands of miles, the Jews of both the Dutch and Ottoman Empires were connected by their shared religion and beliefs. It is difficult to say whether the Jews in the Dutch Empire were of greater benefit to the Dutch than the Jews in the Ottoman Empire were of benefit to the Ottomans, but it is clear that the immigration of the Jews to both empires proved to be greatly advantageous to both. Each empire received the benefits of the Jews mainly from their establishment of businesses, introduction of new skills, and creation of trading partnerships. Despite being unwelcomed in many parts of Europe from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, and even beyond, the Jews were able to build blossoming communities that lasted for centuries within the Dutch and Ottoman Empires.

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American Neoclassical Architecture: a National Movement

Lauren Blacker

The Enlightenment was a revolutionary time that resulted in a new way of thinking. The idea that reasoning and the scientific method could apply to human and cultural issues fostered a radical rethinking of architectural styles. After the Revolutionary War, architecture in the United States began to change as architects felt the need to symbolize the new nation in America's architecture. The new constitutional government created in 1787 was an experiment in Enlightenment philosophy. As such, it rejected monarchical absolutism and attempted to recreate the society in which it was believed human beings were meant to live. American neoclassical architecture stemmed from these ideas. Neoclassical architecture drew its inspiration from "classical" cultures, such as those of Ancient Greece and Rome. American neoclassical architecture was also inspired by a variety of other sources: influence from affluent individuals in Britain who brought their pro-British outlook to the Americas; a mingling with French influence; and new rational and archaeological attitudes to add to the growing sense of nationalism and to the development of American architecture. Just as the Constitution and the American Revolution sought to expand on the ideas of the Enlightenment, American Neoclassicism was an attempt to build and define a new style of architecture based on Enlightenment principles that was distinctly American.

Neoclassicism in American architecture is divided into four distinct phases that define the early nation: the Traditional Phase, the Idealistic Phase, the Rational Phase, and the National Phase. Each phase was named for the values it represented. The Traditional Phase was influenced by English models, and was the favored style of the Federalist aristocracy. The National Phase derived from ancient Greek architecture, and was considered America's first national style. Thomas Jefferson's architecture, known as the Idealistic Phase, was inspired by French and Roman models, and was his own "ideal" style. The architecture of Benjamin Latrobe, known as the Rational Phase, emphasized

classical building techniques, such as domes and stone vaulting, structure, and also a certain kind of thinking. Although there are basic similarities between each phase, such as an emphasis on geometry, each phase has its own unique aspects.

The basic features of the Traditional Phase developed from English architecture. This style was the earliest of the four American Neoclassical phases. It is also considered the least aggressive of the four phases because it is no more than a small transformation of English Neoclassicism.¹ Robert Adam was a prominent English architect during this period, and much of his work influenced the Traditional Style of America.² The Adam style emphasized mostly interior architecture, with two main aspects: the varied organization of space, and the grace and elegance of the lively ornament. While the exterior was usually symmetric, the interior did not correspond with the central axis of the building. The spaces of rooms also did not match in shape; Adam used a wide variety of geometric forms.³ American architects eventually took Adam's basic style and morphed it to form the Traditional Style.

The Traditional Phase was characterized by geometry and elegance. The slender proportions and variations of room space were similar to Adam's style.⁴ Circular and elliptical forms were usually used for facades. The details, moldings, and ornamentations of the Traditional Phase were more delicate than those of Adam's style.⁵ Public buildings and houses alike carried these qualities. The houses were generally rectangular or square, with low hipped roofs, and delicate and chaste decoration on the exterior. The interior contained a variety of rooms with different shapes, including ovals, octagons, and circles. Decoration was elegant and refined.⁶ Since the Traditional Phase maintained many of Adam's features, it was more imitative than innovative.

One of the best examples of the Traditional Phase is Woodlands House⁷ in Philadelphia, built in 1770 and remodeled in 1788-9. In a floor plan of the first floor,⁸ the Traditional style is evident; although it looks symmetrical, no two of the rooms are the same shape.⁹ The complexity of curved shapes is characteristic of the Traditional Phase. The exterior of the house does not reflect the variety

of the interior. The exterior is symmetric, and displays tall and thin columns, delicate features, an elliptical fanlight over the central door, and other elegant shapes. The Palladian windows of the house are set back in a secondary plane of the wall, which is contained within a wall arch. This technique was commonly used by Traditional architects. The corners of the building are precisely cut, and mirror the rectangular exterior. This contrast between curved and rectilinear surfaces was widely practiced by Traditional designers.¹⁰ Woodlands demonstrates many of the fundamental characteristics of the Traditional Phase.

The most prominent architect of the Traditional phase was Charles Bulfinch. When he returned to Boston in 1787 after two years abroad, he found that the city had not changed. When he left Boston thirty years later to design Washington D.C., Boston had been completely transformed. The town houses that lined the common made the urban character of Boston clearer.¹¹ The new buildings were useful and handsome, the streets improved and beautified, and park areas developed; the elegance and sophistication of the Traditional style was evident almost everywhere because of Charles Bulfinch's accomplishments.¹²

The three main buildings that Bulfinch constructed in Boston were the Tontine Crescent, the Federal Street Theatre, and the new Massachusetts State House. The first two were meant to be parts of a coherent architectural arrangement.¹³ The Tontine Crescent¹⁴ was supposed to be two crescents of connected houses facing one another to form an oval park; the other end of this group was supposed to be the theatre. Due to the street arrangement, the symmetry that Bulfinch had originally planned was not quite there.¹⁵ This fit very well with the overall Traditional Style, though. The Theatre¹⁶ included many classic elements of the Traditional Phase, such as a central arch and Palladian-type windows. The Theatre retained a Traditional Style because it took elements from English architecture, and was also influenced by Robert Adam.¹⁷ The Tontine Crescent was similar in design to the Theatre. Like the

Theatre, it was not very original in design because it echoed so much of contemporary English architecture, with the elegant details, keeping in line with the Traditional Style.¹⁸ Bulfinch's Theatre and Crescent were two of Boston's buildings that embodied the Traditional Style.

The Massachusetts State House,¹⁹ like the Theatre and the Crescent, was based off of an English model, the Somerset House²⁰ built by William Chambers in London.²¹ Bulfinch eliminated Chambers's sculpted ornament and set the central arches of the wings within larger blind arches, a device commonly used by Robert Adam.²² The interior of the state house shows how great Adam's influence was on Bulfinch. The elegant, curved shapes and the delicate details are all Adamesque, yet the ornamentation is less garish than Adam's style,²³ which is normally where the Traditional and Adam styles differ. Even if the Massachusetts State House was a bold solution to the new American architectural dilemma of what a democratic state government building should look like, it defined the character of the common and added more to Boston's growing character.²⁴ The Massachusetts State House was exemplified the qualities of the Traditional Style, which made it the high point of Bulfinch's career in Boston.

The Idealistic Phase consisted of Thomas Jefferson's architecture. Jefferson's work as an architect began while planning and building his home, Monticello, in 1769.²⁵ To Jefferson, an idealist, architecture was a means of effecting social reform, education, and enlightenment.²⁶ Unlike the Traditionalists, who believed America should look to British colonial architecture for inspiration, Jefferson thought the new nation should look to the architecture of Republican Rome, as he believed their architecture would better represent the new nation's ideals.²⁷ Jefferson was the only national leader who saw the connection between forms of government and forms of architecture.²⁸ While serving as United States minister to France in 1784, Jefferson received a request for assistance in designing a new capital for Virginia. With the help of French architect Charles-Louis Clérisseau, Jefferson

"took for our model [Clérisseau and Jefferson] what is called the Maion Quarrée²⁹ of Nismes [ancient Roman temple in Nîmes, France], one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful and precious morsel of architecture left us by antiquity. It has the suffrage of all the judges of architecture who have seen it, as yielding to no one of the beautiful monuments of Greece, Rome, Palmyra, and Balbec... It is very simple, but it is noble beyond expression, and would have done honor to our country, as presenting to travelers a specimen of taste in our infancy, promising much for our mature age"-Thomas Jefferson, Letter to James Madison, from Paris, September 20, 1785."³⁰

This was the first use of an antique temple form in a public building in America; it also set a precedent for other buildings.³¹ Jefferson created a very personal style based on the Neoclassical architecture in France and the architecture of ancient Rome.³² Jefferson's architecture was unique and identifiable to him.

Like his Declaration of Independence, Jefferson's architecture was based on reason and the belief that certain truths are self-evident. In his architecture, one of these truths is geometry.³³ Idealistic buildings were typically symmetrical with symmetrically arranged windows. A raised foundation and full-height columned and pedimented portico were also common features. Like the Traditional Style, elliptical or semicircular fanlights were common.³⁴ The floor plan emphasized symmetry as well. In a floor plan of Monticello,³⁵ the interior is arranged symmetrically, unlike the interior of Traditional Style buildings. Jefferson's style was geometrically focused, and symmetry was important in his designs.

Of the buildings Jefferson designed, Monticello³⁶ best embodies his personal style. Jefferson's architecture strongly reflects his time in France. The spherical dome in the center of the single story is strongly suggestive of the river front of the Hôtel de Salm.³⁷ The interior of the house reflects Jefferson's values of geometry and symmetry. A central axis is created by the entrance and porticos. The elegant French doors and windows of the rooms of Monticello also reflect Jefferson's years in France.³⁸ The Roman roots of Monticello are apparent within Monticello's temple form and Roman orders.³⁹ Monticello is a good example of Jefferson's values and their influence on his architecture.

Jefferson's Academical Village of the University of Virginia⁴⁰ exemplifies Jefferson's ideas about education and shows the influence the Enlightenment had on him. He wanted to avoid the traditional English university with the chapel and also the unplanned growth of buildings at other American universities like Harvard. He believed that the casual and irregular placement of buildings was not conducive in the pursuit of knowledge. Jefferson instead designed a symmetrically organized building complex. At one end of the central lawn are libraries and lecture rooms, replacing where a chapel in an English university might have been. The central building was modeled after the Pantheon⁴¹ in ancient Rome.⁴² On either side of the lawn are dormitories periodically interrupted by pavilions for the professors. Each pavilion used a different version of the Roman Classical orders, so that instructors could refer to them during lectures. By placing professors and students in close proximity to one another, Jefferson hoped to foster meaningful conversations between them.⁴³ The end of the central lawn opposite the library opens up to views of the mountains, focusing attention at one moment on the vast amount of knowledge that surrounds a viewer, and at next moment on the unadorned nature outside; thus, the library effectively linked Enlightenment and Romantic ideals.⁴⁴ The Village showed off Jefferson's personal beliefs and influences.

The Rational Phase is centered on the many works by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, who was considered the first professional architect of America and is often referred to as the "Father of American Architecture." Latrobe first became a practiced architect while in England, then set sail for America in 1795.⁴⁵ While Jefferson and many others were prominent gentlemen and architects on the side, Latrobe was a true professional in that he had the formal training Jefferson and others lacked.⁴⁶ Latrobe constructed Hammerwood Lodge⁴⁷ before immigrating to America.⁴⁸ The geometric simplicity of this building identified Latrobe with a certain rationalism that was evident in many of his American works.

Latrobe stood out from other American architects because of his characteristic way of thinking, which gave this phase of American Neoclassical architecture its name. He was able to think in three

dimensions, which no other American architect could do; he undertook the triangle of interior form, exterior expression, and physical structure in a unified whole. He also could accurately show the appearance of a building beforehand through watercolor.⁴⁹ Latrobe was a rationalist, clarifying structure to serve expressive and didactic purposes.⁵⁰ Latrobe's thinking was unique and led him to become one of the most prominent architects in America.

Latrobe was commissioned to build the Bank of Pennsylvania⁵¹ in 1798. There was rationality behind the building: an understandable relationship between shape and structure, how interior spaces were arranged for particular functions, and how simple and pure the geometry of the exterior was.⁵² The geometric simplicity added to its beauty, and everything was perfectly balanced.⁵³ In addition, the vaulted entry way was a classical technique that Latrobe employed in many of his works.⁵⁴ This was the first time that a masonry vault dominated a monumental interior. Latrobe's genius and new rational thinking created masterful buildings such as the Bank of Pennsylvania.

The National Phase is considered America's first national style. Like the Idealistic Phase, the National Phase was influenced by an ancient style; in this case, the architecture of the Greeks. The classic form of the Parthenon⁵⁵ was the initial model for this period, but the Greek Revival took many shapes after that.⁵⁶ One reason that this style is deemed "the first national style of America" is because of the American sentiment at the time. Americans felt they were the spiritual successors of ancient Greece, with its democratic ideals.⁵⁷ Americans saw a clear parallel between their fight for independence from the British, and the Greek fight for independence from the Turks. As the first modern democracy, Americans felt a kinship to the original home of democracy, and began to realize that Greece could become a model for the new nation.⁵⁸ The Greek Revival is a form of architectural anthropomorphism, the attribution of human form and qualities to architecture. America was the first country to combine political and architectural expression since the ancient Greeks.⁵⁹ The idea that

architecture could express social and political ideals quickly caught on, and the Greek Revival soon became sentimental and evident at every level of American society.

The National Phase was dominated by classic Greek features. The most easily identifiable aspects are the columns and pilasters that closely resemble ancient Greek architecture. Ancient Greek structures did not have arches, and neither did the Greek-inspired American buildings; the arched entrance and fan windows so common in the Traditional and Idealistic Phases were abandoned. Ancient Greek details adorned the interiors and exteriors of buildings.⁶⁰ The National Phase captured the essence of ancient Greek architecture.

The Second Bank of the United States⁶¹ was built by William Strickland in 1818. The board of directors was adamant about the bank being “a chaste imitation of Grecian architecture.” Like many early National Phase buildings, the Second Bank was modeled on the Parthenon. The massive Doric columns supported the deep entablature and wide pediment.⁶² Many of the classic Greek details were applied, as well. The Second Bank of the United States set precedents for other banks that were constructed before the Civil War.

The best example of the National Phase of American Neoclassical architecture is the city of Washington, D.C. Many were commissioned to build the nation’s new capital, including Charles Bulfinch, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, and Robert Mills, one of Latrobe’s students. The Treasury Building, the United States Capitol, and the White House provide the classic Greek details of the National phase.

Robert Mills began planning and constructing for the Treasury Building⁶³ in 1836. The Treasury Building showed that Mills was a master of design in the National Phase. The building is dominated by the thirty monolithic columns that closely resemble those of the Greek Parthenon.⁶⁴ The simplicity of the building, as well, is reminiscent of ancient Greek architecture. There are no arches or

other adornments that were characteristic of the Traditional Style buildings. Mills's Treasury Building was one of the prime examples of National Phase architecture, and set the tone for the rest of Washington, D.C.

The United States Capitol was originally designed by William Thornton⁶⁵ in 1794. Latrobe modified the design in 1814 when the British burned the Capitol and the White House. The final building was completed by Bulfinch.⁶⁶ The Capitol had the tall, monumental columns that were present on the exterior of most other National Phase buildings. Although Latrobe was inspired by many ancient styles, including the ancient Roman style, Latrobe mainly drew inspiration from other ancient Greek buildings, paying special attention to the Greek purity of detail that he preferred.⁶⁷ The Capitol is yet another building that shows the character of the National period.

The White House was initially designed by James Hoban⁶⁸ in 1792. Like with the Capitol, Latrobe contributed to the White House by designing the colonnaded portico⁶⁹ at the front of the House. Latrobe added the monumentality that so many ancient Greek buildings had and that Hoban's design was lacking.⁷⁰ The House kept Hoban's design of the columns inspired by ancient Greek architecture. The Greek influence on the White House represented the new ideals of the nation, just as it did with the Treasury Building and the Capitol.

Neoclassicism in America gave the new nation architecture that embodied its growth. In general, most critics only identify two phases of American Neoclassical architecture, the Traditional and the National. While the two phases are linked, there were still many works that did not fit the mold of these two phases. Thomas Jefferson's architecture has been identified with the Traditional Style, even though his influences were contemporary France and ancient Rome. There is much controversy and debate over what category Benjamin Henry Latrobe's architecture belongs to. Many try to categorize Benjamin Henry Latrobe's work as belonging in either the Traditional or National Phase.⁷¹ He even said:

"My principles of good taste are rigid in Grecian architecture. I am a bigoted Greek...Wherever the Grecian style can be copied without impropriety, I love to be a mere, I would say a slavish copyist..."⁷²

Even with this statement, much of his work is neither part of the Traditional Style nor the National Style because it carried a more rational attitude.⁷³ These contradictions led to the defining of two new phases, the Idealistic and the Rational Phases.

Another topic that arises is whether or not American Neoclassicism really was American and not an extension of European Neoclassicism and other styles. Although American Neoclassicism was influenced by European styles, it still retained its own flavor. For example, for the columns inside of the Capitol, Latrobe used two American motifs, the ear of corn and the tobacco leaf, instead of the acanthus leaf motif that was a part of the traditional ancient Greek capitol,⁷⁴ a symbol that indicated that while ancient Greek architecture and design was influential, there was an American twist in the National Phase.

So pervasive was the idea of a distinct American architectural style that it is evident everywhere. Although most focus is on older cities such as Philadelphia, New York, Washington, D.C., and Boston, Neoclassical architecture flourished in the South and the Midwest as well. In the South, the Belle Grove plantation⁷⁵ had many of the classic Greek Revival details, such as the giant Greek columns. Many Midwestern cottages⁷⁶ and farmhouses⁷⁷ were also adorned with Greek Revival details. America aspired to embody Greek democratic ideals, and that spirit was evident in everything. Much of American architecture, with its classical Ancient Greek characteristics, represented what the nation believed in. American Neoclassical architecture gave the nation a new sentiment that embodied the growing nation's morals and that is still with America today.

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- ⁹Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 219.
- ¹⁰Ibid., 221.
- ¹¹Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001), p. 117.
- ¹²Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 240.
- ¹³Ibid., 244.
- ¹⁴See Appendix C.
- ¹⁵Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 245.
- ¹⁶See Appendix D.
- ¹⁷Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 246.
- ¹⁸Ibid., 247.
- ¹⁹See Appendix E.
- ²⁰See Appendix F.
- ²¹Craven, *American Art: History and Culture*, 118.
- ²²Michael J. Lewis, *American Art and Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2006), p. 55.
- ²³Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 255.
- ²⁴Roth, *American Architecture: A History*, 117.
- ²⁵Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 292.
- ²⁶Roth, *American Architecture: A History*, 130.
- ²⁷Frances K Pohl, *Framing America: A Social History of American Art* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2002), p. 93.
- ²⁸Steven Conn and Max Page, ed., *Building the Nation: Americans Write about their Architecture, their Cities, and their Landscape* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 53.
- ²⁹See Appendix G.
- ³⁰Conn and Page, *Building the Nation: Americans Write about their Architecture, their Cities, and their Landscape*, 53.
- ³¹Chambers, Jr. and Poppeliers, *What Style is it?:A Guide to American Architecture*, 32.
- ³²Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 212.
- ³³Lewis, *American Art and Architecture*, 57.
- ³⁴Gerald Foster, *American Houses: A Field Guide to the Architecture of the Home* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004), p. 228.
- ³⁵See Appendix H.
- ³⁶See Appendix I.
- ³⁷Pierson, p. 298.
See Appendix J.
- ³⁸Craven, *American Art: History and Culture*, 112.
- ³⁹Foster, *American Houses: A Field Guide to the Architecture of the Home*, 230.
- ⁴⁰See Appendix K.
- ⁴¹See Appendix L.
- ⁴²Mark Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in their Cultural and Technological Context* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001), p. 120.

⁴³ Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in their Cultural and Technological Context*, 121.

⁴⁴ Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in their Cultural and Technological Context*, 122.

⁴⁵ Wayne Andrews, *Architecture, Ambition, and Americans: A Social History of American Architecture* (New York: The Free Press, 1978), p. 71.

⁴⁶ Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 336.

⁴⁷ See Appendix M.

⁴⁸ Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 346.

⁴⁹ Lewis, *American Art and Architecture*, 61.

⁵⁰ Roth, *American Architecture: A History*, 130.

⁵¹ See Appendix N.

⁵² Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 350.

⁵³ Craven, *American Art: History and Culture*, 124.

⁵⁴ Charles Belfourne, *Monuments to Money: The Architecture of American Banks* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2005), p. 18.

⁵⁵ See Appendix O.

⁵⁶ Foster, *American Houses: A Field Guide to the Architecture of the Home*, 232.

⁵⁷ Chambers, Jr. and Poppeliers, *What Style is it?:A Guide to American Architecture*, 41.

⁵⁸ Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in their Cultural and Technological Context*, 133.

⁵⁹ Allan Greenberg, *Architecture of Democracy* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2006), p. 129.

⁶⁰ Chambers, Jr. and Poppeliers, *What Style is it?:A Guide to American Architecture*, 44.

⁶¹ See Appendix P.

⁶² Belfourne, *Monuments to Money: The Architecture of American Banks*, 44.

⁶³ See Appendix Q.

⁶⁴ Craven, *American Art: History and Culture*, 174.

⁶⁵ See Appendix R.

⁶⁶ Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 401.

See Appendix S.

⁶⁷ Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America: Being an Account of Important Trends in American Architecture and American Life prior to the War Between the States* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 36.

⁶⁸ See Appendix T.

⁶⁹ See Appendix U.

⁷⁰ Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 402.

⁷¹ Ibid., 210.

⁷² Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Journal of Latrobe: Being the Notes and Sketches of an Architect, Naturalist, and Traveler in the United States from 1796 to 1820* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), p. 139.

⁷³ Pierson, *American Builders and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, 210.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 401.

⁷⁵ See Appendix V.

⁷⁶ See Appendix W.

⁷⁷ See Appendix X.

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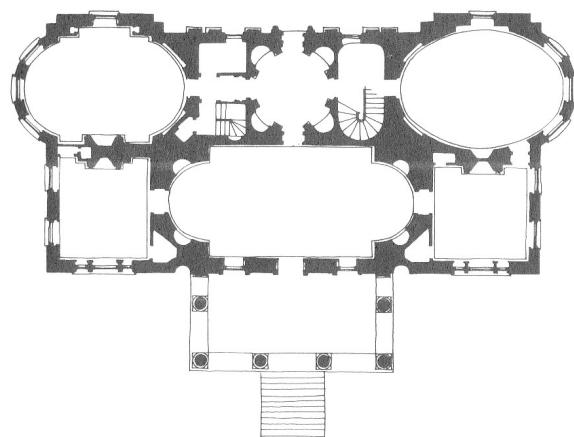
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Appendix A

Woodlands, Philadelphia, PA, 1788-89, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/bd/Woodlands_Mansion_NHL_Philly.JPG/1024px-Woodlands_Mansion_NHL_Philly.JPG



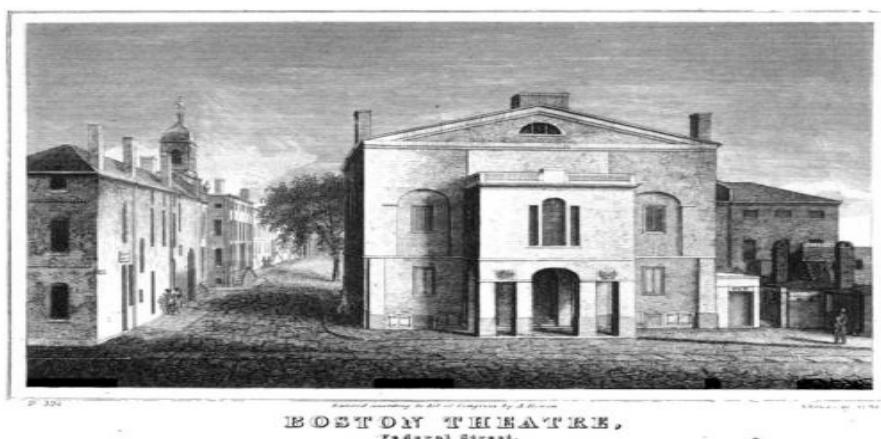
Appendix B

Woodlands, Philadelphia, PA, first-floor plan, 1788-89, Pierson, Jr., William H. American Buildings and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1976, p. 219.



Appendix C

Charles Bulfinch. Tontine Crescent, Boston, MA, 1794,
http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_a2_A1DHotw/TgNxwDvg2BI/AAAAAAAABHo/N_PZyI3WAY0/s1600/1850s+franklin+tontine+crescent+bpl.jpg



Appendix D

Charles Bulfinch. Federal Street Theatre, Boston MA, 1974, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/db/BostonTheatre_Snow_HistoryOfBoston_1828.png



Appendix E

Charles Bulfinch. Massachusetts State House, Boston, MA, 1795-98,
<http://www.world-travel-photos.com/photos2/etats-unis/massachusetts-state-house-4578.jpg>



Appendix F

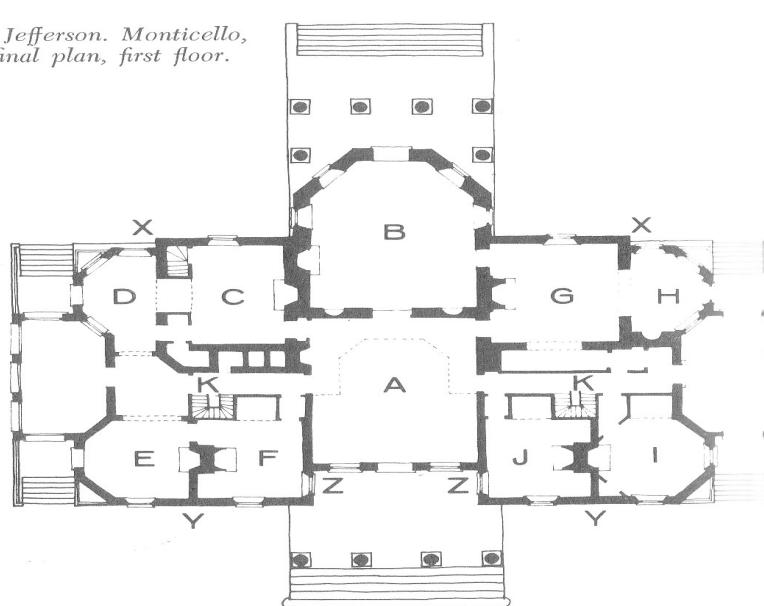
William Chambers. Somerset House, London England,
1776-86, http://data.greatbuildings.com/gbc/images/cid_somerset_km_002.jpg



Appendix G

Maison Carrée, Nîmes, France,
http://www.livius.org/a/france/nimes/nimes_maison-carree01.JPG

Jefferson. Monticello,
final plan, first floor.



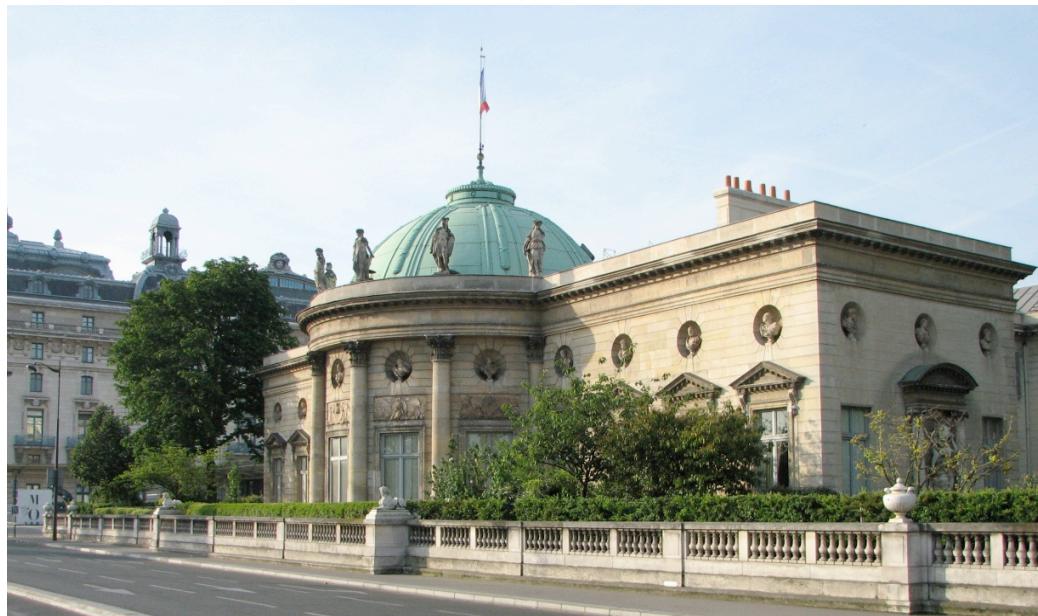
Appendix H

Thomas Jefferson. Monticello, Charlottesville, VA, final plan, first floor, Pierson, Jr., William H. American Buildings and their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1976, p. 300.



Appendix I

Thomas Jefferson. Monticello, Charlottesville, VA, 1793-1809, <http://faculty.etsu.edu/kortumr/HUMT2320/neoclassictoromantic/htmldescriptionpages/08monticellocdesc.jpg>



Appendix J

Hôtel de Salm, Paris, France, 1782-86,
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/af/H%C3%B4tel_de_Salm.jpg



Appendix K

Academical Village at the University of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, 1823-27
<http://www.proprofs.com/flashcards/upload/q7394902.JPG>



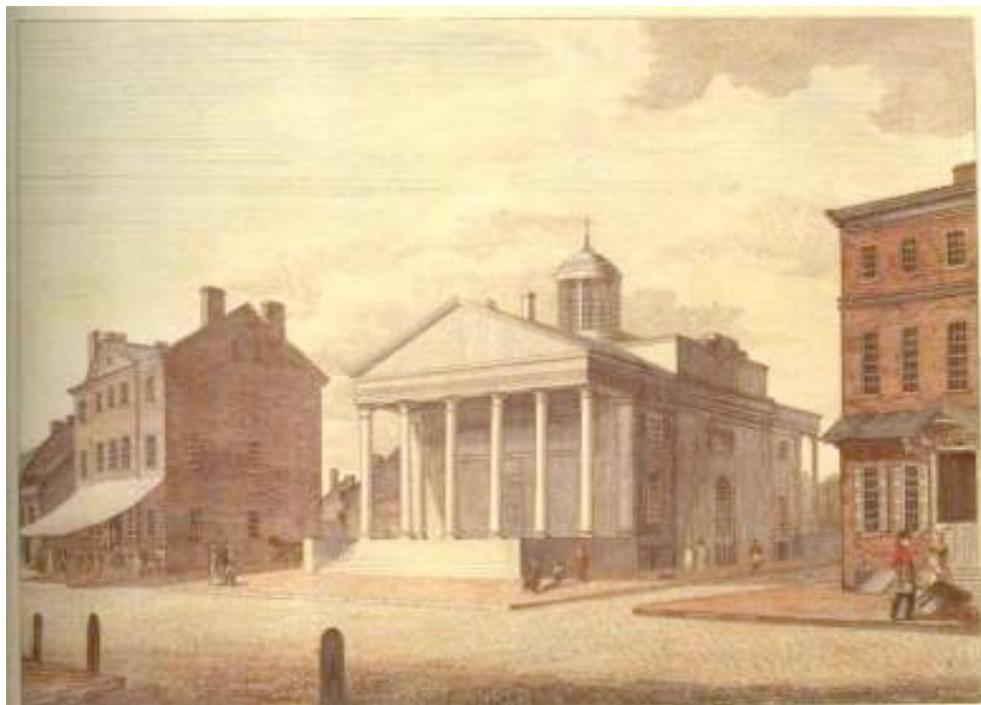
Appendix L

Pantheon, Rome, Italy, http://www.hotelmorgana.com/img/hotel_rome_pantheon.jpg



Appendix M

Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Hammerwood Lodge, Sussex, England, 1792, <http://www.christies.com/lotfinderimages/d1976/d197643r.jpg>



Appendix N

Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Bank of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, 1799-1801,
<http://www.philadelphia-reflections.com/images/BenHenryLatrobe's%20Bank%20of%20Pennsylvania1798.jpg>



Appendix O

Parthenon, Athens, Greece, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/da/The_Parthenon_in_Athens.jpg



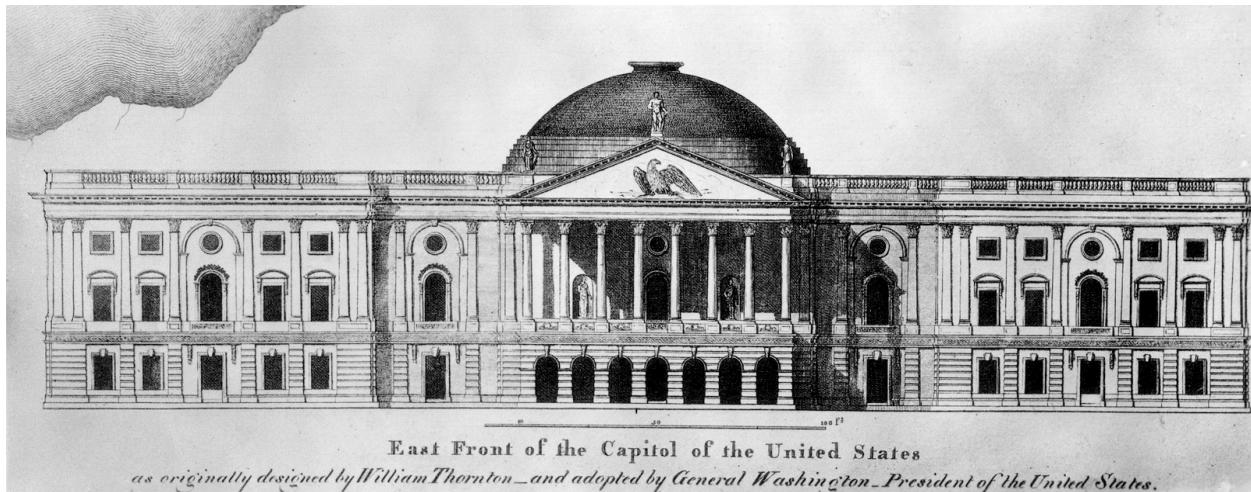
Appendix P

William Strickland. Second Bank of the United States, Philadelphia, PA, 1818-24,
<http://www.us-coin-values-advisor.com/images/Second-Bank-of-the-US.jpg>



Appendix Q

Robert Mills. Treasury Building, Washington, D.C., 1836-42, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/wash/buildings/Dtn28.jpg>



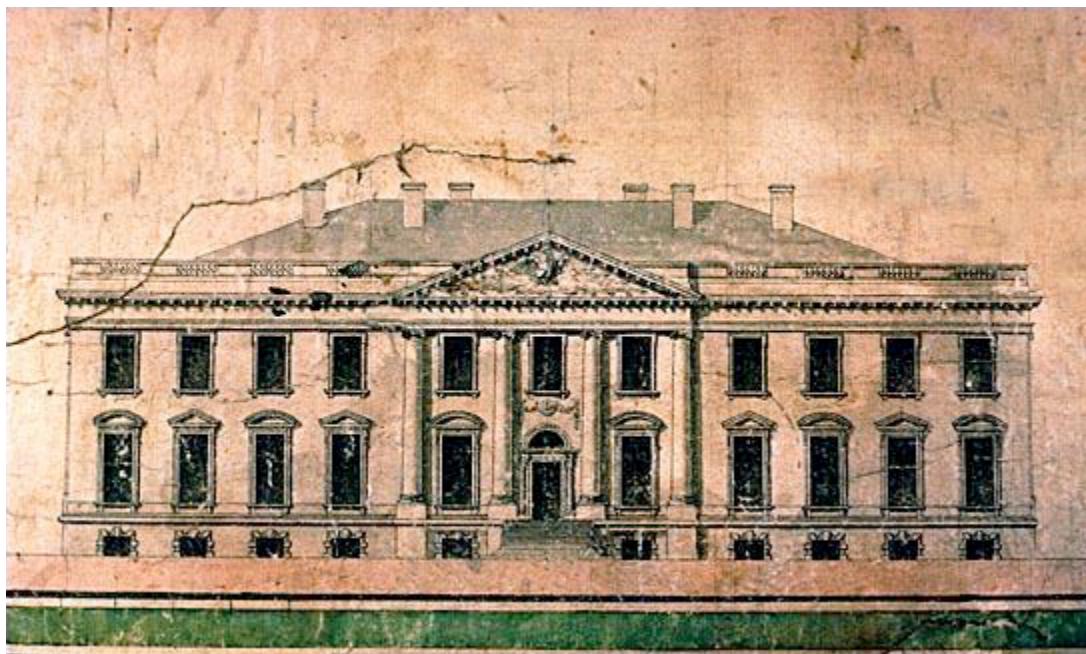
Appendix R

William Thornton. National Capitol, Washington, D.C., 1794,
<http://media-1.web.britannica.com/eb-media//85/70285-050-E46B5EF3.jpg>



Appendix S

United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., as completed by Charles Bulfinch, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/us.capitol/oneosix.jpg>



Appendix T

James Hoban. Design for the President's House, Washington, D.C., 1792, <http://presidentgeorgewashington.files.wordpress.com/2009/05/whitehousedesignbyjameshoban.jpg>



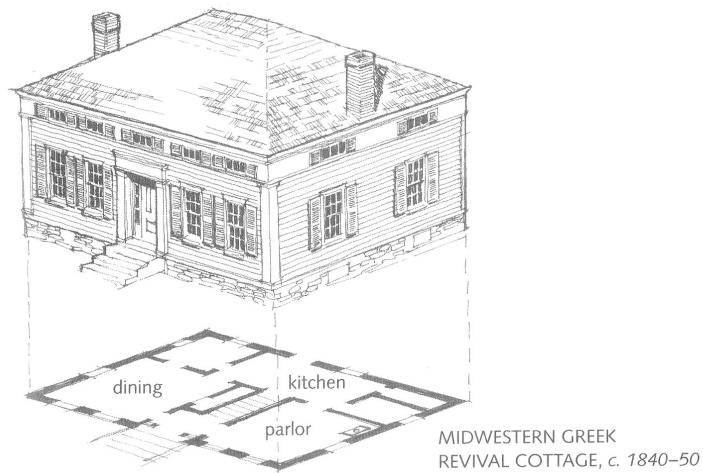
Appendix U

Benjamin Henry Latrobe. President's House, Washington, D.C., portico, 1807, <http://www.whitehousemuseum.org/floor1/north-portico/north-portico-1906.jpg>



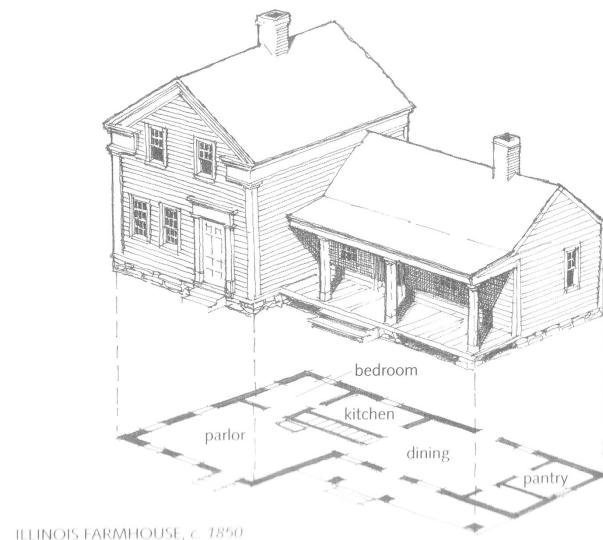
Appendix V

Henry Howard. Belle Grove, near White Castle, LA, 1857, http://www.bellegrove.net/Images/bellegrove_laughlin_b_w.jpg



Appendix W

Midwestern Greek Revival cottage, c. 1840-1850, Foster, Gerald. *American Houses: A Field Guide to the Architecture of the Home*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004, p. 235.



Appendix X

Illinois farmhouse, c. 1850, Foster, Gerald. *American Houses: A Field Guide to the Architecture of the Home*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004, p. 235.