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History Students of the World, Unite!
Editorial

A spectre has been haunting the International Students of History Association — the spectre of an international journal of history students. Carnival represents an attempt to seize the opportunity.

While ISHA constitutes a network of students with remarkable potential, editing its publication has seemed to be an increasingly marginal chore for the problem-ridden International Secretariat over the past few years. The state of an international publication boasting a colour print cover on quality paper and funding by the EU Commission, yet awkwardly thin and distributed to the member sections only, has left one unsettled for long.

As the tasks of the IS have been handed to ISHA Helsinki for the academic year 1999-2000, we are now trying to mobilize the local knowhow to upgrade the publication. At the same time, we're trying to reach out of the organizational context of the journal and go global. We believe there are enough motivated and capable writers and interested readers among history students within our computer enhanced reach to keep an international journal going. We already have several fresh contacts from the U.S. My personal dream for the future would be to find channels for bringing in material from Africa, South America and Asia as well.

As for the new name of the publication formerly known as ISHAnews, a colleague came up with Carnival on the following grounds: when students publish an international journal of their own, the moment is carnivalesque, since the "commoners become kings", implying a revolution of the existing hierarchy; and each issue will also be a recurring cause for celebration!

At least two questions related to editorial policy require addressing after the initial experience provided by this issue. The first has to do with the diversity of content. What, exactly, is the lasting interest of a journal with articles on, say, racial relations in the early 20th century Texas, a documentation centre for autobiography at the University of Vienna, the transformation of imperial ceremonies in the early 18th century Russia and new trends in the historiography of war? In our days, many might not find the answer "history" sufficient any more. What/whose history?

One answer is that this is an international journal for students. First of all, this means that we will provide regular international coverage on topics of particular interest to students, such as possibilities for and experiences of studying in various countries. Secondly, the historiographical articles represent the work of students around the world. Therefore, Carnival grants the readership a regular opportunity to "peek over the shoulders" of distant colleagues — something I confess has, in addition to Croatian plum brandy, always been one of the most fascinating aspects of being involved in ISHA. However, future issues may have themes, perhaps linked to seminars without local publication projects.

The second question has to do with so-called "academic standards" — a matter that is raised by Ionut Epurescu Pascovici of ISHA Bucharest in his article in this issue. What should be our stance towards "quality control", that is, observing academic and/or journalistic rules of the game? Should we try to adhere to merciless wanna-be-professionalism and weed out the weak, or should we publish absolutely anything thrown at us?

Many of our distinguished contributors are naturally way out of our league, and, then again, for practical reasons we just cannot publish all the supplied material. For the bulk of it, however, there should be a third way. It might be good to note once again that this is a student publication. Carnival should be seen, not only as an international publication channel, but also as an international learning environment for all those involved in the process of its production. Ionut himself leads the way by analytically pointing out what he sees as the strengths and the weaknesses of last summer's seminar in Zürich. We request the contributors to follow certain rules (see inside of backcover) and may make suggestions for corrections. Finally, we also edit the material as we see fit before we print it. We hope that both parties learn something in the process, of which conflicts are a natural part.

We do look forward to your textual contributions and cooperation. Please see the last pages for details. We also hope to encourage new individual and collective involvement in the activities of ISHA. Let's shrink the globe some more!

Sakari Saaritsa
Head of the Editorial Team
ISHA Helsinki
ISHA Helsinki as the present IS

Sinikukka Saari
ISHA Helsinki/IS

As some of you already know, the Legislative Assembly - which gathered in Heidelberg last spring - decided to entrust ISHA Helsinki with the direction of the international activities of ISHA for one year. We are very enthusiastic and have thousands of ideas buzzing in our heads. With your help and growing cooperation, some of them might even become reality.

The Legislative Assembly had an important topic on the agenda in Heidelberg: how to get the stumbling 'federal administration' back on track, to make work effectively. The International Secretariat of ISHA – three students who are elected annually by LA to work and study in Leuven, Belgium – had already suffered a couple of years of underrepresentation and inefficiency. Some of the elected members had not eventually been able – for various reasons – to come to Leuven. This has meant that the duties of the Secretariat – publishing ISHA News, taking care of financial affairs, informing about future seminars and conferences and the general planning and coordination of international activities – have been carried out only in part.

The situation of ISHA has therefore been ambivalent for a long time: there have always been very active local sections and the international conferences and seminars have been successes, but the Secretariat has unfortunately faced many difficulties.

After long discussions, the LA decided to leave the administrative structure of ISHA more or less in tact. We thought that the situation would be remedied in the long run only by improving cooperation. The Assembly decided to elect one of the member sections as a 'Back-up group' for the Secretariat. The Back-up group would help the Secretariat to take care of its duties, especially if all the members of the Secretariat would not be able to move to Leuven. This time, the LA was not able to elect a Secretariat at all because there were not enough capable candidates. The duties of the IS were transferred directly to the Back-up group. As our section in Helsinki was elected to be the first Back-up group ever in the history of ISHA, we are now responsible for the direction of the Association for one year.

In Helsinki we are all very excited about the new challenges. We decided in Heidelberg to divide the duties roughly as follows: Mikko is the president, Rae takes care of the money-matters and Sinikukka (that's me) is the academic coordinator. However, this does not tell the whole truth. We are planning to work as a team and we are trying to get as many local students as possible to join us. By spreading our duties, we hope to make the Secretariat stronger and more active.

One of the main goals we set at the beginning was to improve ISHA News. We wanted to produce a proper journal with interesting articles. The journal could become a channel for vivid conversation and could also be a way to get more students around the world interested in ISHA. We realised that editing the paper would be a demanding job, and thus needed a proper editorial team to take care of it. Luckily, Sakke was ready for the task [le team, c'est moi??!! SS]. Now – finally – you are holding the first Carnival in your hands.

We are also trying to increase cooperation and conversation between the sections and individuals throughout the year. The www-pages and the e-mail list are the most important forums. We should have an organisation that is active all the time, not just around the annual conference. The activities would also bring continuity to our association and guarantee that the Secretariat could stay in Leuven. We need your help and ideas to make ISHA work - please take part, make suggestions, argue!
The IS would like to thank all those sections that have arranged seminars and conferences this year. As you might remember, the annual conference was held in Heidelberg in April and discussions focused on “Enemies and Feindbilder”. There were only two seminars this year. The first one was arranged by ISHA Zürich in July and the topic of the seminar was the “Millennium” (see reports on the seminar in this issue). The second one was organized by ISHA Hradec Kralove (6 - 10 October) on the Habsburgs.

The IS would like to remind all sections that we are still looking for a host for the annual conference of 2001. The host will be decided in Zagreb, so we do not have lots of time left! We also lack hosts for AB-meetings and smaller seminars, for instance for the New Year 2001. All sections interested in hosting the annual conference or seminars are asked to contact the Academic Coordinator Sinikukka Saari before the conference in Zagreb!

Upcoming events

Nijmegen’s AB-meeting in January 2000

We would like to invite the Academic Board and Treasury Committee members to join us for discussions about ISHA’s current situation. Please contact Annemie from ISHA Nijmegen for details.

11th annual conference in Zagreb, April 19th-23rd, 2000


Contact:
Klub studenata povijesti-ISHA Zagreb
Odsjek za povijest
Filofofski fakultet
Ivana Lucica 3
10000 Zagreb
Croatia

Ivan Lajnvas

Seminar in Bucharest, June 28th-July 2nd, 2000

The title of the seminar is “Being YOUNG in Europe”. See Adrian Robu’s article in this issue for details.

Contact:
Adrian Robu
Dear ISHA friends,

Many attendants of the Zürich seminar wished for some public discussion about the idea and structure of ISHA. Since there are always many newcomers in the activities ISHA and since this journal is distributed to a wider audience, I think it is appropriate to present some general information regarding our association. You can find more detailed information in our www-pages.

We will try to improve the network of history students by publishing an updated list of addresses with e-mail and postal addresses of the sections and individuals taking part in ISHA. It will be published on the Internet and in the next copy of Carnival. I ask you, therefore, to please send your addresses to me. I wish everybody warm moments during the winter!

Mikko Seppälä, President of the International Secretariat

ISHA - International Students of History Association

Nature and aims

The International Students of History Association (ISHA) is an international, academic, non-profit-making, independent network of students and recent graduates interested in history and related sciences.

The activity of ISHA has social and academic motivations in its activities. ISHA is committed to encouraging international cooperation and understanding through a more objective and tolerant study of history. ISHA seeks to create and coordinate means of cooperation and exchange between history students and young people of all backgrounds.

ISHA believes that the comprehension of history is an integral part in the creation of mutual understanding between different nations and social groups. It is our strong hope that personal connections between history students and therefore future historians, history teachers, and intellectuals with a background in historical studies, can promote the achievement of this aim.

ISHA considers that the exchange of knowledge and allowing for different viewpoints can offer an academic contribution to the quality of history teaching.

ISHA's main academic aims are:

1. Advancement of the contacts between students from different countries, thereby breaking the borders of national-oriented history teaching in favour of a more international conception of history.
2. Promotion of the cooperation of history students interested in the same fields of history.

3. Offering international publication channels for history students.

4. Increasing the exposure of the achievements of lesser known areas of history.

The Annual Academic Conference

The highlight of the annual activities of ISHA is the Annual Conference, organized every spring around a specific theme (in the year 2000 “The 20th Century”). The Legislative Assembly of ISHA takes place during the Annual Conference, making it the most important annual meeting of all members of ISHA.

Carnival: Journal of the International Students of History Association

The journal of the Association, which published its first issue in 1990 as “ISHAnews” (the title of the publication until fall 1999), “Carnival” will be published in Helsinki in 1999-2000. The main scope of this publication has been detailed information concerning the sections, but we are interested in developing the profile of “Carnival” from an internal newsletter into a general publication of history students in the geographical area delineated by the (hopefully expanding) ISHA network.

In addition to organisational news, it could contain, for example, news and general articles relevant to history students (such as on experiences of studying at various departments as an exchange student, their strengths and weaknesses), articles based on studies and research at home universities or conference/seminar presentations (such as presentations given at ISHA events the results of which are not going to be published by the organizing section) and book reviews (such as reviews presenting domestic research on generally interesting themes not available in English or treating generally known international research from a fresh student angle).

Although “Carnival” is distributed at the moment mainly among the member sections and other contacts, ISHA plans to increase the circulation by sending the journal to key individuals and history department libraries, for instance, and by publishing it on the Web.

Main Activities of ISHA Since its Foundation

Annual conferences:
1990 Budapest, Hungary: The European Paradigm
1991 Pécs, Hungary: People on the Move: Migration and Movement in History
1992 Helsinki, Finland: Gender and History
1993 Tours, France: What does it Mean to be European through History?
1995 Mainz, Germany: History and Propaganda
1996 Vienna, Austria: Man and Nature
1997 Wroclaw, Poland: Religion and History
1998 Helsinki, Finland: Revolution??
1999 Heidelberg, Germany: Enemies and Feindbilder
2000 Zagreb, Croatia: The Century
Being YOUNG in Europe
An ISHA seminar in Romania, July 2000

Adrian Robu
ISHA Bucharest

ISHA Bucharest is pleased to invite you to an ISHA seminar entitled Being YOUNG in Europe in July 2000. Here, we want to inform you of the academic program give some answers to your questions: “How will I spend a week in Romania next summer?” and “What will I see in Romania?”.

The aim of the seminar to present and analyze problems of young people on one hand, and on the other, problems of education in different historical societies. The workshops of the seminar focus on the following topics:

About us and the others
What are the main instruments for creating a common level of historical conscience? How is this reflected on the level of the youth, and in the context of the ethnic, religious and cultural diversity specific for every society?

Gender and Education
Education serves as a method of integration in every historical society, and the rules applied are always in accordance with accepted social values. Instruments, ideas, persons, institutions, the entire social background is deployed to “teach” social roles. This workshop proposes a discussion on the principles applied to prepare women and men for social life in various epochs and civilizations.

How to “do” and “undo” a Frontier
“Frontière: mot d’armées en mouvement, mot relativement nouveau qui s’oppose à limite, ce lieu mot débonnaire d’arpenteurs terriens. Frontière, vraie frontière, linéaire et de choc – un de ces nerfs à vif dont notre vieille Europe porte à son flanc la douleur lancinante…” (L. Febvre, Le Rhin. Histoire, mythes et réalités)

Education. Ideology. Propaganda.
Education can express a specific ideology and may become a weapon of political propaganda. Our aim is to focus on the different ways in which the education of the people has been implemented in various epochs and civilisations.

Round Table: “European Integration”: an Academic Issue?
We propose a free exchange of information on the place reserved (or not) to the specific theme of “European Integration” in the history departments of various European universities.

Exhibition: History Schoolbooks in Use
In the last few years, new history books have been introduced in Romanian schools. There are general schoolbooks for the Romanian-speaking youth or for

“Peasant Romania”, a quite common landscape.
Sighizoara - a medieval town in Transylvania.

those who study in one of the various ethno-cultural minorities' languages, but also special history schoolbooks designed to present the history of specific ethnic minorities of Romania. The aim of the exhibition is to present some of these, and we also invite our guests to participate by bringing history schoolbooks in use at present in their own countries for display.

The academic program...

Every participant should prepare a short paper (one page) on her or his subject. In order to avoid excessive monologues, all the papers received in advance by ISHA Bucharest will be given to the members of the workgroups before the beginning of the seminar. The core of the academic program of the conference will be independent discussion in the workgroups on the basis of the essays presented by the participants. According to present plans, the maximum group size will be around fifteen (plus workshop leaders). All large groups will be further subdivided into smaller workgroups during the workshop sessions in order to help everyone get the chance to speak.

The workgroups are to be lead by students and assistants from the University of Bucharest. In addition to regular workshop activity, one topic-related lecture (or somewhat briefer presentation) will be heard in each workshop. These are provided by teachers (professors, associate professors, assistants) and professional researchers from the University of Bucharest or Romanian research institutions.

As an epilogue, a representative sample of the essays is to be published later on as an "ISHA Journal", to be edited by appointed members of ISHA Bucharest.

...and more!

The plan is that the seminar will last seven days. One part of the seminar will take place in Bucharest and the other in a hotel in the Olt Valley, very close to the town of Rimnicu Vilcea.

Those who come to Romania will have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with two Romanian myths: those of Ceausescu and Dracula. In Bucharest, it will be possible to see the second largest building in the world, "The House of The People" built by Ceausescu, but also get acquainted with the nightlife of Romania's biggest city.

After that, we will go to Rimnicu Vilcea and you will be able to see the beautiful landscapes from the Sub-Carpathian hills, strewn with beautiful monasteries especially along the river Olt. The monasteries of Arnota, Bistrita, Cozjia, Hurezu, One-Wood (Dintr-un Lemen), Frasinei, Stanisoara, Surupatele and Turnu are masterpieces of Romanian architecture and art, some of them built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries AD.

Another trip will be taken to the monastery of Curtea de Arges and the fortress of Dracula in Poienari. This fortress is on a mountain peak and it takes more than one thousand four hundred steps to get there, but at the end you will have a marvelous and indescribable view. A local legend says the castle was built by the traitors' boyars by the order of Vlad Dracula.

So, I expect to see you all in Romania next summer, to discover an undiscovered country!

NOTE! DO NOT FORGET TO BRING: GARLIC, CROSSES, HOLY WATER AND WOODEN SPLINTERS (It might help you but I can promise you nothing).
Under the Holy Slipper
Millennium – an ISHA Seminar in Zürich

Christian Egg
ISHA Zürich

From July 26th to August 1st, 1999, ISHA Zürich organised their first seminar ever. More than 60 people gathered in a YMCA house in the Swiss countryside to explore the topic ‘Millennium’. For the organisers, it was a tiring but rewarding experience.

“Tell you all!” was the first thing the assembled participants heard. A tall figure with wild hair and huge sunglasses, babbling about some “Holy Slipper” (and wearing a pair around his neck), surrounded by disciples clad in innocent white (and also wearing those silly slippers), introduced himself as “your guru”. He proclaimed that this seminar would be the best of all times and would remain so “because the end of the world is very near.” But not to worry; because he loved us, and because he loved ISHA, he would save us. Thank God, eh, thank the Holy Slipper.

Soon everybody met in front of the house for a barbecue. The biggest surprise for the organisers came after dinner, when it was found out that some of the people assigned to wash the dishes had never done that in their lives before! But after some initial grumbling, they did an excellent job.

The call for everybody to bring along a national drink met with a tremendous echo, so that despite everyone’s best efforts, all of these drinks could not be consumed on the first night already - in fact, some survived the whole week. My alcohol cupboard now sports a lemonade bottle still filled one-third with excellent Romanian ‘Zuica’ (or however this is spelled) - thanks to Ciprian Pan, who carried it (and four bottles of delicious wine) all the way from Sibiu!

Let’s start with the apocalypse...

During breakfast on Tuesday we were greeted once again by our guru. Like every morning from now on, he gave us some spiritual guidance. This morning, he wisely recommended: “Don’t clean your teeth with a church tower!” Whoever does not immediately see the significance of this advice has missed the whole point of the seminar and will not be saved when the world ends.

The academic programme began with (seriously now) a very inspiring lecture by Georg Schmid, Professor of Theology and “sect specialist” of the Protestant church. He introduced many topics that would later be discussed in the workshops, including the various ways in which religions comprehend time, history, and the end of the world. He described apocalyptic thinking as a kind of utopia where the old world has to die before a new one can arise. Under the motto “bad times are good times”, he described the apocalyptic mentality: “I don’t have to despair, personal fears in this atmosphere are understandable. Everywhere we see birth pangs of the new world; if I see a disaster reported in the media, I am glad, because it is yet another sign of the coming end of the
The three workshop topics (Apocalypse, Time Concepts, and Utopia) seem to have been a good choice, because we got exactly the same number of applications for each of the three. As is the norm in ISHA events, the presentations were not only of varying quality, but also very disparate in content, so that it was hard and sometimes impossible to find a common denominator. Nonetheless, at least in my workshop (Utopia), discussions were highly animated, and almost always on a very high academic level.

Apocalyptic sects, Schmid argued, see themselves as the last island in the rising flood. Since only the next world counts, and since everything outside the sect will be lost anyway, members are willing to sacrifice all they have in this world, even their lives.

“This was the best lecture I’ve heard in four ISHA events”, remarked Corné Boomars of ISHA Nijmegen. “I didn’t even get to ask all my questions because the discussion was so lively.”

Bad news for carnivores

After the lecture I noticed Dragan Bozic, outgoing ISHA president, sitting around with a sad face. When I asked him what the matter was, he replied: “I got some bad news - there will be no meat at all today!” Indeed the kitchen team, consisting mainly of vegetarians, had planned risotto al funghi for lunch and fondue for dinner. But Dragan made the best of it. Indeed, he is reported to have skipped workshops in order to help cooking!
Beckmann who worked in exile during World War II. The evening lecture was held by writer Emil Zopfi, who had, among other works, written a novel about the introduction of the factory bell. Zopfi gave us a lot to think about; I will just include two quotes which have stuck in my mind ever since: "Time is the most democratic resource - everybody gets exactly the same amount" and "Many people who are surfing are afraid to slow down because they might drown. But only then can you get beneath the surface."

The touristy highlight of the seminar was undoubtedly the full-day excursion to Mount Titlis (3,020 m) and Lucerne on Thursday. The view from Titlis was gorgeous, and even for Swiss people it was a strange sensation to have a snow-ball fight in the middle of the summer. Many participants made use of the stay in Lucerne to buy souvenirs. A little box that baaed like a sheep when turned upside down was a cause of much laughter during the bus ride home.

On the same ride, our driver Juan demonstrated what the outside lane on the Swiss motorways is for (the one that nobody drives on): when his fridge had sold out the beer within minutes of Christian’s announcement, Juan pulled over and walked to the back of his bus to re-stock his supply...

How to use the apocalypse

Workshops resumed on Friday and Saturday, with Saturday afternoon reserved for final presentations. As usual in an ISHA seminar, it was next to impossible to condense all presentations and discussions into fifteen minutes, but everybody made a valiant effort.

The ‘Apocalypse’ people started out by informing us that St. John’s Revelation, despite all its threatening imagery, was not meant to cause fear of the end of the world. Rather, its aim was to assure the believers that one day there would be justice and salvation, and therefore to inspire them with hope. They continued by stating that every religion was concerned with the end of the world, a point which Professor Schmid had touched upon as well.

The Christian apocalypse, they said, had its origins in the Jewish culture, and among the Christian confessions, it was least important in the Orthodox tradition, not really important for Protestants, fairly important for Catholics, and very important for sects. Finally, we were told that people use (and have been using throughout history) the apocalypse not only as a source of hope and a guide to salvation, to meet with the basic human need to make sense out of an unknown future, but also for their own worldly aims, in order to gain or keep power and money. Examples given were the papacy and the emperors during the Middle Ages. In the end, the workshop gave us some useful advice on what to do at our next apocalypse: “Don’t stand next to a person that’s obviously going to hell, and keep away from the fire!”
What’s Monday in Japanese?

The workshop ‘Time Concepts’ developed a habit of hanging up posters in their workshop room and not taking them down. The further the week progressed, the more their walls would be plastered with interesting information, among which a large table with days of the week in English, German, Dutch, Italian, Romanian, French, Finnish, Swedish, Croatian, Polish, Japanese, Hungarian, Spanish, Estonian, Russian and Chinese... Their presentation started out by telling us that they had found similarities of time concepts between different cultures. Under the heading ‘Time and Power’ they pronounced the conclusion that those in charge also have the power to calculate and regulate time. As examples they mentioned church clocks, which came into existence in the late Middle Ages, the Japanese Empire, where with each new emperor the time recording started anew, and today, when time is fixed to industrial production and to the economy in general, or, as Emil Zopfi had put it, “machines are in power”.

Trying to explain the different variations of cyclic and linear time concepts, they showed us many confusing graphic representations. They concluded with a Solomonic ruling that “time always goes forward, but some things come back.” But there could also be ends: Hitler, for example, tried to put an end to the Jewish culture: “Had he succeeded, there would be no more Jewish culture.”

What, utopia? What utopia?

The ‘Utopia’ workshop went for something completely different. In a theatrical form they presented different utopias, such as paradise, Marxism, science fiction, ecotopia, world Christianity, ‘Nineteen-eighty-four’ and ‘The Matrix’, an a-gendered society, and futurism. Each participant represented one kind of utopia, contradicting the one that went before him/her. The highlight was the discussion between the very dispirited (and alcoholic) Marx and Engels, a.k.a. Balazs Apor and Miklos Takacs of ISHA Debrecen, culminating in the philosophical revelation: “Shit man! The English working classes don’t even have a fucking refrigerator!”

A shocking revelation!!

All that remained to be done on Sunday was for the participants to pack up and leave, and for the organisers to clean the house from top to bottom. In this process we found a postcard which a participant had written but forgotten to post. We could not help but read it. If only we had been able to curb our curiosity! The card started harmless enough, about what a nice day we had had on Titlis and Lucerne. But then came the shock (to us): “The seminar can also be survived [...]. The day after tomorrow we’re leaving for home already, of course we’re happy not to participate in the last day (we’re planning to visit a few museums instead of attending the seminar).” I won’t reveal the name of the author of these lines, but let me tell you this: We know who you are!

We just hope that the seminar wasn’t that bad in everybody else’s eyes. We enjoyed ourselves, but believe me, we were also happy when the whole thing was over and we could just get home to sleep. I found it useful to waste my free time on it, but also found it a bit strange when one of the organisers was asked in all earnest by a participant: “Tell me, how much are you getting paid for doing this seminar?”
Carnival

activity

Plac Zamkowy (the Castle Square), Old Town Warsaw

ism in Poland is not self-confident and proud in the French manner, but more or less on the defensive due to history.

Considering the issue of disappearing nation-states it will be interesting to see how this patriotism will change in the future due to economic development and the European Union. After WWII Poland has for the first time been a pure nation-state with its overwhelmingly Polish, Roman Catholic population. It is hard to think that the Poles would very soon identify themselves with some larger unit. It will also be interesting how the meaning of "Polishness" will evolve. A Polish student I met said to me that at least now Polish people are more proud of their two living Nobelist writers than of economic achievements and becoming more westernised. Perhaps it is more special to be known in the world because of poetry than because of high-tech gadgets, I thought when listening to the familiar sound of Finnish mobile phones in the trams of Warsaw.

The most important thing influencing the atmosphere of one's stay abroad is whether one gets to talk to the natives or not. I felt that I would have enjoyed a longer stay in Poland also, for the people were really friendly and they liked talking to foreigners especially if he/she could speak some Polish. The present situation in the country became more accessible after these conversations. I heard for example about the great difference in the standard of living between the capital and the countryside; the fact that I had seen myself last year when visiting the villages near the Polish-Slovakian border.

A month is a short time if you want to learn to understand a foreign culture even though you learn some of its language. Then again, the position of an outsider is a very interesting one because a foreigner is perhaps able to look things from a different angle - though there always looms the danger of misinterpretation. When the plane was taking off at the airport of Warsaw I still felt that I didn't understand the country I had tried to figure out for several weeks. That didn't mean that my interest towards this country would have decreased. I was sure that my next visit would give me some new perspectives again, because the situation would once more be different in the country -- or could it also be my frame of reference for interpreting it that would change?

The harmony of the Nowy Świat-street
The way we do it in Poland

Bartek Cichocki
ISHA Warsaw

In Poland, students have always been active in all kinds of scientific associations and circles. At each university you can find dozens of them: biological, philological, juridical, and of course historical, too. Sometimes, two or three such circles exist in one faculty at the same time. Older universities have rich traditions of academic student activity. In the Faculty of History at Warsaw University the student circle dates back to over 80 years. In Krakow the organisation is of course much older.

All these circles serve students in developing their knowledge of a given discipline. Their activities are rather focused on the internal life of their faculties and institutes. Projects undertaken (like archival research, publications or trips abroad) include students of one particular faculty. This is the main difference between student circles in Poland and ISHA, which was founded mainly to help students around the world to share their experiences and research. However, this does not mean that our student organisations do not communicate with each other. We have our Students of History National Association, with annual conferences for history students.

Each year our conferences look the same. First of all, they do not have any particular subject (like "Man & Nature", "Revolution?!" etc.). Everybody comes with a paper, but chooses the topic freely. Workshops are organised according to periods of history: Antiquity, Middle Ages, etc. One can say it makes no sense. Maybe it comes from the Polish mentality, but this way everybody can present research, and the range of topics is quite vast. On the other hand, we never come to any conclusions, and sometimes it is even hard to discuss – the papers relate to problems very far apart. Our conferences are focused on presenting the papers only. There are no accompanying events, like sightseeing, entertainment or learning local customs – apart from an opening lecture by some celebrity researcher.

Anyone who has had the opportunity to participate in an Annual Conference of ISHA can say that our way of organising conferences is quite boring. When Polish history students discussed this problem in Wroclaw at the 16th National Congress of Polish Historians (September 15-18, 1999), many of us agreed.

The most urgent problem for student circles in Poland is, however, the lack of discourse between universities. We have not chosen a National Secretariat at the last assembly, so communication now depends rather more on private contacts between different persons than official correspondence. The Internet is still not recognised as the most useful channel of information at many Polish universities. Therefore, there may be a situation where only about 10 circles meet at an annual conference in Warsaw, which is not even half of all those existing. In Wroclaw, the students of the National Congress represented only four universities. This is only because we are not able to inform each other on time.

Probably the same reason causes the fact that ISHA can count two or three Polish sections only: Warsaw, Wroclaw and – as far as I know – Gdansk. I hope that Carnival will change this situation.

The main gate of the Warsaw University.
Popular Auto/biographies

A research report of the Dokumentation lebensgeschichtlicher Aufzeichnungen (Documentation Centre for Autobiographical Writings) at the Department of Economic and Social History, University of Vienna, Austria

Mario Wimmer
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The Documentation Centre for Autobiographical Writings in Vienna is an archive for so-called "popular autobiographies" and the base of an historically oriented interdisciplinary research group. This article will give a quick overview on the concept of auto/biography, methodological possibilities, the beginnings of the archive and present standards of documentation, and it will sketch future perspectives of international cooperation as well. – This is an attempt to invite you to get in contact with us.

The concept of auto/biography

During the last 250 years, Western societies have witnessed an explosion of autobiographical writings. For Michel Foucault, the history of autobiography is the history of confessions. He uses this source to develop his concept of truth in modernity. Writing autobiographies is just one means of self-identification and self-presentation influenced by various social institutions and organisations. "As soon as we try to pin down what "I" means or who a particular person actually "is", we find a "you", a "we" and a "they" lurking just around the corner." In our societies it is perfectly normal to "own" a biography. Social institutions and organisations use biographies in the form of life records and curricula to identify the individual. The fact that our life courses become more and more uncertain the more differentiated societies become results in the need for new possibilities of identification. For Günter Müller this has to be reflected in the context of autobiographical production, especially when we consider the concept of "normal biography". To dissolve the dichotomies of subject/object and to integrate the temporal dynamics, Wolfram Fischer-Rosenthal suggests using "biography" instead of the fragile concept of "identity".

The consequences of documentation for popular autobiographies are threefold:

1. We have to experiment with concrete cases whether this new analytical conceptualisation of biography – transferred from sociology (interviews) – works with sources (especially older ones) in the archives.

2. Trusting the findings that the risks of biographical identity increase over time, we have to consider the possibility that auto/biographical writing becomes anachronistic or new narrative forms appear.

3. In adult education-projects and with respect to our care for the authors in general, those new aspects should be taken into consideration.

The beginnings of the archives

As historians we tend to search for the origins. This story starts in 1983 when Michael Mitterauer initiated a kind of an oral history-seminar together with students and elderly people. They followed the movement of dig where you are to extract something like history from below. During this seminar a manuscript of Maria Greml appeared. She was a woman of rural origin born in 1901. In the late 1970s she had written down the story of her life to pass it on to her children and grandchildren. The publication of this autobiography was the beginning of a popular publication series (for a list see below) edited by researchers cooperating with the documentation centre to reintegrate the life stories into public discourse and to reach more authors.

Together with Franz Richard Reiter, Mitterauer conceptualised a series of radio-transmissions on the history of families in rural regions and asked the authors to read out parts of their life stories on the radio. Another series on the history of everyday life in the first decades of the 20th century followed. Again people were encouraged to write down their life stories and send them to the documentation centre. As part of the Medienvetprogramm "history of everyday life, Elisabeth Wappelshammer and Therese Weber produced a pub-
lication of guideline for writing life stories to be distributed to potential authors and social workers. Other projects were realised, always with the attempt to put the idea of a participatory history into practice. The research process is an exchange between both sides—the authors and the scholars.

Today, the archive is still not regularly institutionalised, but is dependent on funding from different institutions and ministries. It employs two people part time for ongoing project coordination, administrative work and communication with authors.

Criteria for the collection

At present, the archive contains texts from 1660 authors—980 women and 680 men—of different length and quality. Most texts are what Bernd Jürgen Warnken calls popular autobiographies or popular life-stories, but there are also life-stories from bourgeois, middle-class and Jewish milieus. Texts by people from the eastern regions of Austria and also from Bohemia and Moravia are highly represented. Almost all texts are linked to a systematic catalogue of keywords. The data is processed via dBase IV but we hope to update the software as soon as possible to a hopefully more user-friendly system (maybe partly accessible via the World Wide Web). We collect especially autobiographical writings written in retrospect, usually at an advanced age. Diaries, letters etc. are only documented if they have a special connection to a specific life-story. The copyrights usually remain with the authors, and in case of publication (also citations in scientific context) they must be consulted for approval.

Research work

A recent debate showed, on one hand, the possibilities of the auto/biographical approach, and on the other hand, the huge methodological and theoretical differences in the field. Daniel Bertaux criticises in his “Response to Thierry Kochuyl” his position as a “fashionable, extremely powerful phenomenon, a kind of no-idealism which denies all possibility” (p.6) of objectivity. Kochuyl and Wolfram Fischer-Rosenthal/Gabriele Rosenthal countered less polemically and tried to justify their positions.

For the work of the “Documentation of Autobiographical Writings” Günter Müller suggests organising the types of research on four different levels:

1. The possibility to use life stories to gain specific historical data (just facts and figures) is more or less unimportant in the research of the documentation centre.

2. Focusing on subjective perceptions as a key to understanding historical social realities; split up into “projects interested on the one hand in the synchronic description of aspects of various “Lebenswelten” and on the other hand, the ones primarily interested in the biographic dimensions of life stories.”

Christa Hämmerle, for instance, works on a new military history of World War I, trying to integrate children’s and women’s perspectives by using various kinds of ego-documents including material of the documentation centre. Recently a student from Germany, Rupert Scheule, asked all authors about their experiences with confessions as a part of his master’s thesis. Not only did he receive a huge number of written biographical stories, but he also answered the questions the authors had sent along with their texts. This communicative exchange was essential for many of the authors and the findings of the study. In addition, Nikola Langreiter und Margit Schulz-Ulm have edited a collection of autobiographical texts dealing with old age. Their intention was to encourage an exchange between the authors (each participant receives a book) and younger generations. The publication is going to be used as a basis for discourse on old age especially in adult education and social work.

3. Theoretically oriented analyses grounded on autobiographical material to scrutinise patterns of construction and self-presentation between life history and life story, in- and exclusion. Monika Bernold, for instance, analysed narrative forms of the beginnings of whole life stories, especially the representation of “coming into being”. In a feminist context she tried to reconstruct meaning through text analysis understood as the interpretation of a cultural practice.

4. The documentation can—in some way—be understood as collective memory of the Austrian society of the last 200 years. It would be possible to try the

For Michel Foucault, the history of autobiography is the history of confessions.
historization of some main anthropological categories – i.e., life phases, birth, death, environment, work, space, time, body identity, sex and gender, family, mobility, housing, religion, nutrition.24

International cooperation

The documentation centre wants to link itself to a network of cooperation by exchanging experiences and results of our research with other archives. One important attempt to position the documentation centre in an international context was an International Conference organized by Christa Hämmernle at the Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften (International Research Centre for Cultural Studies) on “Plurality and Individuality: Autobiographical Cultures in Europe” in 1994.20 The development of a more precise and complex methodological apparatus in particular will demand a lot of cooperation and international exchange. Furthermore, the idea of cultural comparative studies as one part of a possible concept of Historical Anthropology needs a widespread network of autobiographical research.

At the department of history at the university of Vienna the documentation centre is part of education and students’ research. Lot’s of master’s theses and dissertation projects are based on the sources of this archive. We welcome interested students to contact us and maybe do research at the Dokumentation lebensgeschichtlicher Aufzeichnungen in Vienna.

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1 I want to thank Günter Müller, Margit Schulz-Ulm and Katharina Preichner for their support.
2 Bernd Jürgen Warnken, Popular Autobiography. Empirical Studies to a Quellenkatalog der Alltagsgeschichtsforschung, Tübingen 1985. In German there is a distinction between “popular” and “popular!”
11 In each publication we ask for contributions to the archives.
18 Müller, “Vielleicht hat es einen Sinn” (as footnote 4), 315-316.
Lessons of war
New perceptions of armed conflict in recent historiography

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In the century soon coming to its end, Europe has been torn by conflicts time and again. Our continent has experienced two world wars and a number of minor conflicts. These events have been recorded and studied by political and military history ad nauseam. So is there anything left to be learnt from them? A lot.

It is time to say goodbye to the old-fashioned way of writing history of wars. We need something more than military historians depicting how Division A moved up to Point B and engaged Enemy Division C. We need something more than political historians who try to establish what factors led to the outbreak of War D.

This is not to say there is no need for that kind of basic research. We do need information of all those factors: how wars are fought, for what reasons they come about. But over the past two decades a new way of looking at armed conflicts has emerged. This new type of research — in which cultural history plays a prominent role — has been done above all in the United Kingdom and the United States.

Forerunners

The first books to mark the change in the perception of war appeared some twenty years ago. In 1975, Paul Fussell published his hugely influential The Great War and Modern Memory, in which he tried to show the impact of the First World War on the twentieth century literature. According to Fussell, the 1914-18 war had been so absurd that there was no way this absurdity would not influence art — hence the rise of irony in modern literature.

Soon after Fussell, John Keegan set out to describe three famous battles — Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme — from a new point of view with his The Face of Battle (1976). It was not the generals and the high staff who held the centre stage now; in a loosely history-from-below kind of way Keegan attempted to discover how ordinary soldiers experienced those three battles. Whereas in Agincourt, soldiers’ experience still carried resemblance to their peacetime existence, combat in the First World War was something they could not have possibly anticipated. The dehumanised, mechanised slaughter done by machine-guns and artillery was so far off from any ordinary experience that it could not have any other consequences but cause psychological, as well as somatic, symptoms in soldiers.

Keegan’s findings were supported by Eric Leed, whose No Man’s Land appeared in 1979. Drawing on anthropology, psychology, literature and history alike, Leed was the first academic to study shellshock — that is, mental disorders caused by war — in a larger cultural context. Whilst psychological consequences of warfare had earlier been examined by the military only, shellshock now became one of the most widely studied phenomena in this new research of war.
Nations at war

The next major book to incorporate elements equally from war history and cultural history was Modris Eksteins's *Rites of Spring* (1989). Germany, this Lithuanian-Canadian scholar claimed, was the leading modernist country in the world until Hitler's downfall. From the late 1800s, the Germans had been obsessed with a vision of a new world, and it was only in 1945 that their dream came to its end. Despite its somewhat megalomaniac scope – the same holds true for Fussell's book – *Rites of Spring* offered some startling suggestions about the century we have lived in.

In 1990, Samuel Hynes published his *A War Imagined*. As he shows, it is not the actual facts by which the First World War is remembered in Britain, it is rather the myth of that war, created by books and plays about it that have shaped the public perception. Similar research, I am sure, could be done regarding other nations and other wars. How much, for instance, of the modern Finns' percep-
consists of an attempt to balance the negative effects of capitalist systems, namely the progressive widening of wealth gaps and the accompanying creation of relative deprivation. To achieve the aim of a “pacification” of its population, the welfare state employs a number of policies which lead to a modest redistribution of wealth and to equally modest social mobility. Through this, enough benefits are provided to the working class (broadly defined as all those who have to sell their labour to survive) to create legitimacy, or rather mass-loyalty for the capitalist welfare state. In the absence of such policies, it seems quite likely that an unfettered market would produce deprivation on such a large scale even in the so-called developed countries that their stability would be severely threatened.

The “mudslide”

From the argument presented it becomes obvious that the welfare state with its modest redistribution of wealth is an essential factor in the stability of the capitalist system. The development of the last two decades, though, has moved in a very different direction: All over the developed world, social spending has decreased since the seventies, and access to insurance-systems (health-insurance, unemployment-insurance, etc.) has become noticeably more difficult. In developing countries, the effects of globalization have been even harsher: Both the crises that result from an unregulated capitalist market and the austerity-measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) afterwards have greatly increased the number of people living in poverty. A case in point is the Asian Crisis of 1997-98: In the beginning of the 90s, the “Asian Tigers”, long celebrated as a model of development for Third World countries, responded to pressure coming from global financial markets and relaxed their previously rather stringent capital controls. The resulting influx of capital created a speculative bubble, the burst of which was the beginning of the Asian Crisis. When the IMF stepped in and required that state-spending be slashed and insolvent companies be foreclosed, the impact on people’s lives became even more dramatic than before: by the end of 1997, 420.000 Indonesian workers had lost their jobs, Malaysia was anticipating at least 200.000 layoffs, South Korea more than 350.000.

What all this goes to show is that globalization, by reducing the ability of states to effectively regulate economic activities, is quickly producing more and more poverty and relative deprivation, which could very well be the reason for conflicts which would either be a direct threat to the capitalist system (i.e., a revolution, which, at this point in time, does not really seem to be on anyone’s agenda) or, in the case of the civil wars that have popped up around the world, be very disruptive for the operations of capital. To put it more bluntly, global capitalism seems to be in a real hurry to produce its own gravediggers.

The need for a “Leviathan”

The argument given above is not meant to show that capitalism will collapse any time soon. Rather, taking into account the resilience and adaptability this system has shown in its short history, it seems most likely that it will find a way to temporarily solve the problems created by a global market. Unfortunately for the economic elites, they essentially find themselves in a “dilemma of collective action”, where the fully rational pursuit of profit-maximization will ultimately lead to social upheaval which would be very detrimental to their eco-

IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus addresses the Annual Meetings of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group in Washington, D.C. on October 1, 1996. He is holding a copy of the Interim Committee declaration “Partnership for Sustainable Global Growth”.
nomic activities. In a competitive setting, I would argue, capital lacks the means to regulate itself (because, even if capitalists got together and decided to, for example, pay higher wages, they would never know if one of them would back out of the agreement and therefore increase her profit-margin) a result of which arises the need for a regulating “leviathan” which makes the rules capital needs for its own survival.

Political elites face a different problem, but the source is the same, namely globalization: if we accept the argument that welfare policies are at the heart of a capitalist state’s efforts to create legitimacy, without which a political system cannot function, they are witnessing the erosion of the basis of their further existence as elites. It is therefore in their long-term-interest, just as it is in the interest of capital, to create a regulatory institution, which can perform the necessary function of protecting some social standards. Given the constraints of the global capitalist system, this institution must function on a global level.

The interventionist backlash

And sure enough, debate about the scope and makeup of such an international regulatory body has already begun: in major publications on international relations such as “Foreign Affairs” and “Foreign Policy”, many economists have been tossing around proposals for a reform of the international financial system. Let me mention but a few - discussing all of them would be an unbelievably tedious task:

George Soros, by now certainly a symbol of global capitalism, its excesses of free capital-flows, and its backlash, has rather famously started to call for an “International Credit Insurance Corporation”, which would essentially act “as an international central bank”, having realized that the financial crises afflicting the globe are “a symptom of pathologies inherent in the global [market] system.”

The popular economist Paul Krugman, in a somewhat cryptic policy prescription, argues that we will have “to limit capital flows [and] deregulate financial markets to some extent […]”. Whilst in this article he is silent about any institutional basis for his proposals, it seems obvious that an institution would be needed for these policies to be implemented.

Another proposal that has surfaced in recent discussions is one that picks up on the idea of a “Tobin-Tax”, a tax on international capital movements which would act as a deterrent against speculation and rapid movements of short-term capital.8

Judging from this current debate in scholarly journals it seems that after the Asian Crisis and its spill-over-crises, the belief in the viability and advantages of a free global market for capital has been shattered, at least in many quarters. Even a columnist for The Economist woefully admits this in a short essay in which he tries to stem the tide which is rising to swamp the formerly rock-hard neoliberal consensus by making some tactical retreats and calling for “a greater emphasis […] on international financial regulation”, but arguing strenuously against the creation of more extensive international financial regulation.9 All in all though, it appears that the advocates of an entirely free market are now fighting a desperate rear-guard-action.

“Cathedral interventionism” and beyond

Somehow all these reform proposals leave a somewhat stale taste in my mouth - why? Because what these reforms seem to try and do is to make the global market run without a hitch, without the familiar cycles of boom and recession. That is a chimera though, since, to quote Thomas Friedman, whom I would, without wanting to sound unfair, characterize as an apologist for capitalism, “today’s markets are so big, so diverse, […] so fast, that they can never be made immune from crisis. Global financial crisis will be the norm in this coming era.” Friedman instead realizes the need for some modest amount of “redistribution”, to be provided by the IMF, which would require countries to which it lends or grants money to use some of those funds for welfare policies.10

This last point to me appears to be the consensus on which political and economic elites will have to converge.
Without such modest redistribution, and the leviathan-like hand of the IMF to ‘encourage’ countries to hand out these benefits, and investors to honour some standards of investments which consider possible future problems, global capitalism is staring into an abyss.

To be sure, this development is not a matter of mere determination. Rather, it rests on the assumption that the deprivation created by global capitalism will lead to popular unrest which will force economic and political elites to make the choices outlined above. Therefore, far from implying that we, or, more specifically, those who suffer from the effects of globalization, can just sit back and enjoy the show, it is rather a call to arms for those who feel that global capitalism is not treating them fairly: without pressure from the bottom, nothing will change at the top. I am of course fully aware that depending on the technocrats in the IMF, dominated, as it is by the US-treasury, as guarantors of welfare policies runs counter to every democratic ideal anyone has ever held dear. If this is so, if we do not only want to be the objects of laws and regulations, but the conscious subjects creating these laws and regulations, then it is up to us to put up a struggle big enough to win that prize. If we want a democracy which is global, and therefore potent enough to restrain the market, we must fight for it ourselves.

Assistant Secretary, U.S. Treasury, Harry Dexter White (left) and John Maynard Keynes, honorary advisor to the U.K. Treasury at the inaugural meeting of the International Monetary Fund’s Board of Governors in Savannah, Georgia, U.S., March 8, 1946.

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At midnight on 13 August 1906, gunfire erupted on Elizabeth Street in Brownsville, Texas. Of the one hundred and fifty shots fired, one killed Frank Natus, a white bartender, and another wounded Ygnacio (Joe) Dominguez, a Hispanic police lieutenant. Within ten minutes, the fusillade ceased, and the “Brownsville Raid,” as residents nick-named the shooting, finished as abruptly as it began.¹

Or did it? On the contrary, the Brownsville Raid neither sprang from nothing, nor died once the last bullet was fired. Local color imagery created this crisis. Likewise, national racial concerns shaped how Anglos perceived and reacted to this incident long after 13 August 1906.

Ultimately, the 1906 Brownsville Raid joins a Texas “reality” and a Texas “myth.” Through them both, we grasp how Progressive Era whites, in and outside of Brownsville, saw “race” and constructed the “other.”

The “raid”

In May 1906, Secretary of War William Taft ordered the Twenty-fifth Infantry to man Ft. Brown, a military post outside Brownsville.² Taft’s decision wreaked chaos in Brownsville.

The Secretary claimed that “a certain amount of race prejudice . . . seems to have become almost universal . . . and no matter where colored troops are sent, there are always some who make objection to their coming.”³ Thus, the Twenty-fifth Infantry arrived in Brownsville on 28 July 1906.

Hostility between Brownsville’s white residents and the black troops erupted quickly.⁴ By 13 August, interracial tensions were high. That morning, Mrs. Lon Evans, a white woman, falsely accused a black soldier of attacking her. As she alleged, he “sprang from behind [her] steps, grabbed her by the hair, [and] jerked her to the ground,” “escap[ing] before anyone reached the scene.”⁵

Fearing violence, Major Charles Penrose, the Twenty-fifth Infantry’s white commanding officer, confided his men to their barracks. At midnight that evening, the soldiers were sleeping, when they heard one hundred and fifty shots fired on Elizabeth Street, near Ft. Brown’s main entrance.

However, Brownsville’s white residents alleged otherwise. At a 14 August meeting of the hastily formed Citizens’ Committee, they pinned this “dastardly outrage” on the black troops.⁶ All declared that between seven and twenty soldiers jumped the garrison wall; killed Natus and Dominguez; and then returned to their posts before Penrose missed them.⁷ Supposedly, the blacks were avenging themselves against whites who snubbed them and who refused to serve them in Elizabeth Street’s saloons.⁸

Penrose bought this explanation, as did his superiors, Assistant Inspector-General Major Augustus Blockson and General Earnest Garlington.

On 5 November, President Roosevelt acted on Garlington’s recommendation, by dishonorably discharging all one hundred and sixty-seven members of the Twenty-fifth Infantry. Roosevelt then transferred Ft. Brown to the Department of the Interior, which converted the post into an experimental garden for spineless cacti.⁹

The “raiders”

Who “shot up” Elizabeth Street on 13 August 1906?

Several details I uncovered suggest that Anglos “shot” up Brownsville and setup the soldiers. First, Penrose called roll before the raid ended. In addition to accounting for all one hundred and sixty-seven men, he saw no one with either a dirty gun or a missing cartridge.¹⁰

Second, the shells that Penrose found after the shooting bore two indentations. But only firing the same shell twice would produce such double marks! Therefore, it seems likely that Brownsville’s Anglos stole used shells from Ft. Brown’s target-practice area; loaded these shells into their guns on 13 August; and then fired them to incriminate the infantrymen.¹¹

Finally, the soldiers had no reason to target Frank Natus, the white bartender killed in the raid. Natus worked at John Tillman’s Ruby Saloon, Brownsville’s only pub that served blacks.¹² His conduct might have angered the white townspeople, but not the black troops.

The facts imply that Brownsville’s white residents launched the raid. Indeed, during the shooting, several blacks swore they heard men shouting, “Come out, all you black nigger sons of bitches, and we will kill every one of you.”¹³
The Texas "reality"

What drove the men to violence?

Brownsville’s Anglos used color to define themselves. They employed white-black symbols to contrast themselves with and distance themselves from Mexicans. For example, they associated Anglos with light, health, life, and power; on the other hand, they said Mexicans stood for darkness, disease, death, and powerlessness.

In this manner, Mexicans served as the Anglos’ "other" group, against whom they established their "whiteness.

Anglos in Brownsville equated Mexicans with Negroes, although few blacks ever lived there. In 1848, for instance, resident Helen Chapman Carr remarked that Mexicans "knew" their place; they kept mostly with the niggers and they didn’t show whites any of their s sass. Like Chapman, most Anglos combined all "colored" groups, not distinguishing between "spics," "niggers," and "redskins.

This white-black dichotomy steered how Brownsville’s Anglos reacted to the Twenty-fifth Infantry’s arrival. Whites saw the Negroes as part of the colored "other." Townsman William Henry spoke for many, when he described a soldier as "a great, big, black nigger; he is so black I call myself a white man alongside of him." Nonetheless, unlike Mexicans, the black soldiers endangered their white "superiors." First, what if the Twenty-fifth Infantry allied with local Mexicans to unseat Brownsville’s white rulers? In 1906, more than sixty percent of Brownsville’s residents were Mexicans. If Hispanics joined with the troops, they could topple whites through numerical superiority. The black troops also presented a symbolic threat. By manning Ft. Brown, these Negroes held military power. Yet, his contradicted the white-black hierarchy, in which whites were powerful and colored were powerless.

At this point, it is clear that the Twenty-fifth Infantry upset the racial order to which Brownsville’s white residents subscribed. Anglos felt the black troops menaced their racial identity and superiority. The Texas "reality" emerged when whites eliminated this menace, by "shooting up" Elizabeth Street and incriminating the soldiers.

The Texas "myth"...

Accepting the Texas "myth" that Brownsville’s citizens spun, whites presumed that the black soldiers were the raiders.

The specter of the "criminal Negro" arose after the Civil War. During Reconstruction, whites feared that blacks freed from slavery might avenge themselves against Anglos. From then on, most whites viewed all blacks as potential criminals.

Anglos justified this belief by branding Negroes as "irresponsible" degenerates, guilty of "unusual and abnormal crimes," "unspeakable in their brutality and infamy.

The stereotype of the "criminal Negro" led whites outside Brownsville to brand the infantrymen as the raiders. Indeed, most whites never questioned whether the existing evidence confirmed the black-on-white assault they thought occurred. Like Roosevelt, they averred that "no white man who was both honest and intelligent could question the guilt of the soldiers.

...and its effects

Spurred by this Texas "myth," whites feared that the 1906 Brownsville Raid presaged a general outbreak of Negro violence. Therefore, they pressed for harsh anti-black measures to forestall a "colored" rebellion. Just as the editors of the New York Times resolved earlier, even "Northern men" agreed that "the supreme law of [racial] self-preserva-

For example, Anglos praised Roosevelt’s harsh discharge order. The President did not just dismiss the black troops from the Twenty-fifth Infantry. Roosevelt also denied them back-pay, allowances, benefits, and pensions; and he banned them from re-enlisting in the army or the civil service. In response, Brownsville’s citizens presented Roosevelt with a bejeweled "big stick," while the Nashville American dubbed the discharge order "the most praiseworthy thing the President has done.

Second, whites pressed the War Department to maltreat the remaining Negro soldiers. For instance, they asked Secretary of War William Taft to transfer the black troops left to the strife-torn Philippines; to slow the army’s recruitment of Negroes; and to keep the remaining black battalions small and segregated.

Third, some Anglos even lobbied to ban blacks entirely from the military. The New Orleans Picayune asserted that black troops were "a curse to the country in times of peace;" even the liberal New York Times remarked that it was "far from evident…that there must be Negro troops." In this vein, in 1906, 1907, 1910, and 1911, South Texas Congressman John Nance Garner introduced a bill to eliminate all black battalions. Although Garner’s "black ban" never passed, it revealed how much the Brownsville Raid disturbed whites.

Conclusions

Race permeated the context, origins, and
This Texas "myth" left a more potent legacy than the Texas "reality." A white president, his military bureaucracy, and two generations of Anglo historians, biographers, and encyclopedists embraced this fable as the "truth." However, this myth reinforced whites' stereotype of the "criminal Negro." As a result, in the raid's wake, harsh anti-black measures seemed self-evident and natural to Anglos.

Thus, the Texas "myth" cemented whites' control of America's racial dialogue. The 1906 Brownsville Raid placed how Progressive-Era Anglos saw "race" and constructed the "other" seemingly beyond logical challenge. In its wake, blacks found it nearly impossible to contest whites' racial presumptions. The prejudice that inspired the raid lingered on, bolstered now by the absence of vocal opponents.

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Russian military elite as a sign of power
A symbolic justification of the imperial idea in the early XVIII century

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Introduction

To say that the first Russian Emperor Peter I (1672–1725) was a reformer is to say nothing. The notion of this ruler both in Russian and international historiography usually includes a whole variety of terms such as creator, leader, founder, originator, innovator, organizer and so on and so forth. In a nutshell, the traditional perception of him comes down to the phrase: “...Peter was born and Russia was created”. Peter I certainly had an astonishing ambition to transform the feudal empire into a modern European state, primarily in economic and political terms.

However, the problem of the country’s development in these spheres will not be discussed in this article. Instead, another kind of Europeanization effected by Peter I is considered here, namely that through the forced adaptation of European imperial symbols in Russia.

Ceremonial changes and their reception

It is worth mentioning that Peter the Great was not the first Russian monarch aiming at reforming the system of images. The events in the seventeenth century precipitated the introduction of the absolute monarchical rule. In fact, after the change of the royal dynasty from the Rurukovics to the Romanovs, the new ruling family tried to bring a symbolic language of its own into being. By the end of the seventeenth century, they were in the middle of creating this, in terms of establishing a new image for the sovereign. The pursuit was relatively positively accepted by the Russian society.

The ascent of Peter I to the throne dramatically changed the situation. Peter’s ambition was to develop an imperial-like image for the sovereign as rapidly as possible. Together with the new self-image, the Emperor then went further in order to launch a new perception of the society. In the context of early modern Russia, this could only mean importing a whole range of European ceremonies.

In the early 1700s, a great number of completely new rituals were already discernible; among others were the celebration of New Year’s Day and parades in honour of victories. Ceremonies already known to Russians (coronation ceremonies, Palm Sundays and Blessing of Waters processions) were to be radically changed in order to give them an imperial look.
Russia were based on a great variety of extremely stable religious perceptions and a certain code according to which the signs were read. In this context, the intervention of European symbols and radical changes in the customary representation of established images initiated by Peter I was considered evil. For instance, the introduction of a new system of chronology was viewed as an attempt to destroy the sheer notion of time; the use of the title Emperor seemed to make references to Catholic Rome; the honorary title Father of the Fatherland sounded like a claim for a priestly status; and the allusions to mythical gods went against the idea of a single Christian God.3

The situation became even more complicated as there appeared a tendency to impose new symbolic meanings on previously existing signs. Thus, the old and the new systems often overlapped. Consequently, a certain confusion in the usage of signs emerged. The most distinguished example here is the representation of the supreme authority. Though the self-image that Peter introduced in the ceremonies was clear and consistent, its interpretation became dualistic in the Russian context. To formulate the argument in an oversimplified way, there emerged two perceptions of the image of Peter I. There was a huge gap between these notions, as the first one was deeply rooted in earlier Russian history, and the second one, though widely adopted in Europe, was totally unheard of in Russia. The first notion stressed the point that the reigning monarch was a conqueror full of courage, strength and power. The second one claimed, however, that there was no mercy in his image, as Peter was not a Christian monarch ready to protect his country from the invasion of enemies and, thus, he was not the true Tsar, but could be easily recognized as the Antichrist.

To sum up, the European images were built on the basis of half-broken, old Russian ideas and led to misunderstanding the goals Peter had. The misunderstandings led to the horror of instability.

Elite forces as an instrument of change

Nevertheless, despite the opposition, the Tsar was eager to continue the reformation of the symbolic sphere through Europeanization. He needed people who would help him realize his plans and be obedient to him. The Tsar found this force in his personal bodyguards organized into two military units - the Preobrazhenskii and Semenovskii regiments.

Having started as a group of young Peter’s playfellows, the Guards were promoted to the Tsar’s trustees. They were assigned to perform various duties, such as military operations, police service, diplomatic services, secret missions, and administrative and controlling tasks.

In 1695 Peter I gave the Guards a ceremonial function. Up until the day of the monarch’s death, the custom of using the Preobrazhenskii and Semenovskii regiments in this sphere was never abandoned. The Tsar had made his choice.

However, several critical questions emerge here. How acceptable were these responsibilities for the Guards? How did they perceive the new symbolic status in the context of its total rejection by the Russian society? What was their attitude towards this sphere of reform?

The guards and the tsar

In both Russian and international historiography, the Preobrazhenskii and Semenovskii regiments have always been observed as absolute supporters of Peter the Great. Indeed, they never expressed any hesitation about their devotion to the Tsar. There were certainly some “unfortunate” episodes, such as the backing of Prince Alexei’s opposition among the high officers of the Preobrazhenskii Guards, and incidents of desertion, severe punishments and executions of noblemen within these privileged forces. Yet these were only rare cases, and the mere nature of the man was not to question or to resist the Tsar’s deeds. The general attitude towards the monarch was dominantly positive. Peter I had befriended most of the guardsmen since their childhood, some of them he was even closely related to, and for all of them he was the commander whom they worshipped.

However, a detailed investigation on the relationship between the Tsar and the Guards would reveal little with regard to answering the questions raised. An examination of the ties between military units and the Russian society could quite on the contrary, provide us with some relevant information. Let us analyse the social status of the Guards.

A body of nobles at crossroads

The limits of this research do not allow an equally comprehensive observation of all factors concerning the variety of domestic, national, religious and cultural backgrounds the Guards had. Consequently, just a basic study of necessary matters will be given. Statistical data
allows us to come to the following conclusion: the *Preobrazhenskii* and *Semenovskii* regiments were institutions consisting primarily of Russian (99%) noblemen (43.5%).

This profile does not seem to have any correspondence with the notion of the promoter of a Great Reform who rejects old customs. The Guards were not a marginal group that had previously been rejected by the society and, having no background, formed a *tabula rasa* ready to adapt any notion Peter wished to introduce. Quite on the contrary, they were recruited from the stratum oriented to the maintenance of traditional values - family, loyalty to the Tsar, Christianity, the growth of power. The system of old images rejected by Peter I was not only known to them, but it was natural for them, cherished by their parents, and thus the hierarchy of signs, meanings and codes was unconsciously accepted by them from birth. The new imagery was as strange for them as for the rest of the Russian society.

Thus, after gaining a monopoly on the performance of ceremonial functions, the Guards faced the necessity of taking a stand towards Peter's reforms in general and the new ritual system in particular. To put it simply, they had to make a choice between acceptance and rejection.

**Vehicles of adaptation**

Peter I was probably aware of the dilemma his Guards were facing, though the question of how conscious his understanding was seems to be impossible to answer. In any case, the Emperor helped the Guards to make the decision necessary for him by employing certain tools.

The first step was to clarify the imported symbolic system. It was simplified and even oversimplified for Peter's would-be followers. A great number of previously unknown figures from Greek and Roman mythology (Mars, Hercules, Perseus, Ulysses etc.) and ancient history (Julius Caesar, Emperor Constantine, Byzantine Helen etc.) were used in Russian ceremonies and linked to universal abstractions: in other words, a whole variety of alien heroes was presented as just another possibility of representing familiar phenomena, like "time", "strength", "power", "beauty" and "glory".

After the clarification of the unfamiliar images, a second step was taken to promote the new symbolic system. The strange new signs were located in the customary environment of the traditional Russian society. In practical terms, an interrelation between the European signs and some Russian events, people and ideas was employed. The symbols introduced by the first Russian Emperor were presented as if connected with the pre-Christian or pagan Russian tradition (the images of the first Russian princes - knyaz'ya, themes from the Old Testament, Russian sainthood features, etc.). In other words, the great European signs were linked to the traditional Russian symbolic system. The use of some Russian devices could facilitate the adaptation of the Western imagery of absolutism.

The justification of the new ceremonial system was followed by an attempt to exterminate its potentially threatening nature. What was extremely important was the introduction of the concept of play: rituals and ceremonies most terrible and blasphemous of the Russian society were presented as games. This helped the participants in the activities feel more at ease and more confident. Despite understanding that their actions were wicked and anti-Christian, they were not considered frightening, offensive or aggressive. The ceremonies were observed as games that could come to an end at any time, and, thus, would not do any harm. The playing notion introduced a critical perspective on the reality based on the toleration of even the most radical changes and the representation of no moral principles.

**Conclusions**

The observed material allows us to come to the general conclusion that, together with military and civil reformation, Peter the Great announced a new symbolic language and a political imagery which referred to the rhetoric of European absolutism. In order to avoid the possible negative response, the Tsar had to make the European model of rituals acceptable for his Guards, which meant adapting it carefully to the Russian context. This "ceremonial reform" was successful: the unknown foreign symbolic system was accepted, although reluctantly.

**References**

1. Dates in the brackets refer to lifetime, not to reign.
Recruitment information
An international journal of history students seeks writers and local editors

_Carnival_ is an international journal published by the International Students of History Association (ISHA). During the academic year 1999-2000 the journal will be edited and printed at the present site of the presidency of the organisation, the University of Helsinki, Finland.

The recruitment of contributors as well as the distribution of the publication are international and expansive. So far, the main field of operation of the journal has been the network of universities with active ISHA sections located mainly in continental Europe. However, the new presidency aims at developing the profile of the journal from an internal publication of the organisation to a general international publication of history students. The edition of the first issue will be 300, which will be distributed to various university departments and libraries in Europe and possibly overseas. A version of the journal will also appear on the web. In the future, the visibility and circulation of the publication will be systematically increased according to possibilities.

Presently, the publication is financed by ISHA International, ISHA-Helsinki and various sources in Finland. During this academic year, EU funding will be applied for. _Carnival_ will also approach relevant commercial organisations, such as Internet bookshops and international publishers of academic historical literature, with offers of advertisement space for very competitive rates.

Like all activities of ISHA, however, the journal is a non-profit project: distribution is free and production is based entirely on volunteer work. No monetary compensation for contributions is therefore possible. The publication of the journal simply seeks to balance the situation where there are innumerable international professional journals in the field of history, but none for students, and therefore to serve the 3rd academic aim of ISHA, that of offering international publication channels for history students, in yet a new way.

**Contributing to Carnival provides you with the possibilities of:**

- having a publication in an international student journal with increasing visibility

- getting feedback for your work and ideas from an international community of history students

- gaining practice and experience in working in English if that is not your native tongue

- getting into contact with history students of other countries regarding your particular projects

- becoming involved in the activities of a major international organisation of history students

The editorial board consists of a cross-section of students of the various historical disciplines taught in the University of Helsinki, such as economic and social history, political history and general history. We call for contributions related to any historiographical field, such as the history of ideas, gender history, business history,
medieval history, labour history, the history of consumption, rural history, the history of international relations, etc. Methodological and theoretical articles, discussion papers as well as cross-disciplinary approaches are encouraged. As a student journal, Carnival naturally also seeks contributions related to the practical interests of this particular group.

Of the various types of articles that are welcomed, the following can be mentioned as examples:

- general articles relevant to history students, e.g. on recent discussions of wider interest within the discipline

- articles on experiences of studying at various departments as an exchange student or on new international employment opportunities for young historians

- academic articles based on studies and research at home universities or conference/seminar presentations

- book reviews, such as reviews presenting domestic research on generally interesting themes not available in English or treating generally known international research from a fresh student angle

We ask for the permission to reproduce a contact address (preferably e-mail) with every article to facilitate further exchange on the texts. Naturally, interested graduates are more than welcome to contribute as well.

In addition to contributors, we are also looking for local editors: people who are willing to recruit writers from their home universities and take responsibility for the timely delivery of local material to Helsinki on a regular basis. We ask anybody interested in such a task to contact us without hesitation. According to possibilities, an international editorial board of a recognised status will be formed of such volunteers.

The deadline for the next issue is Friday, February 4th, 2000. Submit proposed articles according to following Guidelines.
Guidelines for Carnival contributors

Read this before delivering your material!

Length
Maximum length for a contribution intended as an historiographical article is approximately 21000 characters, or approximately 41000 words, or approximately six pages in 10pt font size, single line spacing. Maximum length for other kinds of contributions is approximately 13000 characters, or approximately 25000 words, or approximately four pages in 10pt font size, single line spacing.

Files and file format
Make as little definitions (e.g. do not centre headings, justify the text to the left only, no hyphenation) to the text file as possible. Always deliver your texts as .RTF, that is, Rich Text Format files. This file format is available at a click from the Save As dialog box, under Save File as or Save File as Type, in Word and WordPerfect word processors respectively. This saves us enormous amounts of work when preparing the layout.

Pictures
If you have any suitable pictures to go with your contribution, please scan them and send them to us as attachment files in .TIFF, JPG or other common format, or deliver them to us via snailmail! Include desired captions.

Abstracts, captions, subheadings
If your contribution is intended as an historiographical article, start it with a short abstract of one paragraph. Start other kinds of contributions with a caption. In both cases, please, do use subheadings to structure your text at suitable intervals!

Endnotes
When notes are used, please define them as endnotes, not footnotes.

Delivery & queries
All contributions are to be delivered as attachment files to ... or via snailmail on disk to

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