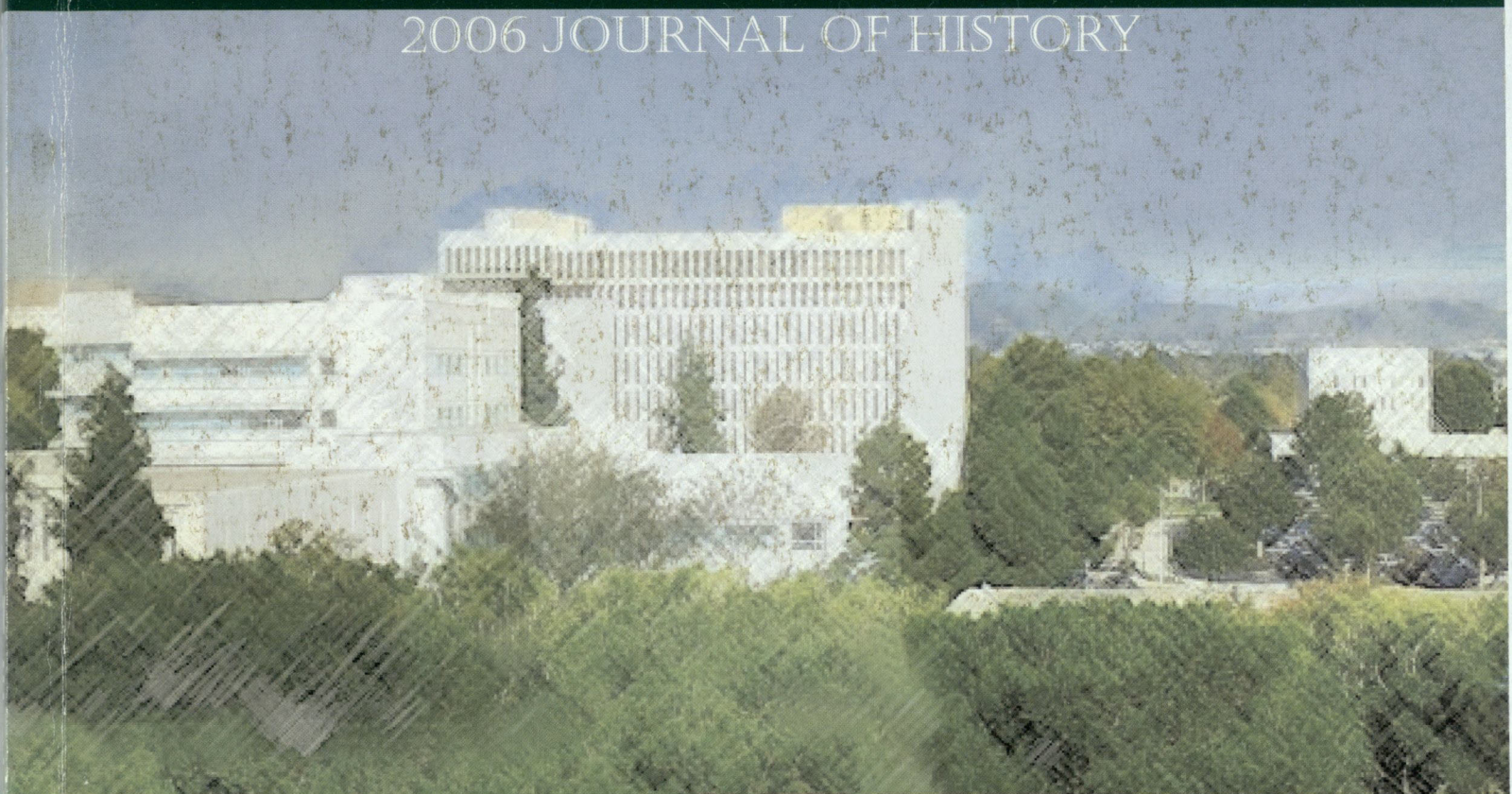


WELEBAETHAN

2006 JOURNAL OF HISTORY





Did you know...

The *Welebaethan* is named in honor of Professor Shirley Weleba who died in 1973 from hypoglycemia. She arrived at Cal State University, Fullerton in 1970 as the first staff member to specialize in African American History. A group of students and faculty decided to begin publishing an annual journal of history and named it honor of Dr. Weleba, the first full-time faculty member to pass away.

Welebaethan is a combination of Dr. Weleba's name and the Latin suffix "ethan" which means "in honor of."

The first publication of the *Welebaethan* came out in 1974. Twenty-two years later, the *Welebaethan* is an award winning student produced journal.

A Tradition of Excellence

2006

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JOURNAL OF HISTORY

PUBLISHED SINCE 1973

letter from
the editor

A Greek such as the publication of a scholarly journal, it is to meet the highest standards, must be a collective one. It is simply impossible for a single person to read all the submitted papers, work with the authors on the necessary corrections, do the layout and photography, and then follow-up through publication. Although it is safe to say so, this has been a team effort.

The papers submitted for consideration were processed through a double-blind review process by a Board of Review, consisting of faculty, graduate students, and professional staff. Two sections of the History and Editing 434 class, along with the authors, participated in the preparation of the articles for publication. Additionally, faculty advisors, former editors, and the History Department staff spent their time and skills on the project.

THETA-PI CHAPTER

OF

PHI ALPHA THETA NATIONAL HISTORY HONOR SOCIETY

Thank you for their efforts on behalf of this publication. Dr. Gordon Bakken presided over the selection of the papers, as well as coordinated a work with Associated Students to help in the editing of this journal. Dr. William Hadzad provided additional support in the publishing of the Welebaethan. Susan and I appreciate the help of the photographers of editors and authors. We also thank Thomas Starr, who has participated as an editor, author and proof of all these papers. Above all, sincere appreciation is due to Dr. Wendy Elick-Schwenberg. She has taught the History and Editing classes and served as faculty advisor to the Welebaethan. Her willingness to give of herself, her time, and occasionally her own money, made the entire process viable and well as enjoyable.

HISTORY STUDENTS ASSOCIATION



CAL STATE
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Kenneth W. McMullen
Editor in Chief

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In addition to the authors, faculty and staff, and editors, several individuals deserve recognition for their efforts on behalf of this publication. Dr. Gordon Bakken oversaw the selection of the publishing company as well as continues to work with Associated Students Inc. to secure funding for the printing of this journal. Dr. William Haddad provided additional funds to upgrade the publishing of the *Welebaethan*. Susan Shoho Uyemura provided the layout as well as the photographs of editors and authors. Special thanks to Claudia Suzanne for her invaluable help. Additional thanks goes to Thomas Stein who has participated as an editor, author and most of all team player. Above all, sincere appreciation is due to Dr. Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg. She has taught the History and Editing classes and served as faculty advisor to the *Welebaethan*. Her willingness to give of herself, her time, and occasionally of her home, made the entire process viable and well as enjoyable.

The staff's goal for the 2006 *Welebaethan* was to maintain the tradition of producing a scholastic journal of the highest quality. The extensive variety of topics covered by the research articles, oral histories, historiographic and theoretical papers, and book reviews offer ample evidence of this accomplishment. This edition of the *Welebaethan* brilliantly displays the abilities and professionalism of the individuals who contributed in a myriad of ways to its publication.

Kenneth W. McMullen
Editor-in-Chief

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2006

WELEBAETHAN

JOURNAL OF HISTORY

PUBLISHED SINCE 1973

table of contents

BIOGRAPHY ON **STUDENT EDITORS**
BIOGRAPHY ON **FACULTY ADVISORS**

1 - 7
8

EUROPEAN HISTORY

Best Overall Paper  LORD EDWARD
THOMAS STEIN

9 - 18

"NO SIN, BUT AN ACT OF GREAT CHARITY:" THE FOURTH CRUSADE
AND THE SACK OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1204
MARK RUFFALO

19 - 30

PASTEUR'S TRAJECTORY: A SCIENTIFIC BIOGRAPHY OF
LOUIS PASTEUR
WARREN SOWARD

31 - 38

A POLICY OF PIETY
RICHARD BECK

39 - 50

ASPECTS OF THE SPANISH SOCIAL REALM IN THE
EARLY MODERN ATLANTIC WORLD
DANIEL MCCLURE

51 - 62

Best European Paper  FOR MEMORY AND MICROBES
JO SUMMAN

63 - 74

HISTOGRAPHY & THEORY

OLIVER CROMWELL DISCUSSES
JAMES FERRELL

75 - 82



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FULLERTON

A Tradition of Excellence

2006

WELEBAETHAN

JOURNAL OF HISTORY

PUBLISHED SINCE 1973

table of contents

UNITED STATES HISTORY

A PURITY OF PURPOSE: DOROTHY DAYS CONVERSION **83 - 94**
NICOLE RHOTEN

"FAMILIES FORWARD" HELPS BUILD A MORE COMPASSIONATE **95 - 112**
CITY: HOMELESS IN IRVINE, CALIFORNIA
CATHERINE BILANCHONE

Best American Paper



AMERICAN NATIONALISM
KENNETH MCMULLEN

113 - 124

ASIAN HISTORY

GUNS, SWORDS, AND DISARMAMENT: **125 - 132**
SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON FIREARM TECHNOLOGY
DURING THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE
CHARLES GRAY

ORAL HISTORY

DR. CHYTIL: HUNTING FOR MUSHROOMS **133 - 150**
JOHN STAHLER

INGRID SHUTKIN:
AN ORAL HISTORY OF A GERMAN REFUGEE **151 - 156**
MARIA HERNANDEZ-FIGUEROA

BOOK REVIEWS

THE BAD CITY IN THE GOOD WAR **157 - 160**
RACHAEL AMARO

THE MEDIEVAL EXPANSION OF EUROPE **161 - 163**
HEATHER CARTER

Student Editors

fall 2005
spring 2006

The *Welebaethan* takes hours upon hours of dedicated editors working together with the student authors to bring this publication to completion.



Rachael Amaro will complete her history B.A. in spring 2006. She has worked four years in the Dean of Students Office and currently holds memberships in Phi Alpha Theta, the Student California Teachers Association, and Golden Key International Honor Society. Her accomplishments include: Vice Chair of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences Inter-Club Council (2005-2006), a peer mentor for Freshman Programs (2003), and her three years service as a New Student Orientation Leader (2002, 2005, 2006). She plans to earn a teaching credential in social studies and work in an eighth grade classroom.



Scott M. Behen is a M.A. graduate student in history with California State University, Fullerton. He is currently working on his thesis related to the Political Military Industrial Nexus and has presented papers on this subject at more than half a dozen conferences in the past three years. Several of his papers appeared in previous editions of the *Welebaethan* Journal of History for which he was the Editor-in-Chief of the 2005 edition of the journal. His future goals include a Ph.D. in American History, with an emphasis upon the Cold War and history of the West, and the pursuit of a position in academia so that he can teach and to continue his research and writing.



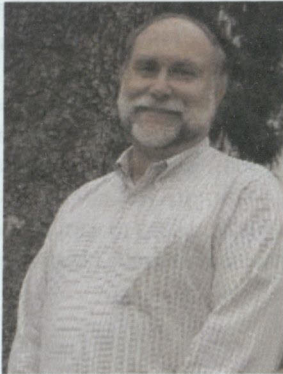
Martin A. Chavez received his Bachelor of Arts in History with a minor in Anthropology from California State University, Fullerton in the spring of 1997. After Graduation, he completed the teaching credential program at CSUF. Martin has returned to his alma mater once again, and is currently working on a Master of Arts in California history.

Currently, Martin teaches United States, World and A.P. European history in the Anaheim Union High School District. His future plans include finishing his Masters thesis and teaching at a community college. In his free time, Martin enjoys relaxing at home with his wife Liz, and his two daughters Natalie, seven years old and Chloe age four.

Student Editors

fall 2005 -
spring 2006

The editor's job is to help bring the article to the *Welebaethan* publication standards as well as complete copy-edits.



Kenneth W. McMullen (Editor-in-chief) was born in Ohio and has lived extensively on both coasts (a Navy brat). A Swift Boat Vietnam Veteran, he served in the Navy from 1966 to 1970. In 1976, Kenneth attended California State University, Fullerton, where he received his B.A. in Political Science. After working in several campaigns, Ken somehow migrated to programming. Ken has traveled in forty-six of the fifty states while working as a database programmer for over twenty years. After his career in database programming, he has returned to college and is in the Masters of History program at California State University, Fullerton. He is currently teaching U. S. History, World History, and American Government in a local high school. He is married with three children and two grandchildren.



Elliott Rhoades graduated from California State University Fullerton in May 2004 with a Bachelors Degree in History. Currently, he is enrolled in the Master of Arts History program, studying nineteenth-century California. Elliott is a native of Downey, California; he enjoys traveling, reading, and competitive individual sports.



Thomas Stein (Assistant managing editor) is a professional musician finishing his History B.A. at age fifty-three after a thirty year hiatus. He has been editing The *Welebaethan* for two years. His paper, "Lord Edward of England's Crusade 1270-1272: The Opportunity of a Lifetime," was awarded the "Best Overall" for the 2006 edition of the *Welebaethan*. Stein was co-author of the critically acclaimed *For Musicians Only: The Facts About the Art, Politics, and Business of Live Performance for People Who Want to Make a Living Playing Music*. New York: Billboard Publications, 1988. and band leader of Orange County's most successful "Top 40" group for fifteen years. He continues to perform throughout Southern California while pursuing his academic career.

Student Editors

fall 2005 -
spring 2006

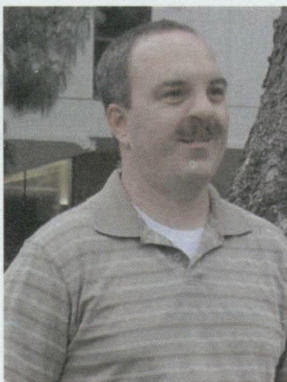
The *Welebaethan* holds its editors and authors to the highest standards possible. Complete confidentiality is required of all *Welebaethan* editors.



Traci Swank is a first time editor on the *Welebaethan*. She is a member of Phi Alpha Theta and graduated from California State University, Fullerton in June 2006. Traci received her Associate degrees in Arts and Science in 2002 and her Bachelors in History and American Studies. She is passionate about her interests, which are, American Popular Culture, United States, African, and World War II History. She plans to teach high school and obtain her Masters degree. Currently she lives in Norco, California with her boyfriend and son. When she is not in school she enjoys relaxing with her family, music, collecting vinyl records, and dancing.



Jennifer Thornton graduated in the spring of 2005, with Academic Distinction in History from Whittier College. As a student in the Whittier Scholars Program, Jennifer completed a rigorous program of study. This program is one of only thirty in America labeled by the Templeton Foundation, as exemplary. A member of Phi Alpha Theta at Whittier, she is currently pursuing a Master of Arts Degree in Oral/Public History at California State University, Fullerton. She aspires to a career in archival or museum research. Her internship at the Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library and Birthplace has allowed her to gain valuable experience in the pursuit of her goal. After learning at a young age to appreciate the importance of history, she seeks the opportunity to shape the world of tomorrow by aiding in the preservation of America's past.



Eric Trimm studies United States history as an M.A. candidate at California State University, Fullerton. His field of study is nineteenth century America. His thesis examines the Union naval blockade of the South during the Civil War. He plans to pursue a Ph.D. after graduating in June. Eric is an X-ray technologist at the Loma Linda University Medical Center, where he has also taught in the school of Allied Health. Eric enjoys foreign travel as a hobby. After publishing a paper in the 2000 *Welebaethan*, Eric is pleased to return to the journal as an editor.

PHI ALPHA THETA, THETA-PI CHAPTER

Student Editors

fall 2005 -
spring 2006

It takes one full year of ongoing dedication to bring the *Welebaethan* to fruition.



Susan Uyemura (Shoho) is a M.A. graduate student in history at California State University, Fullerton. Her background includes a M.S. in Gerontology and completed coursework for a M.A. in Sociology; currently she is an oral history graduate student. Growing up in Orange County, California, as a third-generation Japanese American (Sansei), her goal is to educate people about and advocate for the Japanese American history in Orange County, California, that remains relatively unknown and decidedly understudied.



Catherine Bilanchone is a history graduate student at California State University, Fullerton, and member of Phi Alpha Theta. A few of her fields of history include: gender, American West, cultural and urban development of Orange County. Aside from her internship at the National Archives and Records Administration, she worked in collaboration with the Pasadena Heritage Historical Society Oral History Project on the 1970s integration of schools. She composed a case study of the MCAS El Toro reuse and redevelopment debate and conducted an oral history of discrimination towards female scientists in higher education during the 1960s-1970s, for which she won the Nancy Fitch Women's History Award.



Priscilla Lopez-Eschbach obtained her Bachelor's Degree in history from the University of California, Santa Barbara. She is currently pursuing her masters in history at California State University, Fullerton. One day she would like to teach history at the community college level. Her areas of interest include first century Rome, and gender in the Anglo-Irish War and the Irish Civil War.

Student Editors

fall 2005 -
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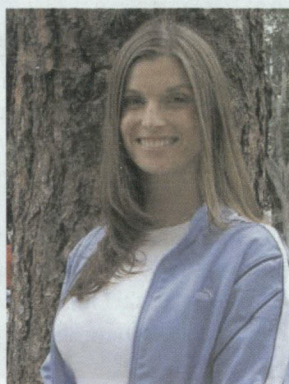
Each semester brings new challenges. Working together as a unified group is what creates the *Welebaethan*.



RuthAnn McGarry is a graduate student of European history at California State University, Fullerton. RuthAnn received her BA in Visual & Public Art, Photography, from California State University, Monterey Bay in 2002. She lived in France where she attended the Alliance Française and studied French language, history, and culture. Her hobbies include international travel and photography. Upon completion of her MA in history, RuthAnn aspires to coordinate a study abroad program in France and at the Institut Méditerranéen de Langues (IMEF) in Montpellier, France.



Mayra Orozco is a senior at California State University, Fullerton. Her major is history with an interest in Ancient Middle Eastern and Ancient Egyptian. She has also taken various courses in order to receive the California teaching credential. She hopes to teach social studies at a high school. She currently works with special education students at a local inner-city high school. Her interests include traveling and assisting young adults. This is her first time working as an editor for the *Welebaethan*.



Destiny Snyder moved to Orange County in 2001 and began her education at California State University, Fullerton three years later. She is involved in the history department through membership in both the History Student's Association and Phi Alpha Theta and enjoyed her first semester as an editor for the *Welebaethan*. Upon graduation in May, Destiny will receive her B.A. in history and plans to pursue a M.A. in public policy or U.S. history. She hopes to become a successful author and historian, obtain a position within the Federal government, and raise a family.

fall 2005 -
spring 2006

Student Editors

Graphic standards as well as substantive and copy edits are required to produce the *Welebaethan*. Our student editors work hard at learning the entire process of producing the *Welebaethan*.



Derek Stephens will graduate this Spring with a B.A. in History from California State University at Fullerton. He plans on taking a year off before entering graduate study to travel in America and then in Europe. Among other things, Derek is a poet, musician, and athlete. He played on Fullerton's Lacrosse and Water Polo club teams and also participated in Left Bank and Lobbycore.



Luke Taylor is a graduate student at California State University, Fullerton, pursuing a M.A. in history. He received his B.A. in history from Hope International University in December 2003. After a trip to the Palestine, he decided to return to school to pursue a government career. His academic interest is U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. Outside of the classroom, Luke coaches soccer at the college, high school, and club levels.

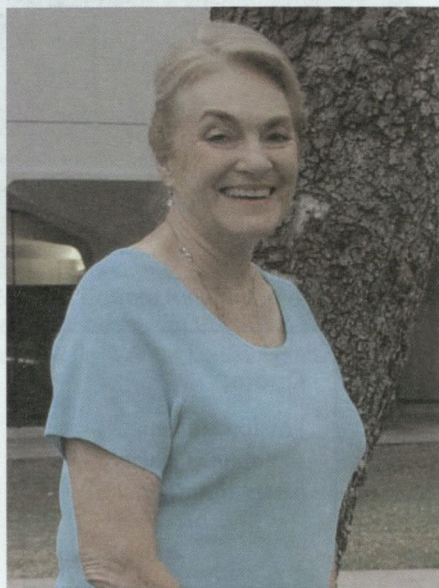


Christina Villagomez drives from Ontario to California State University, Fullerton nearly every day. Having done this for almost four years, she has dedicated her time completing a major in History and finalizing a minor in Psychology. A lover of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Christina delights in collaborating with others and obtaining new insight out of those experiences. Currently, Christina works with junior high students for the Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) program at Kraemer Middle School. One of her objectives is to obtain her bachelors degree in the Spring of 2007, and follow up with the credential program to teach World History at the high school level. Eventually, she would like to continue on to graduate school and teach Latin American History at the college level.

fall 2005 -
spring 2006

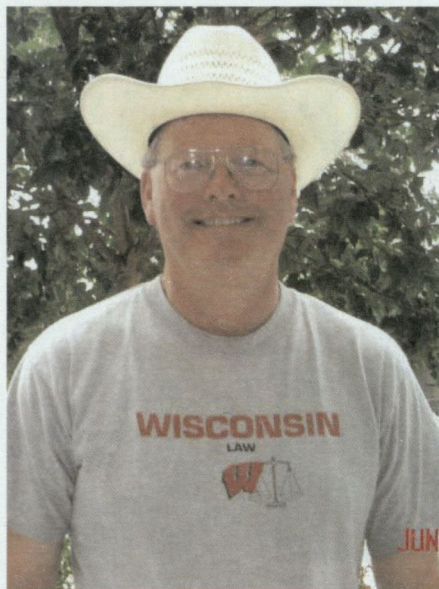
Faculty Advisors

The *Welebaethan* is a student produced journal, however, without the support and dedication of our faculty advisors - Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, Ph.D. and Gordon Morris Bakken, Ph.D., this endeavor would be far from the award standards set forth by our mentors.



Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, Ph.D. is the faculty advisor for the *Welebaethan*. She regularly teaches Historical Writing, California History, Oral History and various courses in the public history tract. She just completed five chapters for the 2004 *Redbook: American State, County and Town Sources*, and recently finished two sections in the 2006 *Encyclopedia of Immigration and Migration in the American West*.

Dr. Wendy is extremely involved in on-campus activities as well as off-campus organizations. Her love of Oral History has kept her engaged with the SouthWest Oral History Association. Wendy and her colleagues will chair the 2007 SOHA Annual Conference at California State University, Fullerton. A mother of six, grandmother of fifteen and loving wife, Wendy is a people-person.



Gordon Morris Bakken, Ph.D. is a Professor of History, past president of Phi Alpha Theta, Director of the California Supreme Court Historical Society, Parliamentarian of the Organization of American Historians, Series Editor of the Legal History of North America for the University of Oklahoma Press, Editor of *Law in the Western United States* for the University of Oklahoma Press and a member of the editorial board of *Western Legal History*.

Professor Bakken is the author of over fifteen books, thirty-eight articles, sixteen book chapters, encyclopedia entries and numerous reviews.

Professor Bakken has continued to produce an award winning journal year after year. He thanks Professor Larry de Graaf for his time, counsel and leadership in making the *Welebaethan* a national recognized journal of history.

PHI ALPHA THETA, THETA-PI CHAPTER

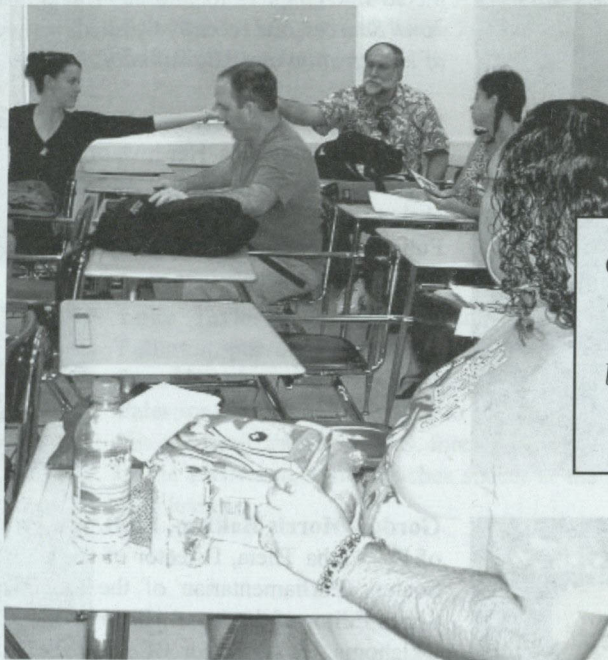
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Quote:

*"In Journalism,
done is always
better than perfect."*

-- Unknown

Fall 2005 *Welebaethan* class working together on editing papers. It is a learning experience for everyone involved.



CAL STATE
FULLERTON



England Edward King (Internet collection of Ancestors of Eugene Ashton Andrew Jr. & Anna Louise Hanish)

Lord Edward of England's Crusade 1270-1272: The Opportunity of a Lifetime

By Thomas Stein

By the time Edward, Prince of England, took up the cross the crusades were all but over. He went to the Middle East not to win back the Holy Land but to establish himself as a hero—and he succeeded. Edward returned to England a larger-than-life figure and an unopposable King.

Best Overall Paper



Thomas Stein is a professional musician finishing his History B.A. at age 53 after a thirty year hiatus. He has been editing the *Welebaethan* for two years. His paper, "Lord Edward of England's Crusade 1270-1272: The Opportunity of a Lifetime," was awarded **Best Overall Paper for 2006 *Welebaethan***.

Edward's motives in taking the cross can only be guessed at. It was hardly a prudent decision.

Michael Prestwich

Why did Prince Edward, the future king of England, go on his 1270-1272 crusade? No one has questioned, much less examined the crusading motivations or agenda of the man, "many would select...as the greatest of English medieval rulers."¹

Surely, Edward's crusading experiences affected his character before he returned to ascend the throne. He perceived his crusade as the opportunity of a lifetime, one that allowed him to enhance his image and return to England in 1274 as an unopposable power: someone considered wise, heroic, and, in the eyes of thirteenth-century European Christendom, in the hands of God.

No explanation of Prince Edward's crusading motives exists in any primary source examined. Even the text of *The 'Templar of Tyre'*, "the single most important surviving account of the last days of the mainland crusader states," does not mention Edward's reasons for leaving his ailing father, Henry III, and the troubled realm he had so recently secured to travel to the Holy Land, against both his father's and the pope's express counsel.² The Chronicler of Bury St Edmonds: 1212-1301 simply states that the legate Ottobuono, "... made Lord Edward, Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, and many

other nobles crusaders."³ Edward is discussed merely as part of a group of nobles who took the cross, not as an individual. There is no way of knowing, from this chronicle, why any of these individuals agreed to go on the crusade. Perhaps the most historically minded person in England at the time, Matthew Paris, goes to some length to note that King Louis IX of France had to court Edward to accompany him on his second venture to the Holy Land. Matthew, a monk of St. Alban's Abbey, clearly records the church's perspective when he concludes, "Edward, therefore, who had no less desire than the king of France himself to enter on such an undertaking, consented to his wishes..."⁴ In this manner, Matthew assigns the accepted religious motivation of the times to Edward's personal decision.

The primary sources' lack of discussion about Edward's motivations is echoed in the secondary sources. For example, oft-quoted medieval researcher Sir Maurice Powicke notes in *The Thirteenth Century: 1216-1307* that, "...the crusade was now in the fashion, a spiritual adventure

which gave a sense of enlargement after much tribulation," an attitude that no doubt refers to crusaders in general, but provides no insight into Edward's personal agenda, motivation, or perspective.⁵ Only Michael Prestwich in *Edward I* specifically addresses the prince's reasoning. However, Prestwich focuses more on why Edward should not go on crusade than on why the prince decided he would; then Prestwich moved on without further comment as to Edward's

Edward is
discussed merely as
part of a group
of nobles
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not as an individual.

¹ Michael R. Powicke, *The Borzoi History of England Volume Two 1154-1485: The Community of the Realm* (New York: Knopf, 1973), 19.

² *The 'Templar of Tyre': Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'* trans. Paul Crawford (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 1: see also: Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), 68.

³ *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmonds: 1212-1301*, trans. Antonia Gransden (London: Thomas Nelson, 1964), 39.

⁴ *Matthew Paris's English History from the Year 1235 to 1273*, trans. J. A. Giles, 3 vols. (New York: AMS, 1968), 3:372.

⁵ Sir Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century: 1216-1307*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 219.

motives or agenda beyond stating that once Edward was on crusade, he was thoroughly committed to the cause. In fact, the introduction to the work *Edward I* patently states:

[The] quantity of evidence is not all in the right area for the biographer. The personality of Edward himself is often obscured rather than illuminated by the labors of the clerks of Chancery and Exchequer. Specific details from the household accounts about the king's personal tastes may help to provide something of the flavor of the period, but can reveal nothing of his thoughts.⁶

Historian R.A. Fletcher provides an admittedly indirect answer to uncovering Edward's motives.

He points out that while no one can truly know the thoughts of another, "one can, with all due circumspection infer motive from action."⁷ Ergo, a review of Prince Edward's ravage of Wales, his methods, tactics, and shifting allegiance during the baronial wars, and his "excessive intimacy" with the Earl of

Gloucester's wife, allows the inference that Edward was, above all else, an opportunist.⁸ He did what he needed or wanted to do at the moment, changing his mind and loyalties as circumstances altered. However, no one ever says, "God save the Prince," and Edward had a need to be noticed and remembered as an individual, not merely a king. Going on the crusade was a unique opportunity for him to combat the reputation he had earned in Wales as "the Leopard" who changes his spots, and to demonstrate what he was made of as a man before his father died and the people simply shifted their "God save the King" allegiance from Henry III to him.⁹ To

demonstrate this theory requires exploring three areas: first, the times that provide context for the *crusades* at the point Edward made his decision to take up the cross; second, Edward's own history and status in England at the time; and, finally, Edward's actions before, during, and immediately following his crusade to the Holy Land.

By 1268, the crusades were all but over; only those with compelling personal reasons willingly embarked on a crusade. As Hans Mayer demonstrates in *The Crusades*, all but the most idealistic leaders in Europe must surely have known that the Latin East states could not survive for much longer. With the ascendancy and middle-eastern victories of Rukn ad-din Baibars Bunduqdari, the

question was when, not if, the Latin states would fall.¹⁰ Baibars was taking one city-state after another along the coast of the Mediterranean from north to south, including such critical points as Ascalon and Caesarea. The Chronicler of Bury St. Edmunds reports that when Antioch fell on 17 May 1268, Acre became

Christendom's last stand against the Muslim sultan.¹¹ It was a doomed charge. From a strategic point of view, Acre, hemmed in by Baibars' forces, led a precarious existence with little hope of survival.

Despite such gloomy prospects, however, France's King Louis IX did have compelling personal reasons to take up the cross. He had already returned from one crusade that had not gone well, leaving him, as chronicler Matthew Paris reports, "inconsolable... If I was the only one to suffer the trouble and disgrace, and if my sins did not fall upon the Church universal, I could bear it with equanimity; but, woe is me, through me the



Death of King Louis IX in North Africa, near Tunis, August 1270. (Courtesy of the British Library Board)

⁶ Prestwich, *Edward I*, xi.

⁷ R. A. Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c. 1050-1150," in *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003), 55.

⁸ *Matthew Paris's English History*, 3:201; see also: *The 'Templar of Tyre'*, 45-7; and Bury St. Edmunds, 45.

⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 14.

¹⁰ Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford, 1990), 280-1.

¹¹ *Bury St. Edmunds*, 39.

whole of Christianity is enveloped in confusion and shame."¹² That "confusion and shame," Mayer contends, had two sources. The first was Louis' capture and detention by enemy forces. The second was Louis' realization that his exit from the Holy Land had left a power vacuum that contributed to Baibars' rise to power.¹³ After learning of Antioch's fall, therefore, Louis felt duty-bound to return to the Holy Land to, "[tame] the barbarous fury of the Pagans," and sought Prince Edward's companionship for the armed pilgrimage.¹⁴

By that point, Edward along with his brother Edmund, Gilbert the Earl of Gloucester, and several other knights had already accepted the cross from the Cardinal Deacon of St. Adrian, Ottobuono Fieschi.¹⁵ None of those noble warriors, though, made any move toward embarking for the Holy Land. Edward, at least, appeared as reluctant to set off on the venture as his father, who, in 1250, agreed to go on a crusade but never led or journeyed with an expedition to the Middle East.¹⁶ Henry's stalling made Edward's own vow to take up the cross appear questionable until the prince actually embarked on his expedition. Furthermore, according to Michael Prestwich, Edward had compelling reasons not to leave England. He had only recently secured the realm and reconciled with his father during the baronial revolts. England remained unsettled.¹⁷ He also had a wife and children, a reputation for treachery, or at least ruthless expediency, and had managed to become embroiled in an adulterous scandal.¹⁸ Finally, he was insolvent. Perhaps his response in 1269 to Louis' proposed crusade as recounted by Matthew Paris says it best:

To [Louis'] proposal Edward replied: 'My Lord, you know that the substance of

England has almost entirely been consumed, owing to the war between the King and the nobles; and my substance is but very small to carry out such an undertaking with such a personage as yourself.' To this the King of France replied, 'I will,' said he, 'lend you thirty thousand marks of good and lawful money, or in fact, I will give you that amount, if you will only acquiesce in my wishes.'¹⁹

Despite Louis' generosity, Edward declined the offer of financial support—yet agreed to go on the crusade. As noted above, he needed compelling personal reasons to do so, reasons beyond Matthew's obligatory church-oriented conceits or Sir Maurice Powicke's glib fashion-of-the-day dismissal.²⁰ Edward was anything but politically unsavvy. He knew that any attempt to protect the Holy Land, much less recapture previously lost states, was inevitably futile. Never-the-less, he gave Louis his word, returned to England, and set about gathering forces and money.

Meanwhile, Louis took off with his fleet and arrived in Tunis, where he waited for Edward to catch up with him.²¹ Whether or not Edward arrived in time to meet with Louis is a matter of some debate. Matthew Paris claims the French king was still alive when Edward arrived and "received him joyfully, and admitted him to the kiss of peace."²² Secondary reports, such as F. M. Powicke, state that Edward did not arrive until more than two months later.²³ In either event, Louis died 25 August 1271. At that point, Edward, now in charge of the crusade, could have given up the quest and returned to England; but he did not. Instead, he took his troops to Sicily, where, by all accounts, he was held up by the harsh winter weather. One severe storm, in fact,

¹² Matthew Paris's *English History*, 3:96.

¹³ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 272.

¹⁴ Matthew Paris's *English History*, 1:372; Mayer, *The Crusades*, endnote 117.

¹⁵ Bury St. Edmunds, 39.

¹⁶ A. J. Forey, "The Crusading Vows of the English King Henry III," *Durham University Journal*, 65 (June 1973): 229-247.

¹⁷ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 68.

¹⁸ Bury St. Edmunds, 45.

¹⁹ Matthew Paris's *English History*, 1:39.

²⁰ Matthew Paris's *English History*, 3:372; see also: Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 219.

²¹ Matthew Paris's *English History*, 3:76.

²² *Ibid.*, 3:376.

²³ F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 599.

prompted most of the other crusaders to retreat, effectively deserting both the cause and their leader.²⁴ Edward again had the perfect opportunity to turn back, but again did not. Powicke tells us he waited out the winter until Henry III could collect a landmark taxation, "a twentieth in aid of the Holy Land, to be paid on the valuation of all personal property...held at Michaelmas 1269 (29 September) when the new crops could be fully accounted for."²⁵ Powicke does not, however, tell why. One can only surmise that Edward, like Louis, had discovered within himself compelling personal reasons to continue his crusade.

By the time the presumptive heir to Henry III agreed to Louis IX's proposition, he had already gained a reputation for infidelity, disloyalty, and viciousness—not a reputation conducive to keeping the people, much less the rebellious barons, at bay and in awe, especially since he had won the baronial war through chance and charisma. As his father was old and physically weak, Edward recognized that he would soon have to ascend the throne.

Edward needed to do something dramatic to capture the hearts and minds of the people. He needed a war wherein he could exploit his expert swordsmanship and his warrior passions to convert his public image from "leopard" to "the best lance in the world."²⁶ Louis' crusade offered the perfect opportunity at just the right time.

Edward's character had been sullied when Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, accused him of "excessive intimacy which Edward was said to have had with the Earl's wife."²⁷ Gilbert and Edward were old friends. They were known to have descended on London as early as 1259 with "substantial armed retinues," and had fought

together during the Baronial War.²⁸ Moreover, Gilbert had taken up the cross alongside Edward and was thus a sworn comrade-in-arms for the crusade. Edward's alleged affair was never verified, but matters between him and Gilbert escalated to the point that an official reconciliation was required.²⁹ "Edward and the Earl of Gloucester exchanged the kiss of peace after many magnets had intervened."³⁰ Ergo, whether true or not, the alleged affair created both a public and official perception of infidelity, an inability to avoid scandal, and a penchant for creating enemies out of friends, at least temporarily. This reputation for having poor judgment at the very least no doubt

provided Edward with a compelling reason to embark and continue on a crusade despite the obstacles.

*Edward and the Earl
of Gloucester
exchanged the kiss of
peace after many mag-
nets had intervened.*

Edward also had to overcome the appearance of disloyalty that arose from being the liaison between Henry III and the barons, who wanted the Provisions of Oxford enforced.³¹ Henry had sent Edward to Gascony in 1260 after agreeing to the provisions

on 13 October 1259. The king then repudiated those provisions with papal sanction in 1261, while Edward remained away.³² After two years of talking, the barons rebelled in 1263 under Simon de Montfort, Edward's uncle by marriage with whom he was apparently quite close. When Henry appeared to be losing the war, Edward returned to England to fight for his father, thus giving the appearance of being a turncoat to his friends and uncle. The truth of this matter is irrelevant; the perception of disloyalty was prevalent, providing one more compelling reason for

²⁸ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 33; see also: Margaret Wade LaBarge, *Simon de Montfort* (New York: Norton, 1962), 249-52.

²⁹ *Bury St. Edmunds*, 45.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

³² Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward I*, 379: The Provisions of Oxford restructured the government of England by giving more power to the barons.

²⁴ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1965, s.v. "Edward I."

²⁵ Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 565.

²⁶ Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 688.

²⁷ *Bury St. Edmunds*, 45.

Edward to pursue a military expedition that would erase this stain from the public's and nobles' minds. "He needed to win fame in diverse lands which [would give] him a transcendent place among Christian princes."³³

When Edward returned from France to bail Henry out of the Baronial War, he added yet another negative to his reputation, namely viciousness on the battlefield. After Montfort had captured Edward, Henry, and another of Edward's uncles, the King of Germany, Edward feigned friendship with Montfort and escaped.³⁴ He then gathered reinforcements and returned to fight the famous Battle of Evesham on 4 August 1265, during which he killed

and beheaded Montfort. Primary sources differ on the chronology of what took place next, but according to *The 'Templar of Tyre'*:

In the end, Earl Simon de Montfort was defeated, both he and his men, and the earl was taken alive... Once he had come from the battle, the Lord Edward sought counsel from his cousin, who was named Henry of Almain and who was also a cousin to Earl Simon's children, the children of two sisters, as to what he should do with Earl Simon. The Lord Henry advised him that if he wanted peace and an end to the war, he should cut off Earl Simon's head and have it said that he was killed in the battle since one would not want to bear the infamy of having killed him after he had been captured. So that night my lord Edward, on the advice of my lord Henry of Almain, had Earl Simon de Montfort's head cut off and had him thrown on the field among the other dead bodies.³⁵

As with the previous incidents, this report's accu-

racy is immaterial. Edward not only believed the story was accepted as fact, but that it was being held against him. Furthermore, regardless of his personal view of the crusades' indulgences, he knew he would be absolved of all such transgressions in the eyes of God and the world simply by wielding his sword for the sake of Christ. Accordingly, these three perceived blights on his princely image provided compelling personal reasons for the Lord Edward to go on his crusade and push on through seemingly insurmountable obstacles. He was not looking to win. His goal was to look good, to become a legend.

As noted above, Edward proceeded with his crusade after Louis' death and his comrades' retreat

even though logic dictated he could not single-handedly win back the Holy Land. "Edward's force was not great, and he himself could effect little, but his intervention gave the Latins a breathing-space."³⁶ Once he arrived in the Holy Land, therefore, he embarked on a series of exploits designed to enhance his image and elevate him to heroic status within his own lifetime. "Edward had very little opportunity to show his martial prowess" when he arrived in Acre on 9 May 1271, so he merely occupied and fortified the city.³⁷ Approximately one month later, Sultan Baibars, after besieging and bloodlessly capturing Montfort of the Germans, a castle near Acre, "conducted the men to Acre, and let them go."³⁸ In short, Baibars released the prisoners without ransom or rancor. Edward's men were anxious to meet the enemy, but noting the size and power of Baibars' force, Edward made the prudent decision to restrain them from leaving the city. Baibars took his troops and returned to Babylon the next day.³⁹



Matthew Paris' map of Great Britain, St. Albans, c. 1250
(Courtesy of the British Library Board)

³³ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 63.

³⁴ Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 686.

³⁵ *The 'Templar of Tyre'*, 45-7.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 334.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

³⁸ Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 601.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; see also: *The 'Templar of Tyre'*, 67.

By autumn, Edward and his men were getting restless. On 24 November 1271, he and King Hugh of Jerusalem, along with the Templars and Hospitallers, attacked Qaqun near Caesarea. According to *The 'Templar of Tyre,'* they did not take the fortified tower that was protected by a moat, but they did take two encampments, kill a number of Saracens, and return to Acre with approximately 12,000 animals and "all their loot, safe and sound," choosing not to "linger too long while the alarm went out across the land."⁴⁰ In contrast, Prestwich, quoting primarily Muslim sources, claims the crusaders ran when a Muslim force approached, "losing some men and horses on the way. The raid had hardly been a glorious success."⁴¹ It must be noted that Prestwich's sources—*Ibn al-Furat* and *Makrizi*—give a decidedly Muslim perspective, which one would expect to devalue Edward's effort, while the Christian eyewitness account, *The 'Templar of Tyre,'* understandably extols the crusaders.⁴² The sultan's disdain for Edward's military prowess would have had no effect on the future king's standing either with his men or the rest of Christendom.

According to Prestwich, it was obvious to the crusaders in May 1272 that further fighting would be futile and so, "a truce was agreed at Caesarea, to last for ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours." Prestwich continues: "Both western and eastern narrative sources state that Edward was extremely angry at the decision, and such an attitude certainly fits with his earlier determination to proceed with the crusades at all costs."⁴³ This conclusion is at odds with Mayer's presentistic analysis, which claims that Edward's "only successes [in the Holy Land] were in mediating between the king of Cyprus and his knights and in arranging an eleven years' truce with Baibars."⁴⁴ While Mayer may or may not be correct, Prestwich's analysis would nevertheless have

been the prevailing perception of Christendom at the time. By accepting the truce for the greater good, Edward ignored his own wishes to continue his crusade and thus demonstrated his wisdom, his forbearance, his ability to compromise, and his regard for his subjects.

Edward's "most celebrated incident of his crusade [was] the attempt by an assassin on his life in June [1272]."⁴⁵ By all accounts, he was attacked at night in his quarters by a trusted Saracen, who he managed to kill despite being alone, unarmed, and wounded. This incident was certainly serendipitous for his plans to return to England a hero. Far be it for anyone to suggest it might have been planned. Regardless, there are many different versions of the event. According to the religious perspective as noted in *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds*, "Edward was so badly wounded by the guile of an Assassin that he nearly died, but he was visited by Him who cares for the humble and quickly restored to perfect health."⁴⁶ This version of the tale must certainly have increased Edward's standing in the Christian world. *The 'Templar of Tyre,'* while reiterating the idea of heavenly intervention, goes further into both the attack and Edward's recovery:

The Saracen met him and stabbed him on the hip with a dagger, making a deep, dangerous wound. The Lord Edward felt himself struck, and he struck the Saracen a blow with his fist, on the temple, which knocked him senseless to the ground for a moment. Then the Lord Edward caught up a dagger from the table which was in the chamber, and stabbed the Saracen in the head and killed him.

The alarm was raised throughout the household, and they saw that their lord was injured, and the cry went out through the city of Acre. Thereupon the lords gathered together there and summoned all the doctors and slaves, who sutured his wound and drew out the poison.

He made a good recovery, by the grace of God, and he left on the twenty-second of September, and went to his own land across the sea.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ *The 'Templar of Tyre,'* 67.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 77.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 77-8.

⁴⁶ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 282.

⁴⁷ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 78.

By the time the story reached Matthew Paris in England, it had grown to legendary proportions, wherein Edward was severely wounded in four locations, yet "seized the tripod which supported his table, and brained the ruffian" even though he had been poisoned by "wresting away the knife" of the assassin.⁴⁸ He then proceeded to capture the praise and adoration of all, Christian and Muslim alike, by forestalling further violence on his behalf, which would have broken the truce so recently installed.⁴⁹ If Edward had purposely set out to create a new, powerful image for himself in the eyes of the papacy, the nobility, and his subjects, he could not have planned it better.

When Edward departed for the Holy Land in 1270, he was an under-financed prince of England and a vassal to the king of France. He had a skewed reputation and something to prove, at least to himself. His crusading future was ambiguous, to say the least. From the moment Louis died, Edward's fortunes began to improve. Taking advantage of every chance opportunity that presented itself, he had, by the time he left the Holy Land, become that which he had wanted to become: an unopposable living legend acknowledged as wise, heroic, and, in the eyes of thirteenth-century European Christendom, in the hands of God.

Edward learned of Henry III's death while on his way back to England.⁵⁰ Too late to be at his father's deathbed, he instead spent the winter in Sicily. From there he sailed to Orvieto, Italy. The text of *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds* states that on 14 February 1273, St. Valentine's Day, Pope Gregory X met him "with cardinals in tow."⁵¹ Prestwich claims Edward "was greeted

by all the cardinals and led before the pope in grand ceremonial style."⁵² Pope Gregory had been a crusade companion of Edward's, and, in fact, as Theodald Visconti, archdeacon of Liège, had been elected pope on 1 September 1271 while in Acre with Edward.⁵³ Now, in recognition of the new English king's perceived achievements, "[he] granted Edward one tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues from both temporalities and spiritualities for one year."⁵⁴ This was the pinnacle of honors for the thirteenth century, proclaiming throughout Christendom that Edward was the greatest king in Europe at that moment.

In 1273, Edward cut across France on his way to England to pay his respects to Louis IX's grave and to Louis' heir, Phillip III. While enroute, he met Peter, the count of Chalons, who invited him to a tournament. It quickly dissolved into something "barely distinguishable from a full-scale battle." Edward had agreed to a one-on-one competition, but the French contingent outnumbered the English two-to-one. The contest came down to a personal encounter between Edward and the count in which the latter unsuccessfully tried to

drag Edward from his saddle by the neck. Instead, Edward pulled Peter off his horse and threw him to the ground. When the count tried to formally surrender, Edward was so outraged by his opponent's disgraceful battlefield conduct that he made the Frenchman surrender to a common soldier—a humiliating gesture in defeat. Although a minor footnote in history, this incident, which later became known as the Little War in Chalons, plainly demonstrates Edward's new majestic standing as an unopposable icon.⁵⁵

Edward spent a year in Gascony, "creating strong

⁴⁸ *Bury St. Edmunds*, 53.

⁴⁹ *The 'Templar of Tyre'*, 69.

⁵⁰ *Matthew Paris's English History*, 3: 379.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 606.

⁵³ *Bury St. Edmunds*, 54.

⁵⁴ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 83.

⁵⁵ *Bury St. Edmunds*, 49.

ties of domestic friendship" between himself and Phillip III.⁵⁶ Thence, he returned to his England: "Memorandum, that the king landed at Dover on Thursday after St. Peter ad Vincula, 1274. And he was solemnly crowned on Sunday after the Assumption next to the church of St. Peter, Westminster, in the aforesaid year and in the second year of his reign."⁵⁷ In his first parliament, Edward reasserted control of the crown's ownership and regulatory power over all lands in England. He was concerned with money, the welfare of the church, and, notably, the common people: "And if he comes, willy nilly the Lord or his bailiff, he shall cause no lock, door, window or any sort of fastening to be opened or broken by himself or anyone else, and shall take no sort of provisions or anything else, by making a show of purchasing or otherwise."⁵⁸ It was only Edward's new, unopposable eminence that allowed him to institute such a previously unheard-of protection, just one of "the establishments of King Edward, son of King Henry," as proclaimed in Statute of Westminster I.⁵⁹

To reiterate, before going on crusade, Edward I was legendary, but not loved by the nobility and the English people. He was infamous for his sexual misconduct, notorious for his lack of political fidelity, and feared for his military prowess and tendency toward personal violence. His reputation was foreboding but unsavory. He did not want to ascend the throne with these blemishes as the sum total of his worth. He wanted the respect, or at least the awe, of nobles and subjects alike. Hence, in addition to whatever religious motives Edward may or may not have had, he embarked on the crusade to reinvent his image—and succeeded.⁶⁰ When he returned from his crusade, his personal reputation had been so elevated by demonstrations of his determination, wisdom, resourcefulness, endurance, and *noblesse oblige*

that he was triumphantly received, having proven himself not only an unopposable power to be reckoned with, but someone wise, heroic, and in the eyes of the Pope and therefore thirteenth-century European Christendom, in the hands of God.

The *prima facie* case presented herein supports the contention that Edward made use of his crusade for exactly the purpose stated above, an assertion demonstrated by first discussing the status of the crusades, particularly with regard to Edward, who had accepted the cross but made no move toward embarking on an expedition, following the example of his father, Henry III. Edward only agreed to make the journey when France's Louis IX became inflamed by the fall of Antioch and appealed for companionship, even going so far as to offer to pay the insolvent prince's expenses. A second discussion explained Edward's character as viewed through the eyes of the nobility, the common man, and the general perspective of Christendom. He was held in questionable esteem due to his unproven but commonly held reputation for sexual and political infidelity and extreme viciousness. Next, the main points of Edward's crusade—during which he took advantage of every propitious event to enhance his standing in the eyes of his troops, his followers, the enemy, the papacy, and his future English subjects—were reviewed. Finally, the *prima facie* case pointed out the effectiveness of Edward's reasoning. He did, indeed, greatly improve his reputation by going on crusade, and allowing subsequent actions and events to speak for themselves. If one infers motive from action, then the circumstantial evidence presented above clearly supports the hypothesis of this paper, that Edward recognized the opportunities inherent in going on a crusade and took full advantage of them for his own purposes.

An interesting point of study would be to continue combing the albeit scant primary-source records to create a more secular profile of Edward and his times, an admittedly difficult task since religion cannot be separated out in the thirteenth

⁵⁶ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 54.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 85; see also: Powicke's *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 613; Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 226, 233.

⁵⁸ Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 614.

⁵⁹ *Calendar of the Close Rolls of the Reign of Edward I*, vol. 1, 1272-1279 (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus-Thompson Organization, 1970), 97.

⁶⁰ David C. Douglas, ed., *English Historical Documents*, vol. 3, 1189-1327 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 397.

century. Never-the-less, the problem encountered while trying to construe Edward's motivations was the inundation of religion by the chroniclers of the day. Religion colored everything, especially everyone's motives as projected by those writers. It would be fascinating to search for at least a personal if not totally secular viewpoint, one that acknowledged the other realities that have always affected life decisions," such as politics, personal nature, sexual appetite, and, especially, racial prejudice, a virulent influence that has existed for millennia. Historians might gain a feel for who the man really was behind the sword and the trappings of his station.

As it stands, with no personal records to call upon, students of history can only surmise what was in Edward's heart and mind as he agreed to, set off for, and finished his crusade. Extant sources simply reveal that he made use of the only available avenue for serious personal and political growth for a noble of his day: a crusade to the Holy Land. If the resulting sequence of events was not by design then Edward was unquestionably the luckiest man alive in the thirteenth century.

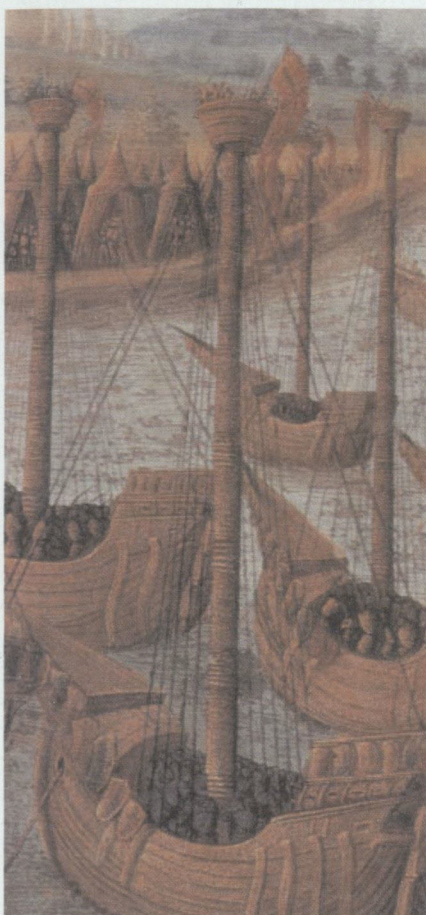
*Historians might get
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ness of Edward's intentions, however, is difficult to determine. The chroniclers of the day, especially the English ones, were heavily influenced by religion, and their accounts of Edward's motives are likely to be colored by this. It would be fascinating to search for at least a personal if not totally secular viewpoint, one that acknowledged the other realities that have always affected life decisions, such as politics, personal nature, sexual appetite, and, especially, racial prejudice, a virulent influence that has existed for millennia. Historians might gain a feel for who the man really was behind the sword and the trappings of his station.

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Edward's crusade was a complex affair, influenced by a variety of factors. It was not simply a religious quest, but also a political one. Edward was a young man when he became king, and he needed to establish his authority. The crusade provided him with a chance to do this. It also provided him with a chance to gain experience in military matters, which was essential for a king. Finally, the crusade was a chance for Edward to gain a sense of purpose and direction. He was a man of great energy and ambition, and the crusade gave him a chance to pursue these qualities. It was a chance for him to make a name for himself, and to leave a legacy. The crusade was a defining moment in Edward's life, and it shaped the rest of his reign. It was a chance for him to prove himself to his subjects, and to the world. It was a chance for him to show that he was a man of great courage and determination. It was a chance for him to show that he was a man who was willing to sacrifice for his faith, and for his country. The crusade was a chance for Edward to show that he was a man who was truly great. It was a chance for him to show that he was a man who was truly worthy of the throne. It was a chance for him to show that he was a man who was truly a king.

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Venetian Ships at Constantinople.
(Courtesy of MHQ: The Quarterly
Journal of Military History 18, no. 1
2005)

No Sin, But an Act of Great Charity: The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople, 1204

By Mark Ruffalo

The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople, 1204, by Mark Ruffalo explores the religious motivations behind the actions of Crusaders. He finds that religious leaders justified violence against heretical Christians just as readily as against infidels. The coupling of this violence with a justification for looting sacred artifacts explains the attack on Constantinople as a religious, rather than economic endeavor.



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For he himself is our peace, who has made the two one and has destroyed the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility, by abolishing in his flesh the law with its commandments and regulations. His purpose was to create in himself one new man out of the two, thus making peace, and in this one body to reconcile both of them to God through the cross, by which he put to death their hostility.

Ephesians 2:14-16, NIV.

The symbolism of the cross is difficult to ignore. What originally represented abandonment, despair and hatred became, in the first century of Christianity, an honored and loved object that represented life and peace, a symbol of the gospel. With the onset of the Crusades, the symbol of Christianity underwent a subtle yet marked transformation. In the First Crusade of 1095, wearing the cross signaled one's acceptance of Christ's challenge to "take up his cross and follow me."¹ The inward devotion to Christ revealed itself in an outward display of love: going on the crusade.² Love for Christ meant freeing the Holy Land and Eastern Christians from Muslim control.³ In the eleventh century, the cross reverted to its original symbolism of death and violence. In the early thirteenth century, that same cross of the crusaders underwent another transformation that would have enormous implications for the future of Eastern and Western Christianity.

Many historians minimize the obvious religious overtones so prominent in the primary sources.

¹ Matthew 26:24, *Holy Bible: The NIV Study Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1995).

² H. E. Cowdry, "Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade," in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 18 n. 16.

³ Edward Peters, ed., "Fulcher of Chartres," in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 30.

Some writers view these spiritual expressions as feigned attempts to Christianize greed and exploitation. To be sure, political and economic intrigue contributed significantly to the developments of the Fourth Crusade, but other forces were at play. Diverting the Crusade away from Jerusalem to fight fellow Christians instead of Muslims formed a significant change of plans. Why would crusaders abandon their original goal? If political or economic reasons are unsatisfactory explanations, what could possibly have motivated them to take this action?

Religious fervor played a much larger part in the Fourth Crusade than has hitherto been acknowledged. Events of the Fourth Crusade became increasingly likely as an evolving redemptive violence joined with a centuries-old theological conflict existing between Byzantium and the Catholic West. To the Latin, this pairing created an environment in which the Divine Hand pronounced judgment on a rebellious and unworthy Byzantium. God's apparent sanctioning of the conquest of Constantinople

erased the ambivalence of Christian violence for the Catholic West and succeeded in alienating the Orthodox East for centuries.⁴

The first crusaders took up the cross to rescue Jerusalem and their Eastern brothers from Islam. One hundred and nine years later, in 1204's Fourth Crusade, the crusaders put their supreme goal of liberating Jerusalem on hold and bore the cross against the very people they previously had vowed to liberate.⁵ Instead of recapturing Jerusalem, they sacked Constantinople, the center of Eastern Christianity, creating an obvious spiri-

Events of the Fourth Crusade became increasingly likely as an evolving redemptive violence joined with a centuries-old theological conflict existing between Byzantium and the Catholic West

⁴ "Orthodox Patriarch Accepts Pope's Apology for Sack of City," *Catholic World News*, 14 April 2004; accessed 2 April 2005; available from <http://cwnews.com/news/viewstory.cfm?recnum=28935>.

⁵ Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford, 1990), 2-8.



"Notitia Locorum apud Eusebii Historiam Ecclesiasticam." (Copper etching by Hermann Moll, 1749.)

tual confusion that both sides noted in their primary sources: should Christians wage war against one another? The Latin bishops reminded the crusaders that the Constantinople Byzantines were rebels who considered the faithful of Rome "dogs."⁶ Their spiritual advice was to consider the battle as "...no sin but an act of great charity."⁷ Such a religious outlook characterizes the Fourth Crusades' primary sources, even those sources composed by crusade knights with military mind-sets. Each source represents a definite perspective suitable to the author's nationalistic and religious sentiment and falls into one of three basic categories: Western, Byzantine and Russian.

The significant Western primary source, the

chronicle of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, represents the views of an upper-class knight who appears as a principal decision maker as well as one of the few envoys chosen to speak for the crusaders throughout the crusade. His familiarity with the details and negotiations, a significant part of the Fourth Crusade, make this primary source important.⁸ Robert of Clari's crusade history covers the same events, but from the perspective of a poorer knight who was neither privy to the councils nor taken into the confidence of the crusade leaders. Nevertheless, Robert of Clari supplies a more detailed depiction of Constantinople's destruction, including the fine points of the treasures seized.⁹ Addressing a pro-Latin audience, Villehardouin and Clari seek to justify the Constantinople sacking by providing details of the Fourth Crusade while only touching

⁶ Dana C. Munro, ed., "The Fourth Crusade," in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1897), 13-4; see also: Geoffrey de Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusade*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw (London: Penguin, 1963), 51, 61.

⁷ Geoffrey de Villehardouin, "Conquest of Constantinople," in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, 51, 61.

⁸ Ibid., 35.

⁹ Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 112.

2001), 117.

on the underlining impetus for the attack.¹⁰ Two other Western sources, Pope Innocent III's writings and the history composed by Gunther, a monk from Pairis, address the religious aspects of and provide context for the events of 1204. A principal source of the early thirteenth-century Byzantine perspective, Greek survivor Niketas Choniates's account of the events contributes an invaluable record of the Western invasion.¹¹ Finally, the Russian Novgorod chronicle supplies a brief reference to the Fourth Crusade with an expected pro-Byzantine outlook.¹²

The Fourth Crusade's uniqueness in Crusade history has created a vast amount of scholarship that underlines theories of hidden political and economic motives. Most historians cast the Latin crusaders, the Venetians, the Doge of Venice and Pope Innocent III as mercenaries and charlatans whose motivations were anything but "Christian."¹³ The eminent and oft-quoted Steven Runciman provides the model for such an interpretation of the Fourth Crusade.¹⁴ Modern

researchers such as Donald Queller and Thomas Madden, however, present a more balanced assessment with limited historical moralizing in their work, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, a standard analysis of the Fourth Crusade.¹⁵

Three aspects reveal the Fourth Crusade's religious impetus: the preliminary understanding of the origin and establishment of redemptive violence as an institutionalized apologetic; the theological disputations that made the Byzantines prime targets by stigmatizing them as rebellious, schismatic, and heretical; and how the Latin West perceived the sacking of Constantinople as God's judgment on the Byzantine Empire, thereby not only justifying the attack but establishing the righteousness of Constantinople's conquest in 1204. In previous centuries, an attack on the mighty center of Eastern Christianity, the city of Constantinople, had presented formidable obstacles for any aggressor, but in 1204, those difficulties went beyond military logistics and took on a spiritual dimension. Yes, some sought Constantinople's destruction for political, economic or personal reasons, yet such reasons could not overcome the inherent moral dilemma of the act, as confirmed by the primary sources.¹⁶ Villehardouin reveals that many crusaders felt misgivings before the attack.¹⁷ Indeed, even the soon-to-be-deposed Emperor Alexius III resorted to appeals to the common faith to defer hostilities.¹⁸ What could have justified the obvious non-Christian behavior? How could such action be reconciled with the loving, peaceful message of Christianity?

¹⁰ Tia M. Kolbaba, "Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious 'Errors': Themes and Changes from 850 to 1350," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 117.

¹¹ Pope Innocent III, "The Registers of Innocent III," in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. Alfred J. Andrea (Boston: Brill, 2000), 35-163; see also: Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople: The "Hystoria Constantinopolitana" of Gunther of Pairis*, trans. and ed. Alfred J. Andrea (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 67-129.

¹² *The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016-1047*, trans. Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes (Hattiesburg, Miss.: Academic International, 1970), 43-8.

¹³ W. B. Bartlett, *An Ungodly War: The Sack of Constantinople & the Fourth Crusade* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000), 3-7; see also: Ernle Bradford, *The Great Betrayal* (New York: Dorset Press, 1990), 12; Edwin Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople Being the Story of the Fourth Crusade* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1886), xiii.

¹⁴ Steven Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 3:117 n. 1.

¹⁵ Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 357.

¹⁶ Robert of Clari, "The Conquest of Constantinople," in *Three Old French Chronicles of the Crusades: The History of the Holy War, the History of Them that Took Constantinople, the Chronicle of Reims*, trans. Edward Noble Stone (Seattle: University of Washington, 1939), 193.

¹⁷ de Villehardouin, "Conquest of Constantinople," in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, 51.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 63.

The Medieval Christian answers to those questions seem anachronistic today. A carefully framed apologetic for violence existed that made their militaristic exploits without precedent. Only the authoritative spiritual pronouncement justifying the conflict was lacking. The Crusade bishops rectified this by essentially de-Christianizing the Byzantines. Drawing on the apologetic developed over the centuries:

[The clergy] showed the pilgrims that the battle was a righteous one, for...the Greeks were traitors and murderers, and...they were faithless, since they had murdered their lawful lord, and, they were worse than Jews. And the bishops said that they absolved, in the name of God and of the Pontiff, all those that should attack the Greeks. And the bishops commanded pilgrims all to confess themselves and freely to partake of the sacrament; and to them not be at all afraid to attack the Greeks, for these were God's enemies.¹⁹

Reminiscent of statements about previous armed pilgrimages against the Muslims, the clergy's Fourth Crusade statement not only justified the action but credited righteousness to the cause, even offering forgiveness of sins to those who would attack the Greeks. Thus, an attack on Christian Constantinople became like previous crusades: an attempt to free a city from an unworthy people. Had such an idea been discussed and debated in the previous centuries? Indeed it had, for religious thinkers of the thirteenth century found support for this sacred violence in both Old and New Testament Scriptures.

Biblical justification for violence directed against the unfaithful was closely associated with preserving the purity of Israel. In the Old Testament, for example, Phinehas, the vindicator of God, threw a javelin through a man and his wife to stay the judgment of God.²⁰ He performed an act that on the surface seemed contradictory to the purposes of God yet was rewarded for that act by God.²¹ The New Testament contained stories

with similar themes, chiefly in the form of judgment or discipline.²² By c.1140, Jonathan Riley Smith points out, Christian theologians had compiled similar New Testament passages into scriptural justifications for God-sanctioned violence.²³ These included St. Paul's pronouncing blindness upon Elymas and, especially, St. Paul's admonition to the church of Corinth to "hand this man over to Satan, so that the sinful nature may be destroyed and his spirit saved on the day of the Lord."²⁴ These texts' impact on the medieval Christian should not be minimized.

Biblical text and crusading ideals were incorporated in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* of 1147.²⁵ The bishop of Oporto's passionate preaching, the anonymous writer records, persuaded the crusaders were to temporarily abandon their Crusade to Jerusalem, divert to Lisbon and use their warfare skills to help the king of Portugal capture Lisbon from the Moors. One cannot help compare Bishop Oporto's preaching with the clergy's words of 1204 as they prepared to attack Constantinople:

[B]ut now by God's inspiration you are bearing the arms [of righteousness] by means of which murderers and robbers are condemned, thefts are prevented, acts of adultery are punished, the impious perish from the earth, and parricides are not permitted to live nor sons to act unfilially. Therefore, brothers, take courage with these arms...to defend the fatherland in war against barbarians or to ward off enemies at home, or to defend comrades from robbers; for such courage is full of righteousness.²⁶

²¹ Genesis 22:2-12 NIV.

²² Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 44-5.

²³ Riley-Smith, *Crusading As An Act of Love*, 46.

²⁴ Acts 13:8-12 NIV; see also: 1 Corinthians 5:5 NIV.

²⁵ Christopher J. Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century," in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 110.

²⁶ *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, trans. Charles Wendell David (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 81.

¹⁹ Ibid., 85.

²⁰ Numbers 25:6-9 NIV.

Bishop Oporto appealed not only to the crusaders' sense of honor, but soothed their troubled consciences, almost in an act of absolution, as he characterized their militaristic capacities as righteous. He proceeded to give the crusaders the apologetic for Christian violence by connecting piety with violence:

Indeed, there is no cruelty where piety towards God is concerned... 'For war is just,' says our Isidore, 'which is waged after a declaration, to recover property or to

repulse enemies', and, since it is just to punish murderers and sacrilegious men and poisoners, the shedding of their blood is not murder. Likewise he is not cruel who slays the cruel. And he who puts wicked men to death is a servant of the Lord. Hear what Augustine has said on this subject to Donatus the priest: 'An evil will must not be allowed its liberty, even as Paul, who persecuted the church of God, was not permitted to carry out his worst intentions.' Again, Chrysostom, *On Matthew*, Homily XVII: 'Phinehas killed a man, "and it was counted unto him for righteousness." Abraham becoming not only a murderer, but, what is graver still, the slayer of his child, was more and more pleasing to God.'²⁷

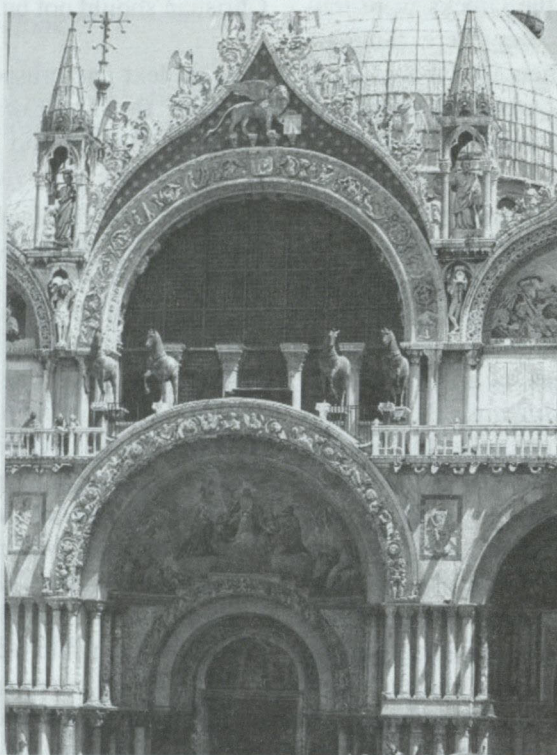
Thus the justification for redemptive violence in 1147 combines images of justice with the demands of scripture, thereby forming the basis for violence conducted in the name of Christ.

²⁷ Ibid., 83.

Though the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* gave crusaders an apologetic for waging war on the infidel, it took medieval theologians to solidify the idea of war against other Christians. One such influential theologian was Peter the Venerable, the abbot of Cluny in 1122 and recognized as one of the great minds of the middle ages.²⁸ He wrote to Everard of Les Barres, the Master of the Knights Templar:

But you may say that you have taken up arms against the heathens, not against Christians. But I

would ask you who deserves to be the main object of your attacks, the heathen who does not know God, or the Christian whose words confess devotion to Him, but whose actions combat Him? Who is the more important target, the ignorant blasphemer or the one who does know Christ and attacks Him? Do they not fight God, do they not persecute Him, they who despoil His Church, strike and beat the people bought with His blood... The Christian is no less deserving of the protection of your advice, or swords even, than a Christian suffering at the hands of a heathen.²⁹



Basilica of Saint Mark, the patron of Venice. The outside is covered in loot from Constantinople. (Courtesy of Chiark.greenend.org.UK)

This shocking portion of the letter reveals a knight's conflict as he struggled with taking up arms against Christians. He could well under-

²⁸ A. Fournet, "Blessed Peter of Montboissier," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Web-site); accessed 9 May 2005; available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10525b.htm>.

²⁹ Peter the Venerable, "Letter of Peter the Venerable to Everard of Les Barres, Master of the Temple," in *The Templars*, trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2002), 230.

stand waging war against the infidel but clearly was not so sure about applying it to fellow Christians. Calling on the knight's piety and honor, Peter tried to ease any doubts in Everard's mind about the latter by essentially asking: Who is more deserving of the knight's sword of justice? Since the heathen does not know God, how culpable is he when he acts out of that ignorance? On the other hand, are not those who claim to be Christians and act the opposite clearly a better target of the knight's wrath?

Thus, through a convoluted but impeccable logic, Peter successfully justified crusades against other Christians and developed a sophisticated apologetic of sacred violence over the centuries that successfully integrated its own form of biblical interpretation with aspects of warfare designed to ensure justice and piety through the sword. This apologetic, beginning with sanctioning violence against the infidel, expanded to include redemptive violence against the unfaithful, the unworthy and the heretic. In the eyes of many Latin Christians, the Greeks qualified as all three.³⁰

The developing concept of a Christian redemptive violence strengthened the possibility for an attack on Constantinople. By 1204, Christians believed that violence under certain conditions was not only allowable but righteous, a theory supported by Biblical texts. In practice, Christians waged war against those determined to be the enemies of Christ. The gradual development of this consecrated conflict expanded from attacking Muslims to assaults on all seen as unorthodox. As Latin and Byzantine theologians defined orthodoxy, the gap between East and West expanded—and so did the potential for conflict. The Latin assault on the Byzantine Empire concluded a long and strained history of theologi-

cal disputations between Greeks and Latins that grew increasingly unfriendly after the Second Crusade of 1149. By the thirteenth century, hostilities were imminent and needed little incentive to correct errant theology through the sword.

The Fourth Crusade's provocation came in the person of Alexius Angelus, son of the deposed and blinded emperor of Constantinople, Isaac Angelus.³¹ Alexius sought the crusaders' help to establish himself as Constantinople's rightful emperor.³² In return, he promised among other things to "place his whole empire under the authority of Rome, from which it has long been estranged."³³ Thus, Alexius recognized the centuries-old estrangement and the core of the problem. In his Fourth Crusade history, Gunther of Pairis, a Cistercian monk, confirms the separation of Byzantium but adds:

To be sure, the supreme pontiff had for a considerable time hated that city, as had his predecessors, since already for so long it had been in rebellion against the Roman Church and had differed from the Catholic faith in certain articles of faith...³⁴

Gunther states the pope and his predecessors shared a similar hatred of Constantinople for two major reasons: Byzantium had rebelled against Rome and her theology was errant. Elaborating on the issues that had grown over the years and driven a wedge between East and West, Gunther mentions the "procession of the Holy Spirit, who the Greeks deny proceeds from the Son."³⁵ This controversy concerned the word *Filioque* that was added to Nicene Creed by Latin Catholics.³⁶ To Latins like Gunther, the *Filioque* was more of an explanation than an addition, an attempt at explaining the difficult relationship of Father, Son

³⁰ Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIth and XIIth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 128.

³¹ Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 247-8; see also: Robert of Clari, *Conquest of Constantinople*, 190-1.

³² de Villehardouin, "Conquest of Constantinople," in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, 44-5.

³³ *Ibid.*, 50.

³⁴ Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, 83-4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁶ Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (New York: Penguin, 1967), 236.

and Holy Spirit within the Trinity; to the Greeks, it was heresy. In 867, the patriarch of Constantinople announced that the entire West was teaching heresy.³⁷ The resultant hostility from the mutual decrees of heresy over the *Filioque* survived the centuries and was still fresh on the minds of crusaders in 1204.³⁸

Another extremely controversial and significant dividing point of doctrine Gunther's *Capture of Constantinople* mentions concerns the Greeks' diverting from orthodoxy in "the liturgy of the sacrifice of the mass, since they by custom, use fermented bread."³⁹ This subject produced more controversy than the *Filioque* in both the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴⁰ The Greeks simply viewed the Latins' use of unfermented bread as too closely aligned with Judaism.⁴¹ To the Latins, this was simply another example of Greek arrogance. Thus, the abbot of Pairis merely echoed in the early part of the thirteenth century what Odo of Deuil and others had already believed about the Greeks in 1148:

We know other heresies of theirs [the Greeks], both concerning their treatment of the Eucharist and concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost... Actually, it was for these reasons that the Greeks had incurred the hatred of our men, for their error had become known even among the lay people. Because of this they were judged not to be Christians, and the Franks considered killing

them a matter of no importance and hence could with the more difficulty be restrained from pillage and plundering.⁴²

Such thoughts could not have been far from the minds of the crusaders of 1204, for the storm did not subside with the previous century.

The final, preeminent point of all the conflicts and controversies concerned papal supremacy. The Greeks had repeatedly rejected the pope's authority, a rejection that stood as a major source of contention for centuries.⁴³ To the Latin Church, this rebellion was not just against Rome but also against Christ, who created the Apostolic See through St. Peter.⁴⁴ Pope Innocent's letter to Emperor Alexius III just before the crusaders arrived in Constantinople raised the issue of papal authority.⁴⁵ Robert of Clari mentions it as a justification for attacking the city, and it is the central theme of Innocent's letter to the newly installed Emperor Alexius IV.⁴⁶ Baldwin of Flanders observed the Greek's obstinacy on this point in his apologetic to Pope Innocent III following the final attack on Constantinople.⁴⁷ God was responsible for the victory over the rebellious Greeks and granted the crusaders joy as a reward for "wiping out the scandal to the Cross and crushing every rival power in the world that raises itself up against the Lord and against His anointed one."⁴⁸

³⁷ Justo L. Gonzales, *The Story of Christianity: Volume 1, The Early Church to the Dawn of the Reformation* (New York: HarperCollins, 1984), 264.

³⁸ Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966), 85-111.

³⁹ Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, 84.

⁴⁰ Tia M. Kolbaba, "Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious 'Errors': Themes and Changes from 850 to 1350," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 126.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁴² Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, trans. and ed. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York: Norton, 1948), 57.

⁴³ Kolbaba, "Byzantine Perceptions," 128.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 81; see also: Matthew 16:16-29 NIV.

⁴⁵ Pope Innocent III, "The Registers of Innocent III," in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. Alfred J. Andrea (Boston: Brill, 2000), 37.

⁴⁶ Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, 228; see also: Pope Innocent III, "The Registers of Innocent III," in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, 86.

⁴⁷ de Villehardouin, "Conquest of Constantinople," in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, 96; see also: Pope Innocent III, "The Registers of Innocent III," in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, 108-9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

The consequences of common theological debates brought Byzantium and Latin relations to a boiling point. The Greeks prided themselves in their theological expertise and refused to submit to Rome. The Latins therefore considered the Byzantines schismatic. Increasingly, the beliefs of the Eastern Church became suspect. To Latin Christians, their Byzantine brothers confused the understanding of the Trinity and unashamedly called the Latins heretics for trying to bring clarity to a misunderstood Christian doctrine. The Byzantine's insistence that the liturgy of the mass be conducted with leavened bread was just another example of their condescending arrogance recognized by their own theologians.⁴⁹ However, the refusal to recognize papal supremacy was clearly the proof of their spiritual degeneration. Among Latin Christians, the Greeks were unfaithful to God, unscriptural in their doctrine, and unworthy of the treasures God had entrusted to them. Gunther of Pairis stated what was on the mind of crusaders, clergy, and even some Byzantines in 1204:

Yet there was also, we believe, another far older and more powerful reason than all of these, namely the decision of Divine Goodness which so arranged, through this pattern of events, that this people, proud because of its wealth, should be humbled by their very pride and recalled to the peace and concord of the holy Catholic Church. It certainly seemed proper that this people, which otherwise could not be corrected, should be punished by the death of a few and the loss of those temporal goods with which it had puffed itself up; that a pilgrim people should grow rich on spoils from the rich and the entire land pass into our power; and that the Western Church, illuminated by the inviolable relics of which these people had shown themselves unworthy, should rejoice forever...Therefore, I believe these considerations, surely hidden from us, yet manifest to

Him who foresees all, were of utmost importance to God.⁵⁰

It appeared that Constantinople, the home of proud Greeks and precious relics, deserved God's chastisement.

A careful reading of the primary sources reveals that vast issues separated Byzantium from the Catholic West. The theological disagreements between them were so significant that spoken and written words eventually transformed into justifications for violence, creating an environment of disputations in which a common de-Christianization could take place. The Catholic West had developed an apologetic for inter-Christian violence, justified by sufficient precedent, to broaden the definition for waging war against God's enemies to include those who had gone astray, thus justifying the Fourth Crusade.⁵¹ Nevertheless, crusaders felt morally ambivalent as they evaluated their attacks on Zara and, especially, Constantinople prompting their contemporaries who wrote about the events to detect the Divine Hand in all that occurred. How did the sack of Constantinople fit into God's plan? More to the point, what did the conquest reveal about God's special protection over the imperial city of Constantinople?

Count Hugh of Saint Pol, a major figure in the events of the Fourth Crusade, was bluntly opinionated on the subject.⁵² Writing to his friends following the first assault on Constantinople in 1203, Hugh defends the attack. In addressing the questions of why the crusaders attacked Constantinople, the ramifications for Byzantium and the cause of Christ, Hugh writes:

As to the chief reason why we captured Constantinople, I am going to unfold and

⁴⁹ Andrew Jotischky, "The Frankish Encounter with the Greek Orthodox in the Crusader States," in *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, eds. Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 103, 114.

⁵⁰ Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, 91.

⁵¹ Norman Housley, "Crusades against Christians: Their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000-1216," in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 71.

⁵² Count Hugh of Saint Pol, "Count Hugh of Saint Pol's Report to the West," in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. Alfred Andrea (Boston: Brill, 2000), 177.

make clear to you another [reason] to come [here], by far better and more glorious than the aforementioned [reasons]. That is to say, in this affair we carried on the business of Jesus Christ...⁵³

Though others might question the attack, Hugh asserts the crusaders not only had God's blessing, they had Divine backing in the conquest.⁵⁴

Another significant participant in the Fourth Crusade—indeed the eventual elected Latin emperor of Constantinople—Count Baldwin states in a letter to Pope Innocent III after the sack of Constantinople:

Divine Clemency has performed a wondrous turn of events round about us... so that there can be no doubt, even among the unbelievers, but that the hand of the Lord guided all of these events, since nothing that we hope for or previously anticipated occurred...just as these were not the deeds of humans but of God that we meted out to the Greeks, so they were the deeds not of humans but of demons that Greece, with a new Greek emperor and with its usual perfidy in all matters, rendered unto us.⁵⁵

Because of the Byzantine's many sins, Baldwin states, God had, through the crusaders, "punished such absurdities...with the expulsion of people who hated God and loved themselves."⁵⁶

Logically, it followed that God had abandoned the Greeks to fight on the side of the crusaders.

Byzantine survivors of the sack relayed the same sentiment. The contemporary Greek historian Nicetas Choniates viewed the destruction that fell on the Greeks as Divine punishment for their sins.⁵⁷ John Mesarites, another prominent Greek,

was even more direct: thought considering the Latins thieves, he glorified God for thus punishing the sins of the Byzantines.⁵⁸ The downfall of Constantinople therefore, became the handiwork of God serving the dual-purpose of punishing the sins of the rebellious and rewarding the favored.

One aspect important to understanding the Fourth Crusade, generally overlooked in the available primary sources and neglected by twenty-first-century readers, confirms the Byzantine downfall: the appreciation for the medieval veneration of relics.⁵⁹ One source, "Concerning the Land of Jerusalem and the Means by Which Relics Were Carried to This Church from the City of Constantinople," otherwise known as the Anonymous of Soissons, recounts the history of the crusades leading up to 1204.⁶⁰ Its chief purpose, however, is to place the Fourth Crusade in the context of God's sovereign plan and thus closes with extensive detail of the various relics taken from Constantinople as well as their final destinations.⁶¹ The Anonymous of Soissons agrees with other primary sources in the emphasis on relics taken from Constantinople.⁶² The Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt focuses on the arrival of relics into Halberstadt with great rejoicing and a multitude of miracles.⁶³ The importance of the relics and their value is notable:

[T]his man carried with him tokens of the saints, in connection with which undoubted-ly peace and salvation were introduced into

⁵⁸ Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180-1204* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 268.

⁵⁹ A. Frolov, "Doctrinal Causes," in *The Latin Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. Donald E. Queller (New York: John Wiley, 1971), 97-100.

⁶⁰ The Anonymous of Soissons, "Concerning the Land of Jerusalem and the Means by Which Relics Were Carried to This Church from the City of Constantinople," in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. Alfred Andrea (Boston: Brill, 2000), 223.

⁶¹ Ibid., 235-8.

⁶² Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, 227-33.

⁶³ Anonymous, "The Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt," in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. Alfred Andrea (Boston: Brill, 2000), 200-1.

⁵³ Ibid., 199-200.

⁵⁴ Pope Innocent III, "The Registers of Innocent III," in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, 43; see also: Count Hugh of Saint Pol, "Count Hugh of Saint Pol's Report to the West," in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, 191, 193, 195, 198-9.

⁵⁵ Pope Innocent III, "The Registers of Innocent III," in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, 100.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 575-9.

the Fatherland. For, with the extremely propitious arrival of these saints, Divine Mercy adorned the land with such grace that the schism between the king and the priesthood, already of long duration, was replaced by unity in the Church...Moreover the lord bishop decreed that day of the relics' arrival, namely the fifteenth day before the Kalends of September, to be a solemn annual festival throughout the entire diocese.⁶⁴

more than falsely denying God's great deeds their deserved honor. For if we carefully consider the utterly unbelievable and sudden capture of this very great city, from which all of these relics were translated,...it will appear clearer than day that all of these were surely not matters of chance, but divine gifts. For this reason, all who either witnessed these events or heard of them should in every way venerate the work of God, by whose authorship these things were done.⁶⁹

This thievery becomes slightly more understandable when considering the concept of *furtum sacrum*—holy theft—a practice, prominent in the Middle Ages, that essentially sanctioned the theft of sacred objects, transforming what would otherwise be a sin into a Christian virtue.⁶⁵ Gunther of Pairis' *The Capture of Constantinople* relays this understanding through Martin, the abbot of Pairis and the central character throughout the text. On finding relics in one of the churches of Constantinople he "... was girded for action, both he and the chaplain filled the folds of their habits with sacred sacrilege."⁶⁶ Gunther plainly provides an obvious oxymoron meant to suggest a holy action that appeared sacrilegious. After leaving Constantinople, Martin brought them back to the church at Pairis.⁶⁷ In Gunther's estimation, God had "glorified the church at Pairis through certain gifts of grace."⁶⁸ After itemizing the many relics given by God through Abbot Martin, Gunther makes an important observation:

[T]his was done under the shelter of divine grace, in order that so many important, deeply venerated relics would arrive at our church...No one ought, therefore, to imagine that this, like many other phenomena, happened by chance. That would be nothing

Clearly, rationalizing theft, which is so prominent in these sources, testifies to something more than a simple sack of a city; Donald Queller has said as much. Writing of relics in the Fourth Crusade, Queller states they are an important key "too long blindly overlooked."⁷⁰ Therefore, an understanding of relics and their translation through the *furtum sacrum* builds a bridge to interpreting the sack of Constantinople. Her relics were "translated," testifying that the Byzantines were unworthy of owning them.⁷¹ Their unworthiness caused the saints associated with the relics to work against the Byzantines, thus legitimizing and insuring their theft. Freeing Constantinople's plentiful holy relics could be viewed as an extension of the original purpose of the Crusade. Jerusalem, the crowning Holy relic, needed freedom from the infidels. Constantinople, the supreme warehouse for sacred relics of Christianity, needed liberation from the enemies of God. Both Muslims and Byzantines were unworthy owners of that which was holy.⁷² In one sense therefore, the Latin conquest of Constantinople of 1204 was a successful *furtum sacrum*. It was an act of sacred violence, a judgment on the unfaithful, a victory for Christianity and evidence of the handiwork of God.

Nevertheless, the Fourth Crusade stands out as something of an enigma. How does one reconcile the events of the Fourth Crusade with the command of Christ, "As I have loved you, so you must love one another?"⁷³ The Fourth Crusade

⁶⁴ Ibid., 201.

⁶⁵ Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages, 800-1100* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), xii, 132-5.

⁶⁶ Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, 111.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 112.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 125.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 91.

⁷⁰ Queller, *The Latin Conquest*, 97.

⁷¹ Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 128.

⁷² Frolow, *Doctrinal Causes*, 100.

⁷³ John 13:34 NIV.

defies explanation. Economic and political explanations fill libraries, but far too few sources have examined the spiritual dimensions discussed herein that motivated the Latins to conquer Constantinople in 1204. Certainly, a tradition of redemptive violence encouraged the conquest. Through a unique and specialized interpretation of Scripture, discipline and Divine Justice were accomplished via the sword, first against infidels, later against the heretics and the rebellious. Discovering the infidel was much easier than identifying the heretic. Answering the need, theologians in the East and West broadened the distance between each other as they narrowed their understanding of scripture. Controversial issues such as the *Filioque* and whether the liturgy of the mass should include leavened or unleavened bread dominated the debate for centuries. But papal supremacy remained the largest obstacle and greatest source of controversy between Byzantium and the Latin West. Because the Greeks refused to agree to papal authority, they were viewed as schismatic and rebellious; all other dividing issues emanated from this Latin doctrine, which stands as the central issue in almost all the primary sources of the Fourth Crusade. The popes earnestly wanted it and the Greeks minimized it, promising to come under the authority of Rome only when it served their interest. For this and many other errors, the Byzantines were reckoned as outside God's favor and thus undeserving of His blessings. To the medieval mind, the Greeks' loss of their numerous renowned Christian relics proved that God had abandoned them. It was as if God and the saints had stolen those physical objects of grace by the hands of the crusaders. The blessing, favor and wealth of the precious relics were now in the hands of God's favorites and they spread them throughout the West.

Further study into the medieval concepts of relics would be welcomed, specifically research that focuses on the relics taken from the Churches in Byzantium. Many myths and legends surround these relics, which eventually made their way to Europe. Of note is an obscure reference from Robert of Clari, who mentions a relic that sounds

like the famous Shroud of Turin.⁷⁴

Truly, the Fourth Crusade altered the crusades' original purpose. The armed pilgrimages came full circle and ended with a curious twist. The great Byzantine Empire that in previous centuries had debated whether icons promoted idolatry appeared to succumb to a different idolatry: trusting in man rather than God. When Alexius I Comnenus requested help from the West in 1095, he seemingly stood judged by the words of the prophet Isaiah:

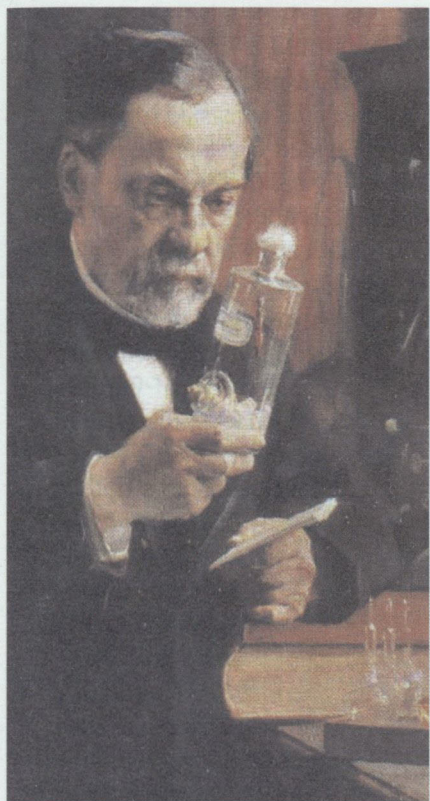
Woe to those who go down to Egypt for help, who rely on horses, who trust in the multitude of their chariots and in the great strength of their horsemen, but do not look to the Holy One of Israel, or seek help from the LORD.⁷⁵

Alexius I Comnenus, like Israel's ancient kings, relied on the arm of flesh for security and ostensibly committed an act of idolatry through a displaced trust in man. For this sin, Byzantium's penance was the sacking and conquest of their beloved city, Constantinople. Western Christianity, which Alexius I envisaged as saviors in 1095, had become Byzantine's conquerors by 1204.

John 13:34 NIV.

⁷⁴ Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, 232.

⁷⁵ Isaiah 31:1 NIV.



Painted portrait of Pasteur at work in his Ecole Normale Supérieure laboratory in Paris.

Color print from: Ann Angel and Beverley Birch, *Louis Pasteur: Leading the way to a healthier world* (Milwaukee: Gareth Stevens, 1992)



Warren Soward is in his early thirties and has lived in Southern California all his life. He received a Bachelor of Science degree in Biotechnology from Cal Poly Pomona in 1996, and went to work at the City of Hope cancer research center in Duarte where he used exotic plasmon resonance technology to measure protein binding constants. For three years he was an instructor and manager at the Cordon Bleu culinary school in Pasadena where he taught food science, sanitation and safety, business math, and food history. During this experience, Warren's long-time interest in history crystallized and he decided to give Cal State Fullerton's graduate program a try. He is very happy with his decision and plans to go on to a Ph.D. at another institution and eventually teach history at the university level.

Pasteur's Trajectory: A Scientific Biography of Louis Pasteur

By Warren Soward

World-renowned scientist Louis Pasteur sustains an impressive reputation due to his numerous discoveries in the fields of human health and safeguarding foods. However, author Warren Soward explores in "Pasteur's Trajectory: A Scientific Biography of Louis Pasteur" an unfamiliar dimension of Pasteur and details the lengths to which the scientist went to remain ahead of his peers.

long, twisted bottleneck, which prevented the entry of microorganisms. On one hand, the doctrine of spontaneous generation predicted that microorganisms would appear in the liquid simply because the correct conditions for their growth occurred. On the other hand, Pasteur's germ theory predicted that the liquid would remain unspoiled unless he intentionally introduced microorganisms from the outside by breaking off the neck. Some of his original flasks remain unspoiled today in the Pasteur Institute in France, a lasting testament to the triumph of germ theory over spontaneous generation.¹³

From the basis of the germ theory of fermentation, Pasteur developed his germ theory of disease. Under the rubric of germ theory, he connected fermentation, "sick" fermentation, putrefaction, wound suppuration, and infectious disease. He first applied this theory to infectious silkworm diseases that threatened the French silk industry.¹⁴ Having brought this crisis under control, Pasteur then brought germ theory to bear on the even more important disease affecting livestock and human beings: anthrax. He and German microbiologist Robert Koch worked independently to demonstrate definitively that a particular microorganism caused the disease. Scientists of the time knew that blood from an infected animal could infect new animals, but also thought it possible that some component of the blood, other than a microorganism, could be the infectious agent. Pasteur cultured the anthrax microorganism away from the infected animal and away from blood in a synthetic growth medium. This technique so diluted the original blood sample that only a living, reproducing microorganism could reasonably be the infectious agent.¹⁵ As the first proof that microorganisms caused infectious disease in large animals and human beings, Pasteur subsequently expanded his culture techniques to include other illnesses such as rabies.

A failed experiment with yet another infectious disease of agricultural importance, chicken cholera, led to Pasteur's interest in vaccines and

immunology. One of Pasteur's assistants mistakenly left a culture of the microorganism uncovered on his lab bench for the duration of the summer and then tried using it to inoculate birds the following fall. Not only did it fail to cause the illness, but the inoculation also produced birds incapable of getting the illness even from a fresh culture. Pasteur recognized that the left-out culture had vaccinated the chickens in a manner similar to Edward Jenner's method of immunizing human beings against smallpox.¹⁶ The microorganism became "attenuated" by exposure to air, a method that Pasteur later used to develop vaccines against swine erysipelas, anthrax, and rabies.¹⁷

A young boy's bite from a rabid dog forced Pasteur to conduct the first human test of the rabies vaccine. After consulting with doctors, who assured him of young Joseph Meister's impending death, Pasteur reluctantly agreed to inject him with the experimental vaccine.¹⁸ The risk paid off: Pasteur saved the boy and demand for his vaccine greatly increased. At least one contemporary French doctor questioned Pasteur's medical ethics, but his charge went unheard in the celebration surrounding Pasteur's triumph.¹⁹ Later research revealed that, prior to injecting Meister, Pasteur only had limited success with his rabies vaccine in lab animals, and obscured this fact in order to forestall criticism.²⁰

During this same period, a veterinarian named Rossignol challenged Pasteur to a large-scale field test of the anthrax vaccine at a farm in Pouilly-le-Fort. First, they gave the vaccine to one group of sheep and withheld it from a control

¹⁶ Ibid., 98, 102, 104, 109-10.

¹⁷ Ibid., 112-3.

¹⁸ Ibid., 118-9. Because of the slow initial progress of the illness, it is possible to successfully vaccinate against rabies even after an individual has been infected.

¹⁹ Roy Porter, "Lion of the Laboratory," review of *The Private Science of Louis Pasteur*, by Gerald L. Geison, *Times Literary Supplement*, 16 June 1995, 3.

²⁰ Lewis Wolpert, "Experiments in Deceit," review of *The Private Science of Louis Pasteur*, by Gerald L. Geison, *New York Times Book Review*, 7 May 1995, 35.

¹³ Dubos, 44.

¹⁴ Ibid., 35, 52-3, 84-8, 91, 94, 97.

¹⁵ Ibid., 98-9, 101.

group. Then, they infected all of the sheep with virulent anthrax. None of the sheep immunized with Pasteur's vaccine developed the disease, but the control sheep all died.²¹ Although it seemed like another dramatic success for Pasteur, modern research again revealed Pasteur's dishonesty regarding the vaccine he used. He never publicly disclosed the nature of the vaccine and, in fact, deliberately gave the impression that he prepared it using the air-exposure method he discovered with chicken cholera. After the demonstration, Pasteur's speeches to the leading French scientific organizations implied that he used an air-attenuated vaccine. In actuality, exposure to an antiseptic attenuated the vaccine, a technique quite similar to one developed by a competitor.²²

According to an account published in 1936 by Pasteur's nephew and research assistant Adrien Loir, and according to Pasteur's own lab notebooks, which became available in the French National Library in the 1970s, he prepared the anthrax vaccine using the antiseptic potassium bichromate. This transpired after he learned that his competitor in the race to develop the vaccine, veterinarian Jean-Joseph Henri Toussaint, tried using the antiseptic carbolic acid (phenol).²³ An associate of Toussaint's revealed this to an associate of Pasteur's, and shortly thereafter the Pasteur lab started trying antiseptics. When it came time for the Pouilly-le-Fort demonstration, a bichromate-attenuated vaccine seemed better than the air-attenuated one, so Pasteur chose the former.²⁴ In a review entitled "The Pioneer Defended," M.F. Perutz pointed out that the only connection between Toussaint's carbolic acid and Pasteur's bichromate is that they were both antiseptics. Furthermore, he draws attention to the fact that one other, at least equally important, connection between air and bichromate existed: both of the attenuating agents used by Pasteur produced a live vaccine, as opposed to the inferior killed vac-

cine produced by phenol.²⁵ The use of live vaccines remained consistent with Pasteur's conception of immunity, but contradicted Toussaint's.²⁶

Historian Gerald Geison's claim that "Pasteur deliberately deceived the public and the scientific community about the nature of the vaccine actually used at Pouilly-le-Fort" attacks Pasteur's socially constructed reputation.²⁷ Perutz's rebuttal aims to "deconstruct his [Geison's] deconstruction and restore the rightly dominant image."²⁸ French historian Bruno Latour asserts that Pasteur's hagiographical reputation conceals his actual achievements and those of other actors who contributed to the successes attributed to Pasteur.²⁹ Latour's intent is to "decompose Pasteur's efficacy" and to give "freedom of action back to all the agents of French society."³⁰

Several examples of hagiographical rhetoric survive in *Pasteur and Modern Science* by Rene Dubos.³¹ Agency-versus-structure provides a useful theoretical context for evaluating these examples. This debate, or opposition of viewpoints, concerns the relationship between individuals and social structure.³² Interpretations that emphasize human agency or capacity for free action reside at one end of the spectrum. This includes the "great man" perspective that often dominates historical biography. Interpretations that emphasize the supporting or constraining force of social structure occupy the other end of the spectrum. On this axis, Dubos' book lies substantially on the agency side, as revealed by these passages:

Pasteur ... would not need to be favored by circumstances. At every step in his life Pasteur chose to take his stand against all odds, often at the cost of immense struggles

²¹ Dubos, 114.

²² Gerald L. Geison, *The Private Science of Louis Pasteur* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 146-490.

²³ Ibid., 149-50, 158-9.

²⁴ Ibid., 151-2, 164-5, 168.

²⁵ M. F. Perutz, "The Pioneer Defended," review of *The Private Science of Louis Pasteur*, by Gerald L. Geison, *New York Times Review of Books*, 21 December 1995, 56-7.

²⁶ Ibid., 57; see also: Geison, *Private Science*, 163.

²⁷ Geison, *Private Science*, 151.

²⁸ Perutz, 54.

²⁹ Latour, 60.

³⁰ Ibid., 16.

³¹ Dubos, 61, 111.

³² *Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Agency and Structure."

and sacrifices. Whatever the circumstances in which he had to work, he never submitted to them, but instead molded them to the demands of his imagination and will.³³

[H]e never shied away from the problems that chance, and the times, placed across his way ...³⁴

His career illustrated well that what an individual achieves in life depends less upon the circumstance in which he has to function than upon what he brings to bear upon them.³⁵

However, even Dubos admits that Pasteur made use of "scientific showmanship" to buttress his experimental results and his reputation. Geison expands this observation, asserting that:

By appeal to public demonstrations – notably the sensational vaccination experiments at Pouilly-le-Fort – any by frequent recourse to 'judiciary' commissions of the Academy of Sciences, Pasteur almost invariably won public and quasi-official sanction for his views.³⁶

Additionally, Pasteur's behavior, in at least a few of these dramatic episodes, emerged as less than scrupulously honest. Latour, who leans far to the structural side of the agency-versus-structure axis, gives this analysis of Pasteur:

What was peculiar to Pasteur was a certain type of movement through the society of his time, a certain type of displacement that enabled him to

translate and divert into his movement circles of people and interest that were several times larger.³⁷

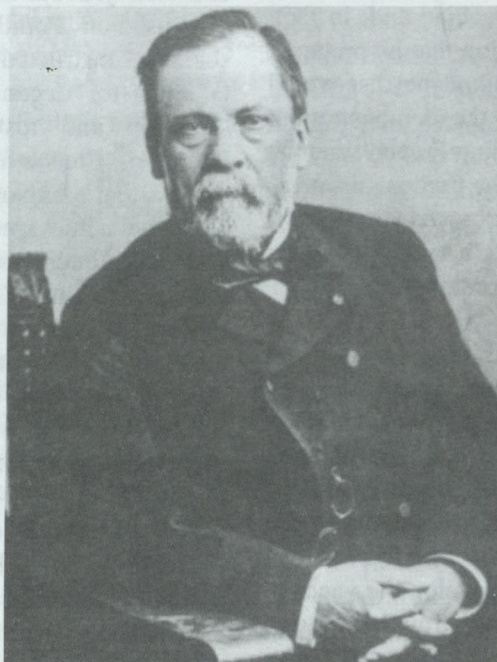
Latour's concept, "Pasteur's Trajectory," illustrates what the author means. The scientist moved

through life, going from discipline to discipline, from industry to industry, from crystallography, to fermentation, to infectious disease and finally to immunology.³⁸ He repeatedly entered a new or troubled discipline, transformed it, and then moved on to an adjacent discipline, each one bigger and more important than the last.³⁹

After transforming them, with the help of luck and serendipity, he moved on, leaving it to others to carry out the applications of his findings. At each of these turns he recruited (or "translated," to use Latour's terminology) a larger and larger following until finally, all of France and much of the world became "Pasteurized" – converted to germ theory and all of the applications

that emanated from it. In Latour's analysis, "this movement of Pasteur became so accelerated and determined that it eventually took on the regularity of a strategy."⁴⁰ Pasteur successfully translated two significant groups, the hygiene movement and the microorganisms themselves, which remains his greatest achievement.

The necessary preconditions for Pasteur's achievements included the success of the French



Louis Pasteur's discoveries rapidly transformed the processes used to keep humans, as well as foods, healthy.

Black and white print from: Linda Wasmer Smith, *Louis Pasteur: Disease Fighter* (Springfield, N. J.: Enslow, 1997)

³³ Dubos, 7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁶ Geison, "Pasteur," 353.

³⁷ Latour, 67.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 68, 267.

³⁹ John Forrester, review of *The Pasteurization of France*, by Bruno Latour, *History of Science* 22, no. 58, pt. 4 (December 1984): 425.

⁴⁰ Latour, 69.

hygiene movement.⁴¹ They sought to lobby political authorities for improvements in public health and had already defined the problems and potential solutions relating to this area before Pasteur came on the scene.⁴² However, their theoretical underpinnings involved vaguely defined "miasmata" and "effluvia" as the causes of infectious disease.⁴³ Pasteur's germ theory replaced this weak link and gave the hygienists the intellectual backing they needed to direct, rather than merely criticize, public health policy. Once associated with Pasteur, and to strengthen their own position, they presented the scientist's work as indisputable and unassailable, and extrapolated its potential beyond Pasteur's own claims.⁴⁴ Pasteur and the hygienists mutually translated or appropriated each other, and both became stronger as a result.⁴⁵ But before he recruited the hygiene movement, he needed to translate the nonhuman actors in the drama of germ theory, the microorganisms.⁴⁶

Many nineteenth-century scientists, in addition to Pasteur, worked to make the invisible visible. Others included those working on electricity, radio, X-rays, and even the unconscious mind.⁴⁷ From this perspective, Pasteur's laboratory made microorganisms detectable to human beings and connected them with the diseases experienced by animals and people.⁴⁸ Field demonstrations, such as Pouilly-le-Fort, acted as "theaters of proof" where the whole world could view the laboratory

drama and its microscopic actors.⁴⁹ By thus allowing the public to construct an image of microorganisms and disease, Pasteur made the microorganisms an unavoidable "third party" in all human relations thereafter. He also made himself the only alternative third party. If a winemaker, a doctor, or a farmer desired freedom from harmful microorganisms, he had to put a construction of Pasteur, or a token of Pasteurism such as an antiseptic or vaccine, in their place.⁵⁰

Thus, Pasteur's food preservation and disease prevention achievements formed the basis of his constructed saintly reputation. His most original research on crystallography became the obscure starting point of a trajectory, along which Pasteur propelled himself fueled by a mixture of real science and shrewd instinct.

⁴⁹ Latour, 85-7; see also: Sturdy, 168; Forrester, 426.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 38-9.

⁴¹ Ann La Berge, review of *The Pasteurization of France*, by Bruno Latour, *American Historical Review* 95, no. 4 (October 1990): 1215.

⁴² Latour, 23-5.

⁴³ Donald Gould, "Seeker after Glory," review of *The Pasteurization of France*, by Bruno Latour, *New Scientist* (London) 121, no. 1656 (18 March 1989): 1188.

⁴⁴ Latour, 26.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 56.

⁴⁶ Forrester, 425-6.

⁴⁷ Latour, 40.

⁴⁸ Steve Sturdy, "The Germs of a New Enlightenment," review of *The Pasteurization of France*, by Bruno Latour, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 22 (1991): 167; see also: Sturdy, 168.

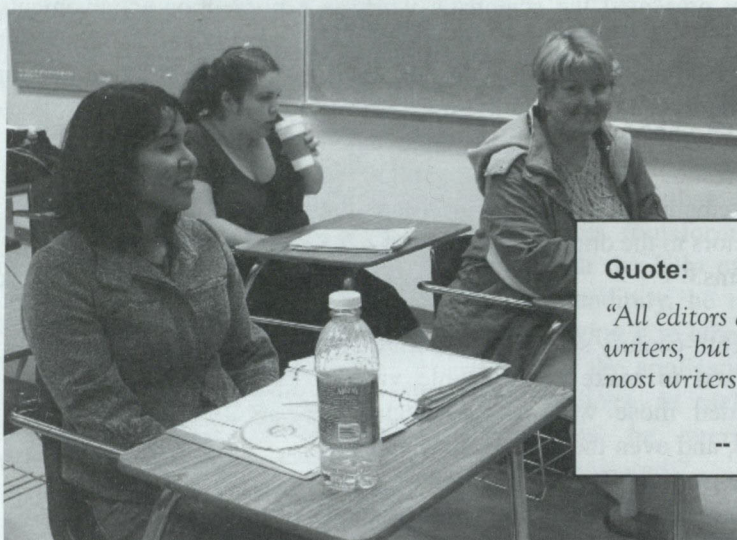
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"All editors are failed writers, but then so are most writers."

-- T.S. Elliot

Spring 2006 Welebaethan editors learn the difference between an "A" paper and a paper ready for publication.



CAL STATE
FULLERTON

A Policy of Piety

By Richard Beck



Euhpronios: Urn with Sleep and Death
Carrying Sarpedon about 515 BC
(Tigertail Birtual Museum)

The Greek tyrant, Peisistratos, ruled Athens from 546 BCE until his death in 527. During this period, developments in writing contributed greatly to both political and cultural transformations. Through his manipulations, he promoted the idea of an Attica unified under a single, foreign-born ruler. Shrouded in myth, his tyranny remains a subject of debate among historians who study him and ancient Greece.



After some years as a singer/songwriter, **Richard W. Beck** returned to school and is an undergraduate at California State University, Fullerton. His rekindled interest in history follows a family tradition, as both his grandfather and uncle earned PhDs in the subject. His interests range from ancient Egypt and Greece to modern European and U.S. history. Although his emphasis is undecided, Richard intends to further pursue a doctoral degree and teach at the university level.

The tyrant Peisistratos ruled Athens from 546 BCE until he died of illness in 527. Scholars know of his control of the city, and two other short-lived attempts to hold power, primarily from a brief passage found in Herodotus' *Histories*. Many historians endeavor to reconcile both the supernatural and self-contradictory aspects of Herodotus' narrative in order to better understand the Peisistratid tyranny. To accurately discern the passage found in Herodotus is a complex task. Political and cultural factors, such as the society's ongoing progress in writing, must be acknowledged; as well as Peisistratos' recurring association to myth, in order to uncover in Herodotus' narrative mythological themes which conspicuously served the tyrant's ends.

In 594 BCE, Solon's *Seisachtheia* narrowed the divide between the peasantry and the upper class by freeing both smallholders and commoners of debt-slavery, and erasing all debts. Before Solon's law, smallholders took out high-interest loans in order to deforest, start up fields of grape vines and olive trees, and often to simply pull through bad seasons. Should the commoner be unable to pay, he and his family became slaves, the property of the moneylender. Thus, Peisistratos' rule took place within a cultural and political shift during which the rights of the peasant and smallholder conflicted with the economic goals of the Athenian aristocracy. Clearly, the tyrant needed to respond to the concerns of peasants. In *Constitution of Athens*, Aristotle described him as "the outstanding advocate of the common people...."¹

Present from the earliest origins of the Greek *polis*, the aristocracy possessed the richest lands and livestock in the Attic Peninsula, constituted its military and political officials, and served as its priesthood. These families, or *genos*, all claimed direct decendency from legendary heroes of the Homeric age, and therefore, the "best" or

the "privileged," who bore the sole right, even obligation, to rule Athens. Tradition required direct descendants to preside over the sacrifices and ceremonies at the temples within the city and those dotting the countryside. Thus, the aristocracy's hold on the *polis* consisted of more than economics—it included politics, religion, and culture.

Against this backdrop, Peisistratos made his third, ultimately successful attempt to seize power over Athens. Controlling the *polis* demanded the tyrant bring the commoner and aristocrat to accord—with both his rule, and each other. One might think such issues weighed on Peisistratos' mind as he entered Athens in 546 BCE. Herodotus' narrative, however, suggests that he determined his solution long before this. As represented in the *Histories*, Peisistratos is reminiscent of a hero from Homeric legend and sought to foster such an impression among the Athenian citizenry during his tyranny.

By linking himself to myth in both lineage and deed, the despot captured the good will of the peasantry and suppressed the indignations of the aristocracy. Gods and legends held crucial places in a commoner's life. They explained natural phenomenon, his past, his dreams, his fight for survival in an obdurate world, his sense of place, and even "nation." Regarding the Athenian citizen's association with his national community, M. Rostovtzeff notes, "It was the appearance of the so-called Homeric poems...which first made the Greeks conscious that they were a nation."² Any peasant could sacrifice to the gods, pray, or watch the sky for a bird sign. However, it took an aristocrat, one with "heroic blood," to officiate at the temples found throughout the peninsula. Both the peasant, and Peisistratos, needed the aristocracy. By adopting the aristocracy's methods of heroic allegory employed to confirm their legitimacy, he undermined any possible future attempts to culturally discredit the tyranny.

¹ Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, trans. Kurt Von Fritz and Ernst Knapp (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1964), XIV: 1.

² M. Rostovtzeff, *Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 100.

Peisistratos used three methods to develop a mythical image. First, as found in the *Histories*, his deeds paralleled the actions of a Homeric hero because Herodotus received a "mythologized" account of the tyrant. Second, he claimed to be a descendant of Nestor and skillfully contoured the image of the hero, Theseus, in order to support his policies. Finally, the tyrant's fusion, or "nationalization" of the cults, overseen by the aristocracy until then.

Although there is no evidence of the allocation of Herodotus' sources with the tyrant's mythical self-promulgation, contextual support demonstrates that Peisistratos adeptly shaped mythology to suit his political ends. Thus, as Herodotus consulted his sources, he uncovered Peisistratos' use of mythology to legitimize his claim to rule Athens.

Like the Argive line, pulled in opposite directions in order to defend their ships, the passage found in Herodotus' *Histories* is the result of inimical political and cultural concerns. The "tug-of-war" Herodotus experienced as he gathered his facts on the tyranny resulted in contradictions, as seen in the text. On one hand, Peisistratos' evocation of himself as a hero of legend, apparent in the passage, will be considered momentarily. On the other, found in Herodotus' censure of the tyranny are strong sentiments against despotism. This distaste arose in the fifth century BCE, immediately after Aristogeiton and Harmodios slew Hipparchos, Peisistratos' son and successor.

At this time Athens was a democracy, and the tyranny epitomized domination and persecution. Athenians considered Hipparchos' assassins legendary "tyrant slayers," even though Aristotle and Thucydides concur that lover's jealousy motivated the murders, not political convictions.³ Thus,

³ Aristotle.

*At this time Athens
was a democracy,
and the tyranny
epitomized domination
and persecution.*

lingering anti-tyrannical convictions caused the Athenian people to politicize the murderers' personal motives. Regarding the episode involving Aristogeiton and Harmodios, Thucydides writes, "I shall deal with this in some detail, and show that the Athenians themselves are no better than other people at producing accurate information about their own dictators and the facts of their own history."⁴

Historians believe that Herodotus first read the *Histories* in the *agora* about 449 BCE, nearly a century after Peisistratos' third and final seizure

of the *polis*. Herodotus, no doubt aware of popular bias against the tyranny, also knew the Athenian audience demanded a circumspect handling of politically sensitive topics. Historian B. M. Lavelle observed that in 493 BCE, Phrynichos' play, *The Capture of Miletos*, incited such anger that further performances of the drama became forbidden, and Phrynichos fined for bringing

up so biting a memory of the Persian's seizure of the city.⁵ Despite having occurred four decades before the reading of the *Histories*, it is instructive of the passionate reaction Athenians demonstrated in political matters.

In spite of the care Herodotus presumably took on account of his audience, much of the passage presents Peisistratos in an extremely favorable, and even "heroic," light. This leads to an examination of the "tug-of-war" and an attempt to reconcile the inconsistency found in Herodotus' passage on the tyranny.

The narrative begins at the Olympic Games, during which pots boiled over without the benefit of fire. Chilon, presumably an oracle, observed this and warned Peisistratos' father not to marry, and told him that if he made the error of having a son,

⁴ Ibid., VI: 54.

⁵ B. M. Lavelle, *Fame, Money, and Power: The Rise of Peisistratos and "Democratic" Tyranny in Athens* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 44.

he should “disown him.”⁶ Before the tyrant is even born, the reader is warned that he will become something of a malefactor in adulthood. Furthermore, pots are boiling in the absence of flame—Herodotus has shifted into the realm of myth—the report that follows should be read as such.

The despot took control of the city three times; twice by sheer trickery, and a third and final time by heeding strategic advice offered by a soothsayer. In the first usurpation, Peisistratos wounded himself, then convinced the people of Athens his political opponents attacked him and that he must secure a guard for his protection. They agreed to his request because he was a hero of the war with Megara. Backed by his *korunephoroi*—“club-bearers,” the despot seized the *Acropolis*, and therefore the *polis*.

*The goddess who
adored Odysseus
above all mortals is,
of course, Athena.*

It is impressive that he deceived the Athenian people, given their reputed shrewdness, but even more astounding that he seized control of such a large city with merely a personal guard—armed only with clubs. Scholars estimate the population of fifth-century Athens reached about 310,000 in 430 BCE. How many club-bearers did the Athenians afford him, that he defeated the *polis*’ spear-wielding *hoplite* defenses?

Classical Historian H.W. Singor proposed that the “club-bearers,” to which Herodotus’ referred, described a class from which the guard was drawn. Singor noted that in the Peloponnese a group of people lived called the *korunephoroi*, or *katonakophoroi* “club-bearers” or “sheepskin wearers”—in reference to their rustic attire and inability to bear the expense of more noble weaponry, such as the spear and shield of a *hoplite*. Thus, Singor posits the possibility of

Peisistratos drawing his “guard” from out lying agricultural areas.⁷ Moreover, such a hypothesis bears even more plausibility considering the tyrant’s leadership of the *hyperakrioi*, or “men of the hills.”⁸

In the second episode, the tyrant took the hand of Megacles’ daughter in marriage. Backed by Megacles, leader of “the Athenians of the shore,”⁹ Peisistratos then paraded into the city with Phye, a beautiful young lady dressed as Athena, and again assumed power. Heralds dashed in before him to cry out, “Athenians, receive with favour Peisistratos, whom Athene herself, honouring him most of all men, brings back to her Acropolis.”⁷

Because he convinced Athens to provide him with a guard, which he employed to take the *polis*, and marched into the city proper

at the head of a divine parade, Herodotus depicted Peisistratos as an enormously clever man. One is reminded of Odysseus’ encounter with Polyphemos, the Cyclops. By merit of his guile, the hero escaped—in this and other instances. The goddess who adored Odysseus above all mortals is, of course, Athena. Moreover, as stated several times in the *Odyssey*, she loved him not for his strength, but for his *cleverness*. Finally, the disguising of Phye as Athena simulated Odysseus and the goddess’s ruse to fool the suitors.¹¹

Such associations point not only to a stylistic consonance with the Homeric poems, but, taken as a chain of events, form an ordering of episodes difficult to reconcile. First, the tyrant took Athens by both trickery and force. Some time after his being cast out, the populace forgave Peisistratos and welcomed him back—due to the Phye proces-

⁶ Herodotus, *The Histories* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2004), I: 59.

⁷ Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, ed., *Peisistratos and the Tyranny: A Reappraisal of the Evidence* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 2000), 121-2.

⁸ Herodotus, *The Histories*, I: 59.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., I: 60.

¹¹ Homer, *The Odyssey* (New York: Penguin, 1996), 300. Athena used her powers to disguise Odysseus as an elderly beggar, so that he could defeat the suitors who had tried to win his wife’s hand in marriage while the hero journeyed home from Troy.

sion—yet another ruse. This seems very odd behavior on the part of the Athenians, considering the extreme level of patriotism they felt for their *polis*. In *Memory and the Mediterranean*, Fernand Braudel described the devotion of the Greeks to their city-states, “The passionate love they bore their little homelands verged on the pathological, going well beyond the reasonable. They used a term meaning sexual desire, *himeros*, to refer to it....”¹² How could the Athenians have been so forgiving or so fooled? Even Herodotus voiced his disbelief.¹³ Most likely, in gathering his evidence he fell victim to the remnants of Peisistratos’ memoranda.

Given that the Athenian people’s response to the Phye Procession placed such a strain on reason, Josine H. Blok proposed an interesting speculation on the parade.¹⁴ She suggested that the event took on new gravity when placed after the battle of Pallene, which sealed Peisistratos’ final seizure of Athens. Victory parades, such as the Phye procession, once occurred after the defeat of a rival *polis*’ army, though no longer customary by the fifth century. The procession’s similarity with an antiquated practice also indicates the impossibility that the trick duped the Athenians. As a people steeped in oral tradition and conscious of ritual, they undoubtedly recognized the Phye procession as a victory parade.

Finally, as concerns the Phye procession, Blok noted the corroborating, albeit inferred, material evidence found in black-figure vase paintings from the second half of the sixth century. She writes, “These images generated representations of gods riding chariots with heroes, who are either standing in the chariot or walking at its side....”¹⁵ Thus, it is probable that something resembling the Phye parade did occur; however, the passage found in the *Histories* bears more likeness to mythology than reality. Traditionally, the procession came *after* the battle. Not in its stead, or before it.

In Peisistratos’ final struggle for Athens, as told in

the *Histories*, before the battle of Pallene the soothsayer Amphilytos informed the despot of the right time to strike. Because Peisistratos grasped the meaning of the riddle within the oracle’s hexameter verse, he caught the city’s defenders, “occupied with the morning meal, some of them after the meal, with games of dice or with sleep; and the forces of Peisistratos fell upon the Athenians and put them to flight.”¹⁶ Once more, the cause and effect found in Herodotus’ *Histories* are reminiscent of Homeric oral tradition. Repeatedly, the heroes of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* remained mindful of the god’s signs and the soothsayer’s wisdoms. To do so with acuity insured success—to ignore or misinterpret the portents resulted in failure, without exception. In order to defeat the Athenians, Peisistratos needed to properly discern the oracle’s verse; yet again, his cleverness proved essential to his victory at Pallene.

In his recent work on the tyranny, B. M. Lavelle writes that the advice offered by Amphilytos, resulted from the necessity to pad or soften the event for the sake of the Athenians’ delicate ears. He surmised that Amphilytos’ portent predetermined the outcome of the engagement at Pallene—implying that the Athenians could do nothing to protect their *polis* from Peisistratos. He states, “The battle was lost, the tyranny established, one might well say, before Peisistratos was born.”¹⁷ Such a conclusion is wholly incongruent with the value the Greeks placed on oracular divination. According to the ancient Greeks, receiving the aid of augury, and properly interpreting it, equaled legitimacy in the eyes of the gods.

Herodotus does not swerve on this point. He explains twice what roused Amphilytos to guide Peisistratos’ actions. The soothsayer was “moved by a divine impulse....”¹⁸ After the verse, Herodotus writes, “he, being divinely inspired, uttered to him....”¹⁹ When viewed free of anachronistic thinking and according to the

¹² Fernand Braudel, *Memory and the Mediterranean* (New York: Vintage, 2001), 236.

¹³ Herodotus, *The Histories*, I: 60.

¹⁴ Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 42-8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁶ Herodotus, *The Histories*, I: 63.

¹⁷ Lavelle, 146.

¹⁸ Herodotus, I: 62.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I: 63.

Greek's comprehension of legitimacy, Herodotus represented Peisistratos as a hero. Moreover, by acting against the tyrant's divine backing, Lavelle's "padding" turned into a cutting affront to the defenders of Athens.

To further defame those who rushed out to protect the *polis* from the tyrant, archaeologist R. M. Cook asserts that shortly after the battle of Pallene, a new theme emerged in Attic black-figure pottery, modeled after an amphora by Exekias. Cook reports, "Ajax and Achilles, both fully armed, are throwing dice, oblivious (so other versions show) to fighting around them."²⁰ The dicing heroes evoke Herodotus' report of Athenian defenders taken by surprise "with games of dice or with sleep." Cook comments that the heroes found on the amphora exclude the possibility of a mockery of the defenders. Such an assumption must be questioned, given the aristocracy's association with heroic legends and the tyrant's predilection for the use of mythology to mold Athenian points of view.

In summing up this strange disparity, Herodotus first noted that an oracle warned Hippocrates, Peisistratos' father, against procreation. In defiance of the seer, Hippocrates brought his son into the world and placed the young tyrant's character in a suspicious condition. However, during his three claims to the seat of Athenian power, Peisistratos displayed exceptional cleverness—a trait especially prized by Athena, the city's divine matron. Before the battle of Pallene, Amphilytos' verse granted the tyrant an easy resolution to the confrontation, once he had solved the riddle. Simply put, over the course of the narrative found in the *Histories*, the gods changed from Peisistratos' adversaries to his advocates.

Thus, fifth century sentiments against the tyranny are confounded by this antithetical heroic perspective. Again, though no direct evidence exists to implicate Peisistratos in personally conveying

a portrayal of his heroism to the Athenian people, it would explain the incongruity found in *The Histories*. In addition, the tyrant's employment of mythology for the sake of his own preferment and the furtherance of his policies no doubt occurred before.

Peisistratos was born ca. 600 BCE and lived in the village of Philaïdai, near the eastern coast of Attica.²¹ During the sixth century, Athenians considered inhabitants from this "faraway" region foreigners, or strangers—*xenos*. Athenian views on contact with outsiders were resolute—making it remarkable that the tyrant served in the conflict with the *polis* of Megara—implausibly, he is a noted leader in the engagement. A possible explanation of this dichotomy lies in the tyrant's heroic ancestry.

Peisistratos claimed himself as a direct descendant of Nestor, the "noble charioteer" and elderly hero of both *The Odyssey* and *The Iliad*, who enjoyed a valued place among Agamemnon and the Achean kings for his wisdom and council.²² Herodotus also notes that Nestor's lineage granted the tyrant blood ties to two mythological Athenian rulers, Melanthos and Codros. Lavelle questions the soundness of the tyrant's assertion, especially considering the obvious "political dividends for those claiming them."²³ Indeed, their myths have much to say, not only on Peisistratos' monarchic heredity, but also on the acceptability of rule by an outsider.

Legend tells of a war between Boeotia and Athens, the latter having no chance of winning the conflict. Xanthos, king of the Boeotians, issued a challenge to resolve the war with a duel. Thymoetes, a descendant of Theseus and king of Athens, lacked valor, and offered his lands to

²¹ Lavelle, 17.

²⁰ R. M. Cook, "Pots and Pisistratan Propaganda," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 107 (1987): 167-9.

²² Herodotus, *The Histories*, V: 65. "These [Peisistratids] also were originally Pylians and sons of Neleus, descended from the same ancestors as the family of Codros and Melanthos, who had formerly become kings of Athens being settlers from abroad. Hence too Hippocrates had given to his son the name of Peisistratos as a memorial, calling him after Peisistratos the son of Nestor."

²³ Lavelle, 18.

anyone so intrepid as to defeat Xanthos. Melanthos, a son of Neleus and just arrived from Pylos, accepted the challenge. He slew Xanthos to become the foreign-born king of Athens. Naturally, peace and prosperity endured throughout his reign. The tale of Melanthos' son, Codros, bolstered the lineage with its example of magnanimous rule. Codros learned of a prophecy warning that an army would come to destroy the *polis*—coincidentally, by invaders from Megara—unless the king died. The king promptly took his own life and saved Athens from certain ruin.²⁴

Nestor's fabled sagacity and ability to rule, and the reigns of both the Pylian kings, supplied Peisistratos with a ready-made, mythological legacy, one that reminded the Athenian citizens not only of extreme heroism in a potentate, but also of a regal valor evident in a *foreign-born*

ruler. Herodotus did not interject a doubt as to the validity of Peisistratos' claim, nor did he mention any disbelief among the Athenian population. Granted, it is possible that Peisistratos spoke the truth concerning his lineage, making his Neleid ancestry is a massive coincidence, the likes of which is found in myth. Yet the *appropriateness* of the tyrant's lineage cannot be questioned, one can only wonder how long Peisistratos contemplated seizure of the *polis*.

No discussion of foreign-born Athenian kings can take place without mentioning the legend of Theseus. Theseus, the hero who defeated the Minotaur and saved Athens from King Minos' curse, due to some mischance did not know the identity of his father, King Ægeus. Nor did the king know of the identity of his son. Though this is probably no more than a literary contrivance, it served the tyrant as an amalgam of the mysterious newcomer with the man who actually possessed a legitimate claim to the throne. Therefore, in making Theseus a more prominent emblem of

Athenian culture, the tyrant Peisistratos' revered status as an outsider-king continued to grow more convincing.

Through the use of ceremony and tradition, the tyrant reminded the Athenian populace of his comparability to Theseus. Peisistratos expanded the grandeur of the Panathenean pageant and named Theseus its originator.²⁵ At the Panathenean, participants recited portions of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*.²⁶ The Roman historian Plutarch pointed out that the tyrant added a line to book 11 of *The Odyssey*, "Theseus, Pirithous, mighty son of gods."²⁷ During the tyranny, Peisistratos also accredited and exalted Theseus during the Oshophoria feast, during which two young boys dressed as virgin maidens represented the youths who did the same, in order to aid the hero in Crete.²⁸

Peisistratos augmented the notoriety of Theseus so effectively that the hero became a rival even to Heracles, complete with his own labors.

To strengthen the tyranny, Peisistratos intended to break down dissension among the aristocracy and unify the citizenry. By effecting either their consolidation or a waning of aristocratic influence, Peisistratos intended to control them, and produce a more stable government. Strife among the great families long proved a source of disorder and infirmity for the city-state. Furthermore, Aristotle mentions the tyrant's renown for personally visiting the farmers in their fields.²⁹ In Plutarch's *Theseus*, the legendary Athenian king's policies seem astonishingly similar to those of Peisistratos:

²⁵ W. M. Blake Tyrrell and Frieda S. Brown, *Athenian Myths and Institutions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 165.

²⁶ A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 114.

²⁷ Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* (New York: Modern Library, 1932), 12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁹ Aristotle, *XVI*: 5-6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 23-7.

Now, after the death of his father Ægeus, forming in his mind a great and wonderful design, he gathered together all the inhabitants of Attica into one town, and made them one people of one city, whereas before they lived dispersed, and were not easy to assemble upon any affair for the common interest. Nay, differences and even wars often occurred between them, which he by his persuasions appeased, going from township to township, and from tribe to tribe. And those of a more private and mean condition readily embracing such good advice, to those of a greater power he promised a commonwealth without monarchy, a democracy, or people's government, in which he should only be counted as their commander in war and the protector of their laws, all things else being equally distributed among them...³⁰

First, it must be observed that this is all very avant-garde thinking for a Bronze Age king and hero. In sixth-century Greek myths, up to the moment Theseus was crowned, heroes fought monsters; they did not establish archaic commonwealths.

Second, by belaboring the process Theseus underwent, Plutarch underscored the effort put into the political unification of Athens. There is even mention of the opposition, "Nay, differences and even wars..." and the way he overcame them, "by his persuasions appeased." Theseus, the hero who slew the Minotaur, bears more resemblance to Orpheus³¹ than himself. Suddenly diplomatic, Theseus stands in stark contrast to the hero found in previous pages, "Theseus killed her, going out of his way on purpose to meet and engage her, so that he might not seem to perform all of his great exploits out of mere necessity..."³²

Last, Theseus paid a great deal of attention to those of a "mean condition." Not only wholly

anachronistic; it also, as mentioned by Aristotle, ran parallel to Peisistratos' tenor toward the smallholders. Myths deal with gods, heroes, and the occasional island populated by maidens—not rustics. With the obvious exception of Odysseus' loyal swineherd³³, the impoverished are simply not mentioned in myths, much less their social and economic rights. On the status of Athenian citizens, Plutarch reports, "the whole city being, as it were, reduced to an exact equality..."³⁴ After Theseus established harmony among the people of Athens, Plutarch offered a list of Theseus' civic activities:

He then dissolved all the distinct state-houses, council halls, and magistracies, and built one common state-house and council hall on the site of the present upper town, and gave the name of Athens to the whole state..."³⁵

Once again, the above bears little resemblance to oral tradition. Notice the detail, "on the site of the present upper town..." The phrase sounds more like a tyrant's posture on an ancient issue of eminent domain than a myth.

Although a discussion of numismatic evidence is outside the scope of this paper, Plutarch reports that coins were another interest shared by Peisistratos and Theseus. Plutarch writes, "He also coined money, and stamped it with the image of an ox, either in memory of the Marathonian bull, or of Taurus, whom he vanquished..."³⁶ Some of the coins used during the tyranny, known today as Wappenmünzen, were imprinted with bull heads.

By all appearances, Plutarch set out in search of an oral tradition and uncovered a political proclamation. A lack of evidence prohibits the ability to confirm or disprove the tyrant's involvement in a remodeling of the myth, yet, Peisistratos' exposition of the Theseus legend must be taken into account. Consider also, the degree to which

³⁰ Plutarch, 15.

³¹ Orpheus was an Argonaut, a singer, and storyteller who knew the tales and the ways of the gods. The famous minstrel carried a lyre instead of a sword.

³² Plutarch, 7. Theseus killed the Crommyonian sow. According to Plutarch's sources, she was either a "wild beast" or "a woman, a robber full of cruelty and lust."

³³ In the guise of a beggar, Odysseus stayed with his swineherd in *The Odyssey*.

³⁴ Plutarch, 16.

³⁵ Ibid., 15.

³⁶ Ibid., 16.

Theseus, as found in Plutarch, bears more likeness to a statesman than a mythical hero. Lastly, the parallels between the policies of both hero and tyrant are prominent, and point to Peisistratos' intervention.

Although Peisistratos and Theseus shared the aspiration of unifying Athens, the primary method the tyrant took to accomplish this end, unsurprisingly, involved religion. By seizing control of the cult temples, the tyrant both weakened the sway of the gentry and unified the Athenian citizens in the periphery. While the nobles still administered the ceremonies and upkeep of the temples, the cults of Dionysus, Artemis, and Demeter moved from the nearby countryside into Athens proper.³⁷ In nationalizing the cults, Peisistratos controlled a fundamental source of the aristocracy's cultural power. Although the aristocrats came into the city to administrate and trade, their lands and local influence tied them to the outlying area.³⁸ Pulling their shrines into Athens served to weaken their religious authority over the peasants.

Coordinated with this pressure to bring temples inside the *polis*, Peisistratos invigorated the cult of Athena. In addition to the aforementioned expansion of the Panathenea festival, construction of the Temple of Athena Parthenos³⁹ occurred during the tyranny. Peisistratos formed the matron of the city-state into the primary symbol of Attic unity. The tyrant also expanded and aggrandized festivals honoring Dionysus. The god of wine and revelry was a "young" deity, with no attachment to an aristocratic family; the Athenians worshipped him in a "national" mien.⁴⁰ By means of the religious cults, Peisistratos curtailed the power of the aristocracy, and engendered among the Athenian citizens a deeper sense of common heritage and identity, therefore solidifying his power.

Archeologists and historians continue to debate the extent and nature of Peisistratos' responsibility

for a temple-building program. However, the suspected shrines of his tyranny include: the Athena Parthenos Temple; the Apollo Temple on Delos; the Athena Sounias Temple; the Altar of the Twelve Gods; the Apollo Pythios Altar; the Temple of Dionysos Eleutherios; the Olymeion; the Propylon to the Acropolis; and the Temple of Zeus Agoraios.⁴¹ Such activity denotes a great deal of attention to issues of the divine.

Returning to the *Histories* to consider the cleansing of Delos, the tyrant's final act in the passage, again demonstrates his coupling of piety and policy. Herodotus writes, "he cleansed the island of Delos in obedience to the oracles; and his purification was of the following kind:—so far as the view from the temple extended he dug up all the dead bodies which were buried and removed them to another part of Delos."⁴² Such an act displayed the tyrant's reverence to Apollo. Also, by moving Athenian influence east and into the Aegean, Peisistratos extended apparent Athenian interest in Ionia. Historian A. Andrewes concludes, "this is a slight assertion of that primacy among the Ionians which Athens was to exploit in the next century."⁴³ Furthermore, the island was of strategic importance. The fall of Lydia made a foothold on the Cyclades, such as Naxos⁴⁴ and Delos, vital to Athens, no longer buffered from Persian encroachment by Ionia.

Though so little evidence on Peisistratos' tyranny remains, what can be discerned illuminates a pattern of restyling myth, first to enable the tyrant to establish and maintain power, then to see his policies through.

Many historians and mythologists will point to a flaw in this conclusion. They will contend that the thesis attributes an excess of flexibility to oral tradition. Explaining that myths and hexameter verse follow rigid protocols of rhythm and retention, they will likely go on to argue the impossibility of Peisistratos' tampering with myths.

³⁷ Tyrrell and Brown, 164-5.

³⁸ Andrewes, 113.

³⁹ Persians destroyed the temple-built atop the acropolis in 480.

⁴⁰ Andrewes, 113.

⁴¹ Weerdenburg, ed., *Peisistratos and the Tyranny*, 80. Citing a list compiled by P. H. Young in 1980.

⁴² Herodotus, I: 64.

⁴³ Andrewes, 112.

⁴⁴ Herodotus, I: 64. "Peisistratos conquered Naxos by war and delivered it to Lygdamis."

All but the last must be wholeheartedly agreed upon; being ever aware of Mnemosyne's place as the mother of the Muses. However, sixth-century Greece bears a quality of singular uniqueness. If Greek history were a sunrise, or "the dawn of history" as some say, then the tyranny took place in that moment before the sun's disc glimmered over the Attic hillsides. Herodotus offered the glow before the light broke through, wherein lies the problem and, perhaps, something of a solution to understanding Peisistratos' tyranny.

Obviously, no records exist on the genesis of the written word and its impact on Greek oral culture, and therefore any suppositions regarding its inception must be put forth with discretion. Most likely, the first, if not the only, accounts recorded during this early stage began as oral traditions. Also, Peisistratos' consummate interest in all other aspects of myth and Greek religion further underpins this notion. Keeping in mind Plutarch's description of the tyrant's insertion of a line into book 11 of *The Odyssey*, it follows that the tyrant immersed his political ends into other mythological transcriptions.

This does not necessarily make Peisistratos an archaic Goebbels, goading the Athenian citizens and aristocracy under the yoke of "propagandized" legends. To better understand the tyrant's methodology and objectives, a central function of myth needs examination—the definition of abstract concepts.

Written in the first half of the fifth century BCE, the *Orestia*, a Greek tragedy by Aeschylus, told of a shift from barbarity and vengeance to civilization and justice in Athens. The final play in the trilogy, *The Eumenides*, related the story of a court case in which Orestes, the hero, stood exonerated due to mitigating circumstances and freed from his torment at the hands of the Furies. So thwarted, the Furies faced extinction, and consequently Athena offered them a new form of existence. They inquired of her the nature of their new "domain." As they soon changed into the Eumenides, the goddess's reply defined the word

"grace:"

Something that has no traffic with evil success.

Let it come out of the ground, out of the sea's water, and from the high air make the waft of gentle gales wash over the country in full sunlight, and the seed and stream of the soil's yield and of the grazing beasts be strong and never fail our people as time goes, and make the human seed be kept alive. Make more the issue of those who worship more your ways, for as the gardener works in love, so love I best of all the unblighted generation of these upright men.

All such is yours for granting. In the speech and show and pride of battle, I myself shall not endure this city's eclipse in the estimation of mankind.⁴⁵

Beings such as the Graces filled Greek myth. They served as a kind of "vessel" into which the contents of an abstract concept were poured. The use of imaginary personifications in order to apprehend the impalpable enabled the Greek people to solidify many difficult ideas with which they wrestled. Although this tool helped to order their world, it also hindered change, by binding such concepts to the folkloric roles of such constructs. In order to effect a deviation in their conceptual framework, a myth, the new idea required a personification to contain it. Tradition held together the foundation of myth—each tale exhibited variations, but the personifications and the abstractions, therein defined, remained the same.

Yet, during the Peisistratid tyranny, the shift toward writing was under way. During this incipient period of the written word, the ruler of Athens held a deep interest in all aspects of myth. Clearly, the tyrant employed writing in order to create a mythological "vessel" in support of his policies and identity.

Moreover, in order to seize his position and affect his policy once in power, it can be surmised that Peisistratos needed such a vessel of legend to hold such concepts within his own mind. Observing the similarity in the artistic portrayal

⁴⁵ Aeschylus, *Orestia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 167.

of mortals and their divine counterparts, historian John Boardman reports, "The classical Greek had little doubt that he was himself very like his heroes."⁴⁶ The link between abstract concepts and their personification into myths denotes reciprocity between the Greek and his heroes. It is likely that, prior to his vie for power, the tyrant already afforded himself the heroic, or mythological, validation for his actions.

Solon's law, which mandated considerable social change, did little to effect the state of longstanding cultural differences within Athens. It may be that, in addition to such a law, a mythological change—long requested in the grievances of the smallholders—took place during the tyranny. During the transformation in Athenian society, the myths, which held the vessel of their abstractions, necessarily underwent a corresponding change so that the fluctuation might take root. In order to maintain his authority and popular support, Peisistratos simply gave such sea changes a voice in the form of a hero and a unifying goddess. In short, the tyrant reshaped the vessel in order to formulate the notion of an Attica unified under a single, foreign-born leader, the all-important mythological precedence.

Peisistratos, claiming to be a descendant of Nestor, and thereby Melanthos and Codros, legitimized his right to rule. He furthered this declaration by his association to Theseus, whose policies appear remarkably consonant with those of the tyrant's. Though it is possible that the tyrant, in fact, enjoyed Nestor's ancestry—and a staggering quantity of serendipity—Peisistratos most likely indulged in a modification of both his lineage and heroic legend. Added to what amounts to no less than a complete recasting of the Athenian cults, a trend begins to surface. In investigating the Herodotus passage on the tyranny, Peisistratos' three struggles for the seizure of Athens incorporate conspicuously Homeric overtones. In the *Histories*, though so little is related in terms of specific policies of the tyranny, the purification of the temple at Delos indicates another commingling of religious devotion and authoritative design.

Finally, the introduction of writing and its plausible impact on oral tradition cannot remain ignored. Though little can be said of this time, two suppositions are difficult to deny: myths were among the first ideations set forth; and Peisistratos, very much captivated by myths, controlled the *polis* during part of this gradual transition. In view of mythology's importance in defining abstract concepts in the mind of the ancient Greek, Peisistratos undoubtedly needed a mythological "vessel" to support his own concepts on the rule of Athens, and the mythological precedence to provide cultural underpinnings, in order to make previous social changes concrete.

⁴⁶ *The Archaeology of Nostalgia*

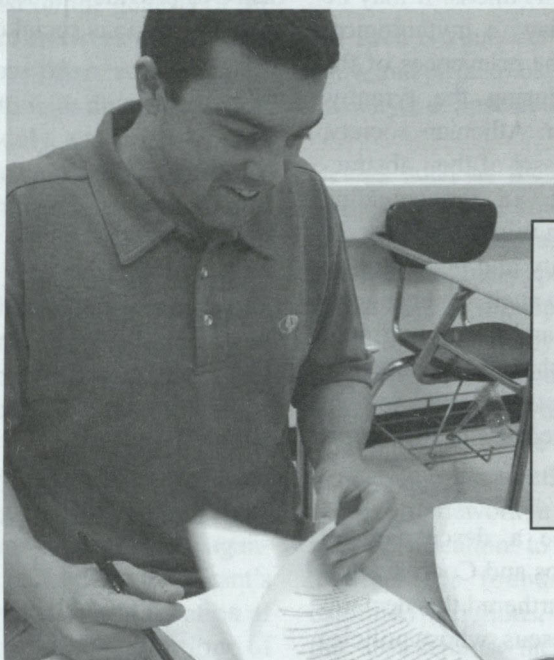
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2006

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JOURNAL OF HISTORY

PUBLISHED SINCE 1973



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"I like being a famous writer. Problem is, every once in while you have to write something"

-- Ken Kesey

Editing is team effort. Both the author and editor must work together to produce the *Welebaethan*.



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A portrait of Ferdinando Cortes. (Stout Cortez: A Biography of the Spanish Conquest, 1931, Century Co., New York)

Aspects of the Social Realm in the Early Modern Century

By Daniel McClure



Born into a construction family, **Daniel McClure** moved nine times and lived in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and California before finishing high school in 1991. He completed his undergraduate work at San Francisco State University in 1997. In 2002, he decided to return to academia and obtain a Masters in history from California State University, Fullerton. He is currently applying for Ph.D. programs for fall 2005.

It is a wonder to see how, when a man greatly desires something and strongly attaches himself to it in his imagination, he has the impression at every moment that whatever he hears and sees argues in favor of that thing.

Las Casas

Who can deny that the use of gunpowder against pagans is the burning of incense to Our Lord.

G. Fernández de Oviedo

What cultural assumptions triggered the actions of Columbus or the conquistadors who followed and conquered the New World? Where did they find the confidence and bravery for these actions; and how did they legitimize the subjugation of New World cultures and peoples? What prompted these men to land in the New World under Spanish authority and claim it for Spain. Their encounters were mediated through a socially constructed, Christian-influenced, ontological prism, or what historian Miguel A. Cabrera denotes as a social realm and others characterize as a discourse or meta-narrative.¹ With its connections to the legitimization of power and authority, the Christian mindset informed their social realm and its competing discourses within the Spanish world. The Spanish-Christian social realm subsequently influenced their social reality, mindset, and worldview.²

According to Cabrera, the social reality consists of a "categorical grid that [historical actors] cannot [consciously] transcend and that effectively regulates their social practice," encompassing the unconscious behavioral forming elements conditioning the societal mores and norms that determine legitimate actions.³ Through various

Spanish discourses a categorical grid evolved creating a pool of categories used for subsequent interpretation. Once conceptualized in the historical actor's mind this attached meaning to particular encounters and as meaning was projected onto the object under observation, reinforcement of the discourse occurred. Christianity, with its ancient Greco-Roman heritage, was the core of the Spanish social realm with its conception of reality and interpretation ultimately expressed through the Spanish categorical grid. In turn, this justified and informed each step of their encounter and conquest of the New World.

Consequently labeled an aspect of western civilization, the social realm which influenced the conception of reality was also seen as a "code, continuously redefined, for processes still unfolding" in today's world.⁴ The idea of viewing western civilization as a malleable code (defined as a systematic grouping of symbols, principles, or ethics designed for a specific purpose of communication or regulation), supports and illustrates Cabrera's concept of the social realm. In turn, the narratives within the social realm remain in flux adjusting to fit actual encounters with reality.⁵ This affect on the perception of reality was itself a product of long-term structures shaped through assorted institutions of power such as church, government, and regional tradition. The social realm affected one's worldview and dictated the language used to observe and recreate events. Moreover, the expressed thoughts filtered through the social realm's categorical grid unconsciously designate the historical actor's permissible debate on morality, and positions of authority through the control of the parameters of thought, and its containment by the limited metaphorical devices of its own language. These discourses, though diverging at particular points, encouraged an outlook which justified not only the domination of the New World inhabitants, but the legal

¹ Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), xxiii.

² Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), xxiii.

³ Miguel A. Cabrera, "On Language, Culture, and Social Action," *History and Theory* 40, no. 4 (Dec. 2001): 86.

⁴ Cabrera, "On Language, Culture, and Social Action," 87.

⁵ Silvia Federici, ed., *Enduring Western Civilization: The Construction of the Concept of Western Civilization and Its "Others"* (London: Praeger, 1995), xii. This collection of essays examines the "Genealogy" of and the alternates to western civilization.

framework of territorial possession.⁶ Through repetitive use and acceptance, the ideas which shaped the social realm became canonical in nature. The realm continuously legitimized itself by offering conclusions as metaphysical norms in human nature – an example was the perception that non-Europeans and women were inferior to male Europeans during the last 500-year period.⁷ Once the dominant gestures, prisms of thought, and hierarchical makeup are internalized and assimilated into the unconscious worldview of a person, a personal opinion is formed without conscience knowledge of its influence. Thus, historian Kerwin Lee Klein suggests, “the story must *deny* that it is a story; it must ‘forget’ its own narrativity in order to maintain the fiction of the autonomous self.”⁸ This absoluteness results from experiences which have been filtered through the prevailing social realm, thereby avoiding questions of hegemony.



Indigenous people are given to Cortés and his men in this romanticized version of a European artist (The Course of Mexican History 2nd Edition, 1983, Oxford University Press, Oxford).

As a perpetual mechanism of the social realm's reinforcement, social action is legitimated as long as the act conforms to a prevailing discourse. Glimpses of Spanish rhetoric from the early modern Atlantic world provide an illustrated model of Cabrera's conception of competing social realms. This rhetoric portrayed a group of people who perceived the world through a prism of faith in their religion. This included the Spanish perception of an apparent supernatural collaboration

between them and God in the guise of the power of disease to destroy and their own technological superiority. Furthermore, an inherited sociopolitical structure combining Christianity with aspects of ancient Roman governmental structures provided the basis of their social

realm in which to view the New World encounters that in turn helped the Spanish cultivate a sense of superiority over native inhabitants.

The pre-voyage conception of civilization carried by Christian explorers from Spain was a crucial part of the Spanish social realm and disposition toward the native inhabitants in the Caribbean and Mesoamerica. Historian Patricia Seed argues the basic Spanish “cultural assumptions,” helped guide the Spanish actions and interpretations of the native inhabitants. While their idea of civilization created a point of comparison between themselves and the natives.⁹ Late medieval and early modern society adhered to a social realm which was able to oppose itself from within, par-

⁶ Webster's New World Dictionary (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1990), 116.

⁷ An illustration of two diverging attitudes within the consciousness of Christianity are those of the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta and the Dominican Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. Viewing the paganism of the New World religion, Acosta posited that their practices equated with idolatry - thus it was the work of the devil. Las Casas disagreed, seeing the Indian's practice as a natural sign of embracing goodness, thus becoming excellent subjects for conversion. Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 29-31.

⁸ Kerwin Lee Klein, “In Search of Narrative Mastery: Postmodernism and the People without History,” *History and Theory* 34, no. 4 (Dec 1995): 282.

⁹ Ibid., 281. Cites Jean-François Lyotard, *Instructions païennes* (Paris: n.p., 1977).

ticularly the contrary discourses espoused by Sepulveda and Las Casas at the Valladolid debate of 1550, in regards to the rights of indigenous peoples. While differing in views of equality, they concurred on the question of the right to rule the New World.¹⁰

This system of representation allowed association between divergent attitudes within a paradigm operating on "certain mimetic assumptions, shared metaphors, operational practices, [and] root perceptions," which constituted a categorical grid.¹¹ Beginning with their conception of the geography of the world, this mindset ranged from fabled islands bearing descriptions of paradise to visions of monstrous creatures residing on the outer limits of humanity.¹² Medieval geography, according to historian Seymour Phillips, relied upon obsolete classical sources and, consequently, their inaccurate depictions of the size of the world. This view of the outside world for medieval European society was one of fantastic locations like the islands of St. Brendon and Brasil, which appeared on maps in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹³ The monstrous races from the first century CE writings of Pliny the Elder helped share the medieval explorers' impressions.¹⁴ Exaggerated stories from *Marco Polo's Travels* and *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* also entertained the minds of

medieval readers, most notably Christopher Columbus.¹⁵ According to Historian J. R. S. Phillips, the fictitious work *Mandeville's Travels* exemplifies "both the extent of real European knowledge of the world in the fourteenth century, and the bizarre fashion in which genuine information and soundly based theories could be intermingled with the purest fantasy."¹⁶ The popularity of the text suggests the what sort of worldview literate people in early modern Europe possessed and the what sort of encounters they might come across in their travels abroad. Along with the Christian legend of Prestor John, said to have a rich kingdom somewhere in the east, these tales helped to stimulate the explorers' curiosity and inform their perceptions of people they expected to meet.¹⁷ Furthermore, the idea of non-Europeans – the "other" – helped to make civilizations outside Europe appear barbarous and threatening, thus encouraging European intervention to thwart a potential menace toward their society and their ontological existence. The invasion of foreign lands was, therefore, justified in the name of protecting Christians and their property. Moreover, this legitimized aggression and dominance over non-Christians complemented the need to spread the gospel – actions sanctioned by the Papacy in the thirteenth century.¹⁸ Thus, the Crusades and the *Reconquista* serve as precedents for conquering the New World, as did the preconceived categories of non-human creatures and the justified violence toward them.

Alongside this fantastic image of the world outside Europe, the emergence of the European state and the ideology of civilization marked the early modern period.¹⁹ Anthropologist Thomas C. Patterson notes that along with the emergence of the state with its incorporation of a trained group of managers (bureaucrats) to organize and operate its mechanisms, came the reliance upon law and hence university trained lawyers, who "studied Roman laws, which provided a model for

¹⁰ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.

¹¹ Toderov, *The Conquest of America*, 153, 170.

¹² Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 23.

¹³ Seymour Phillips, "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages," Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 47; see also: Peter Jackson, "Christians, Barbarians and Monsters: The European Discovery of the World beyond Islam," *The Medieval World*, Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2001), 93-110; J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 177-99.

¹⁴ Phillips, "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages," 31, 33-4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁷ Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, 199.

¹⁸ Phillips, "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages," 37.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 52, 58.

drawing distinctions between citizens and subjects, describing their relation to the state, and regulating their economic activities and relations with one another.”²⁰ The early modern states incorporated the governmental and administrative elements of Roman culture into their idea of what constituted a civilized society, thus standardizing relations of authority through a sanctioned hierarchy. This framework helped to create a distinction between European and non-European New World inhabitants who operated without the familiar Roman infrastructure. The idea of civilization and the linear direction of progress helped solidify a universal concept of the world: a projection of human development beginning in the Holy Land, through the ancients of Greece and Rome, and into the minds of early modern thinkers.²¹ The rediscovery of ancient texts and their subsequent assimilation into a social realm already influenced by the Bible allowed intellectuals to legitimize their critical discourse

into absolute divisions of good and evil, order and disorder, European and other. In this way, fifteenth-century Europeans separated themselves from labels culled from the works of the ancients such as barbarians, pagans, heathens, infidels, savages, and wild men, who embodied various attributes separate from, and in conflict with, civilized Europe.²² Consequently, on the eve of 1492, the Spanish categorical grid contained, alongside the expectation of creatures and the concept of “just wars,” the notion that their civi-

*As Las Casa's wrote,
Columbus experienced
and saw exactly
what he wanted or
expected to see.* ²⁷

lization descended from the greatest of civilizations, the Roman Empire, and that their religion possessed the “absolute truth.”²³

Aspects of Christian European civilization discourses included Christopher Columbus' strident confidence in successfully finding Asia and Hernando Cortés' notion of proper attire when being addressed. When viewing his encounters through the prism of medieval Christianity, Columbus insisted that the Biblical paradise resided at the equator where he saw the shape of a pear.²⁴ In this sense, the grid of categories offered Columbus a feasible explanation of what he witnessed. Long before actually sighting land, through Columbus' Christian social realm the appearance of birds and whales were interpreted as signs, which signaled the imminence of his encounter with land.²⁵ Moreover, Columbus equates his observation of the seas rising without wind – thus

helping to propel his ships while becalmed – to that of God helping Moses escape the Egyptians.²⁶ As Las Casa's wrote, Columbus experienced and saw exactly what he wanted or expected to see.²⁷ In this sense, Divine Providence truly provided Columbus with a helping hand and, hence, legitimized the Spanish actions.

A second example of a particular Spanish social realm is Cortés' first expedition to Mesoamerica,

²⁰ Thomas C. Patterson, *Inventing Western Civilization* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997), 27. For the Medieval revitalization of Roman law, see: R. N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 66-102.

²¹ Ibid., 28-9; see also: Peter Wilson, “European Warfare 1450-1815,” *War in the Early Modern World*, Jeremy Black, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 177, 184.

²² Ibid., 30, 33; see also J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993), 5.

²³ Ibid., 88, 95.

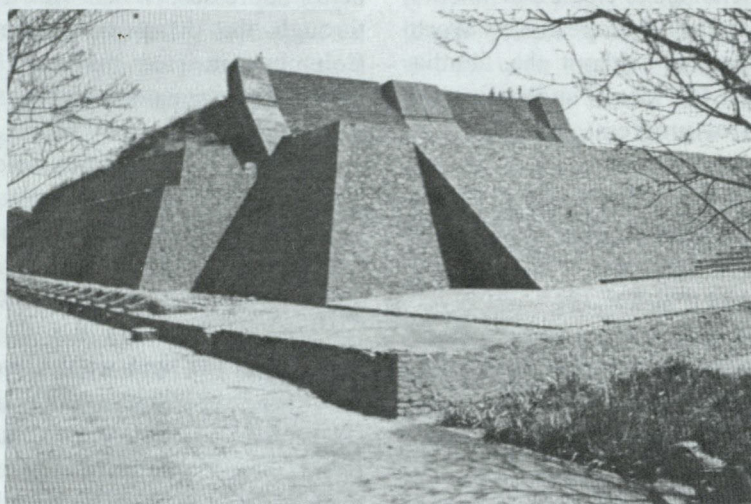
²⁴ Allan Greer, *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, n.d.), 18.

²⁵ Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 16. Todorov also notes Columbus's reason for the expedition: to fund another crusade to liberate Jerusalem. Ibid., 11.

²⁶ Christopher Columbus, *The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, Ed. and trans. J.M. Cohen (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), 42-44.

²⁷ Ibid., 45. Columbus states: “I was in great need of these high seas because nothing like this had occurred since the time of the Jews when the Egyptians came out against Moses who was leading them out of captivity.”

where his notion of "civilization" was forced upon a Spaniard who had been left behind from an earlier expedition. As related in an eyewitness account by Bernal Díaz, Cortés demanded Jeronimio de Aguilar be given a "shirt and doublet and breeches, a cloak and some sandals" prior to his being given an audience.²⁸ Equating the absence of clothes, especially on a Spaniard, as an affront to proper attire for civilized men, Lisa Rabin suggests Cortés sought to correct the savage look of Aguilar in order to convert "him into a legitimate storyteller; the 'covering' of Aguilar with 'civilized' clothing, in other words, should 'uncover' his true Spanish self."²⁹ Even



The pyramid of Teopanzolco, built by the Aztecs just prior to the Spanish Conquest. (A Guide to Ancient Mexican Ruins, 1977, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman)

amidst an expedition thousands of miles from Spain on an extreme frontier, Cortés insisted the stranded Spaniard adopt the appropriate visual appearance within the confines of his Spanish social realm. Perhaps this action was meant to discontinue the embarrassing spectacle of a fellow Christian reduced to the rags of a barbarian. Thus, the formalities of Spanish civilization failed, in this case, to stray from the Spanish discourse on what properly constituted acceptable appearance.

Successful explorations to the New World in the century following the expeditions of Columbus and Cortés brought an air of confidence and a

sense of greatness in the accomplished deeds of civilized Christian Europe. Celebrating the sixteenth century as "the most learned times that ever were," Le Roy's essay, "The Excellence of This Age" (1575), delineated the age's pre-eminence over the ancients and Muslims in categories such as mathematics, physics, and military weaponry.³⁰ Citing new techniques and skills in

navigation, Le Roy also described how the New World, "unknown to the ancients," was "...not only conquered but also converted to the Christian religion under the power of Spain."³¹ This successful contact, subjugation, and conversion of the New World helped to sculpt an outlook

that placed the peoples of Europe in a superior light within the larger conceptualized world, eventually labeled Eurocentrism in the twentieth century. Explaining the "break" that characterized the discovery of the New World and the Renaissance, Samir Amin writes:

If the period of the Renaissance marks a qualitative break in the history of humanity, it is precisely because, from that time on, Europeans become conscious of the idea that the conquest of the world by their civilization is henceforth possible. They therefore develop a sense of absolute superiority, even if the actual submission of other peoples to Europe has not yet taken place.³²

As Europe's foundation for architecture, art, and

²⁸ Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 17. Todorov writes: "There is nothing of the modern empiricist about Columbus: the decisive argument is an argument of authority, not of experience. He knows in advance what he will find; the concrete experience is there to illustrate a truth already possessed."

²⁹ Bernal Díaz, *The Conquest of New Spain*, trans. J.M. Cohen (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), 64.

³⁰ Lisa Rabin, "Figures of Conversion and Subjectivity in Colonial Narrative," *Hispania* 82, no. 1 (Mar 1999): 42.

³¹ Loys Le Roy, "The Excellence of This Age," *The Portable Renaissance Reader*, James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin, eds. (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 91, 92.

³² *Ibid.*, 99.

law, the fact that the ancients did not know about the New World provided Europeans with a sense of transcendence over the previously unassailable greatness of the Roman Empire.³³ In the middle sixteenth century, Francisco López de Gómara wrote, "The greatest event since the creation of the world (excluding the incarnation and death of Him who created it) is the discovery of the Indies."³⁴ Spanish testimony espoused a sense of greatness, even comparing themselves to Christ, as their claims of supremacy rested on an adherence to a perceived greater religion, or "absolute truth," and the surpassing of the last great European civilization.

One view of Spanish superiority via deity came from the early-modern historian Oviedo who described the superiority of Christian faith in action, and hence legitimate aggression:

God is going to destroy them soon....Satan has now been expelled from the [Hispaniola]; his influence has disappeared now that most of the Indians are dead....Who can deny that the use of gunpowder against pagans is the burning of incense to Our Lord.³⁵

Another acknowledgement of Indian inferiority came with the self-justification of the Spanish right to rule over the native peoples. Francisco de Vitoria noted, "Although these barbarians are not altogether mad....They are not, or are no longer, capable of governing themselves any more than madmen or even wild beasts and animals, seeing that their food is not any more agreeable and scarcely better than that of wild beasts."³⁶ Todorov explains that although Vitoria, much like

Las Casas, defends the native population, "the impact of his discourse" and its legitimization through Spanish law "supplies a legal basis to the wars of colonization which had hitherto had none."³⁷ Once admitted to be a great civilization via Cortes's letters, the discourse surrounding the Spanish encounters with the Indians shifts from marveling "at the orderliness and good government which is everywhere maintained," to Victoria's later characterization of the natives as inept at basic survival, equating them to childish beasts barely able to survive on their own.³⁸ Not only does the act of conquering emit a *de facto* power over indigenous society, but, once power has been consolidated, the excuse of native ineptitude guided the interpretations of the Spanish.³⁹ Other tirades described reasons for the inferiority of the native peoples and continued to assert their depraved habits and customs. As early modern historian Peter Martyr asserted, "God has never created a race more full of vice and composed without the least mixture of kindness or culture....The Indians are more stupid than asses, and refuse to improve in anything."⁴⁰ As Spanish civilization is projected into the New World, anything remotely distinguished as "other" came to be designated through the social realm's categorical grid as degenerate or immoral do to the lack of a Christian civilization social structure.

The Spanish sense of superiority, with its connection to Christianity, fills the pages of Cortés' letters to the Spanish Emperor Charles V. Within these letters, the "will of God" emerged as justification for Spanish expansion into the New World. Surmising that the native population "must live no longer in the pagan faith," Cortés' cites the spread of the gospel as another reason and secondary mission for the subjugation and conversion of the native population.⁴¹ Assuming agency alongside the Spanish actions, the "will of God"

³³ Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism*, trans. Russell Moore (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989), 72-3.

³⁴ Elliot, *The Old World and the New*, 1.

³⁵ Francisco López de Gómara, *Primera Parte de la Historia General de las Indias* (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 22, Madrid, 1852), 156, cited in Elliot, *The Old World and the New*, 10.

³⁶ G. Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y Tierra firme del Mar Oceano*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. 117-21, 1959, English translation: *Natural History of the West Indies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), V, cited from Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 151.

³⁷ Ibid., 150.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Hernando Cortés, *Five Letters of Cortés to the Emperor*, trans. J. Bayard Morris (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1991), 93-4.

⁴⁰ This was later characterized as the "white-man's burden" in the late-nineteenth century.

⁴¹ Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 151.

saved four hundred of Cortés' men from forty thousand natives during one of the early battles between the Spanish and the native population.⁴² In an attempt to court Charles V's favor, Cortés often connected the will of God with the ambitions of the Spanish crown throughout his letter. He stated, "God [has] been pleased to allow this land to be discovered in the name of your royal Majesties," and that God would be pleased that these "barbarian people" would receive the "truths of the Holy Faith."⁴³ Cortes' own standard acted as a reinforcement of the Spanish social realm pronouncing, "brothers and comrades, let us follow the sign of the Holy Cross in true faith, for under this sign we shall conquer."⁴⁴ As they followed their deity's aspiration for the world's conversion, and apparently subjugation for the monarchy's accumulation of wealth, the blood of Christ seemed to underwrite Spanish superiority and success.

Along with outright conquest, the unexpected effects of biological intermixing further reinforced the Spaniards understanding that supernatural forces were operating on their side. This was consequently seen as a sign of the Christian deity's power over the native peoples, which further strengthened the Spanish social realm. Codices, oral tradition, letters from soldiers, settlers, and religious persons testified to the catastrophic spread of disease. This made occupation of the New World not only easier on the steel blades of the vanguard forces, but for many European settlers it was a sign of Divine Providence aiding their acquisition of land and providing a spiritual monopoly over the New World. The first pandemic of smallpox in 1518 was reported by Christian representatives as a divinely inspired act: "It has pleased Our Lord to

bestow a pestilence of smallpox among the said Indians, and it does not cease."⁴⁵ Each contact between the Spanish and the native population brought an onslaught of invisible terror which generated untold suffering among them. Shamans from each society sought to cure the ailments with indigenous medicines and procedures, though to no avail.⁴⁶ As the religions of the Old and New World coalesced in the disease-infected villages and cities in America, an invisible metaphysical struggle accompanied the conventional armed struggle. Natives blamed the black robed Christians and their deity for the pestilence, with one European witness stating, "The chief begged me to tell my God to withdraw his wrath."⁴⁷ Jesuits, such as Francisco de Figueroa, supported the idea that, "these deaths have taken great harvest of souls for heaven," and interpreted the massive destruction of the native peoples through the spread of disease as Divine Providence, seeking to explain the biological intermixing as a part of God's plan.⁴⁸

Unlike English settlers in North America who cheered God's plan to clear the land of Indians, the Spanish viewed the loss of native peoples as a manager might view the loss of workers in a factory.⁴⁹ They felt no one would be left to work the mines and fields for the glory of Spain. Instead of complete obliteration of the native peoples through God's will or sword, the Spanish sought to take possession of the New World in a deal which included Indian labor. A prominent feature of the Roman manner which bestowed order on civilization, a legal process to acquire the land

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⁴² Cortés, *Five Letters*, 8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴⁵ Díaz, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 47.

⁴⁶ Noble David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 60-1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 192, 152.

came through an invocation of a specific sign: the recited legal document *Requerimiento*.⁵⁰

A remnant of the Crusades and *Reconquista*, this legal procedure ordered the opposition to surrender and submit to the authority of the Catholic Church via its Spanish representatives.⁵¹ This document legitimized, in the eyes of Spanish courts, authority over the New World. As a sort of regulation governing the conquests, the *Requerimiento* immediately established the Indians as inferior entities through the action of the Spanish reading a Spanish document to the listening Indians.⁵² For reasons of Spanish legality, the *Requerimiento* was read aloud to native communities and armies in order to allow them a chance to accept Christianity and Spanish rule on their own accord, even though the native peoples were unable to understand. The text commenced with an introduction to the conquistador's sovereign, the King of Spain and his family, a brief account of the Christian deity's role in the world, and finally the role of the Pope in Rome. Further along, the *Requerimiento* informed the natives of the Spanish possession of the islands, donated by decree of the Pope to the Spanish monarchs. Whereupon, the document states:

we ask and require you that you consider what we have said to you, and that you take the time that shall be necessary to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world and the high priest call Pope, and in his name the King Don Fernando and Queen Dona Juana our lords, in his place, as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this *terra*

⁵⁰ In the Plymouth colony of North America, one settler assuredly made the connection between God's plan and the settlement of the New World: "Thus farre hath the good hand of God favored our beginnings.... In sweeping away great multitudes of the natives..., a little more before we went thither, that he might make room for us there." Cook, 172.

⁵¹ Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 69. Seed's book examines the multiple uses of signs to designate possession employed by various European countries during colonization of the New World.

⁵² Ibid., 70.

firme...⁵³

Suggesting a particular chain-of-command in earthly ruling status rooted in European law, the native peoples would, by default, accept the full subjugation to the nation of Spain which operated under the guise of Christianity and its representative the Pope, who in turn received direction directly from the Heavens.

If the natives did as the document said, if indeed they could understand what was presented to them, the Spanish would leave the native families in peace, "without servitude."⁵⁴ If the natives failed to comply and "wickedly and intentionally" delayed to do so, the Spanish would illustrate their divinely inspired and officially sanctioned right of engaging in a "just war" against resistors: with the help of God, we shall forcibly enter into your country and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command.⁵⁵

In an eerily modernistic legal maneuver, another version of the *Requerimiento* concluded: "And I solemnly declare that the deaths and damages received from such will be your fault and not that of His Majesty, nor mine, nor of the gentlemen who came with me."⁵⁶ The legal logistics of conquering the New World illustrated the Spanish social realm's insistence on legally-based actions, a tradition from Roman law, including the above disclaimer of assigning liability.

⁵³ Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 146, 148.

⁵⁴ *The Spanish Conquest in America and Its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of the Colonies* (London: J.W. Parker & Sons, 1855-1861), Vol. I, 264-267, as excerpted from Marvin Lunenfeld, *1492: Discovery, Invasion, Encounter* (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1991), 189-190, from David R. Ringrose, *Expansion and Global Interaction, 1200-1700* (New York: Longman, 2001), 116.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 116.

Along with legal justification, came the unquestionable right of the Spanish to claim possession of every piece of land they encountered. Columbus wrote, "Generally it was my wish to pass no island without taking possession of it. Though having annexed one it might be said that we had annexed all."⁵⁷ Within Columbus' categorical grid and limited knowledge of the world, the unmapped areas he encountered became simple fruits easily plucked for consumption at one's own whim. His right of acquisition and mandate to spread Christianity informed his discourse.

With the use of their Roman-Christian social realm as a point of departure in legitimizing conquest, Spain employed the legal and religious precedents embedded in their discourses as a lawful source of authority, thus offering themselves as reasonable beings through their legally sanctioned conquering of the New World. Among the categorical grid lay what Stephen Greenblatt labels a "stockpile of representations," which are then used "to generate new representations."⁵⁸ Therefore the Spanish legal relationship garnered an absolutist notion reinforced through direct interaction between experiences and prior representations. This allowed the conquerors to confidently assert their possession and legal jurisdiction over the New World and its native peoples. Early modern historian José de Acosta declared "And the high and eternal wisdom of the Creator uses this natural curiosity of men to communicate the light of His holy gospel to peoples who still live in the darkness of their errors," establishing that the Spanish social realm need only inform the native peoples of their subjection to the Spanish crown and their need for conversion to Christianity.⁵⁹ Furthermore, with its absolutist and "exclusive religious truth," the invocation of Christianity in the *Requerimiento* fashioned the Spanish expectation that those who they encountered and subjected should discard their cultural and religious traditions and immediately convert to Christianity and the Spanish concept of civi-

lization.⁶⁰ The Spanish believed they possessed the theological truth and deemed themselves messengers of the gospel, and therefore branded as devious those who resisted or failed to understand, for they willingly rejected the absolute truth. For example, in the fifth letter written to Charles V, Cortés wrote, "I was likewise come to acquaint them of your Majesty, whom divine providence has willed that the whole world should obey and serve."⁶¹ The first day of discovery led Columbus to note: "I believe that [they] would easily be made Christians."⁶² The Spanish believed it was a natural progression for the native peoples to change their ways and conform to Spanish civilization.

The cultural assumptions espoused by men such as Columbus encouraged an outlook that justified a legally sanctioned domination over non-Europeans. Perceived cultural superiority encouraged the Spanish to view New World inhabitants as lost souls adrift on the periphery of the Christian world, waiting to be saved. Those unwilling to submit only reinforced the Christian social realm which viewed the world through a dichotomous prism of good and evil or Christian and Pagan. After 1492, as the Spanish replayed the cycle of discover, conquer, and subject across the New World, social realms redefined themselves according to the prevailing need of the moment. Operated under a socially constructed tunnel vision, Spanish civilization and religion proved superior in light of the rousing success of the New World's subjugation. The overall social realm continuously reinforced and justified the actions of the Spanish through what Todorov labels the rubric of "colonialist ideology," which included the competing discourses of Las Casas' Christian love for Indians, and the necessary conquest of the Indians exemplified by Cortés.⁶³ Cabrera cites this ideology as a part of the larger political discourses which set up the categorical grid that influenced the scope of debate and the

⁵⁷ Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 69.

⁵⁸ Columbus, *The Four Voyages*, 60.

⁵⁹ Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 6.

⁶⁰ José de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, Edmundo O'Gorman, ed., 2nd ed. (Mexico: n.p., 1962), 112, cited in Elliot, 30-1.

⁶¹ Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 9.

⁶² Cortés, *Five Letters*, 295.

⁶³ Columbus, *The Four Voyages*, 56, 64.

rhetorical possibilities to conceptualize the "pattern of meanings" emanating from the historical actor's mouth.⁶⁴ As evidenced by Columbus, Cortés, and other individuals, the Spanish social realms became embedded in their actions and later reflections.

The social realm gained empirical recognition through the "active mediation" between meanings and actions and as thought processes and worldviews interacted with real encounters with natives - thus creating more assumptions that either reinforced or negated previously established meanings.⁶⁵ An ontological prism developed fashioning a one-way tunnel vision where the absence of the familiar and universally recognizable (at least in Europe) equaled nonexistence, or a diabolical threat. Accordingly, this led the Spanish to designate the indigenous customs and civilization as depraved, the ideal of Christian-legitimized conquering, or the concept of "just war", and a developed sense of ascending greatness from their Roman-Christian heritage visibly clear in the overwhelming success of their overseas venture. In addition, this unbalanced understanding of the New World by the Spanish helped to generate a brand of Eurocentrism that exploited the colonized, non-European areas of the world until the mid-twentieth century when the discourse of European preeminence started to crumble under the weight of their socially constructed superiority and the resistance of the emerging of postcolonial movements against the European colonizers; an age philosophers have since labeled postmodernity.

⁶⁴ Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 175.

⁶⁵ Cabrera, "On Language, Culture, and Social Action," 99-100.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁶⁷ Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 3; see also: Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," in Hal Foster, ed., *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983), 113; Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, *The Postmodern Turn White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*

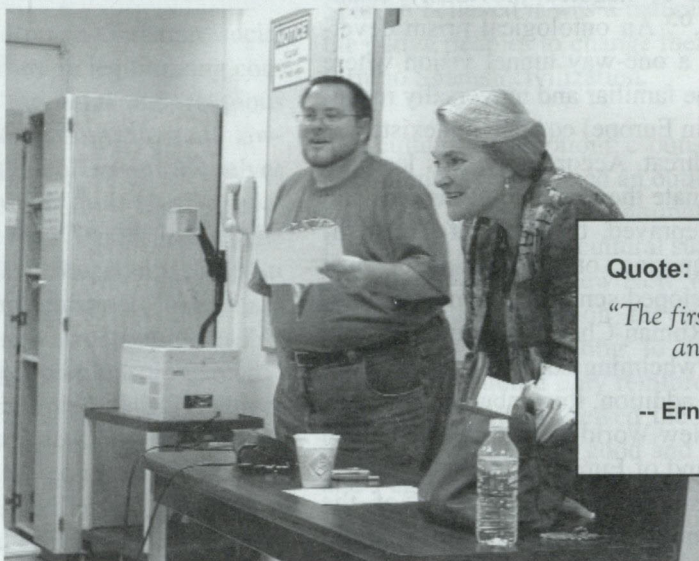
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JOURNAL OF HISTORY

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Quote:

*"The first draft of
anything is shit."*

-- Ernest Hemingway

Having a patient faculty advisor as well as a humorous graduate assistant to help facilitate the publication is essential to completing the journal.



CAL STATE
FULLERTON



The Grim Reaper by Louis Raemaekers
(Courtesy of
<http://virus.standord.edu/usa/>)

Of Memory and Microbes: The Forgotten Flu of 1918

By Jo Summann

Jo Summann addresses one of the most neglected yet historically significant events of the twentieth century in her work, "Of Memory and Microbes: The Forgotten Flu of 1918." The author examines literary, medical and governmental sources regarding the devastating pandemic to understand why the event has escaped the collective memory of Americans. Her work also relates the historical record of the Great Influenza to modern diseases that threaten society today such as SARS and Bird Flu.

Best European Paper



Jo Summann is enrolled at California State University, Fullerton for her undergraduate work, after too many years in the business world. Her plans include entering a Ph.D. program to prepare for a future in teaching. She loves both world and comparative history, and has a special interest in the relationship and communication between leaders and the masses. She has enjoyed living in Los Angeles and Orange counties for the past sixteen years, but hopes to one day make a move that will increase her tree-to-people ratio.

In 1918, with America and most of Europe immersed in the Great War, another event occurred that affected almost the entire world population in some way, and took more than twice the number of lives that were lost in the war: the flu pandemic known as the Great Influenza of 1918. Known at the time as the Spanish flu, the pandemic killed 675,000 Americans in ten months.¹ This number exceeds the death toll of both the Civil War (620,000) as well as the sum of the four main American wars of the twentieth century (628,000), yet the American people forgot it. Indeed, though today's average citizen knows about other technological, political, and cultural events of the times—automobiles and airplanes, the female suffrage movement, motion pictures, and much about World War I—they have little historical awareness of this pandemic.

The Great Influenza, experienced worldwide, played a major role in WWI and had unusual characteristics. It began during the last year of the war and struck in three waves: the first outbreak in the spring of 1918, the second and most significant assault in the fall of that year, and a third wave in the spring of 1919. It began in military training camps and spread with troop movement, draining armies of soldiers and resources. From the camps, it moved to civilian populations, devastating cities and remote villages alike. Rather than attacking the very young and very old—as flu epidemics tend to do—this influenza strain disproportionately affected healthy adults in their twenties and thirties.² Also, instead of slowly waxing and waning, it appeared suddenly and killed quickly, only to disappear with similar rapidity. Scientists struggled to determine the cause of the disease and to understand why some communities went virtually untouched while others suffered considerably. In America, by 1919,

over one-quarter of the population (over twenty-five million) suffered from influenza and 675,000 died during the ten months of its destruction.

It is difficult to believe that flu—today associated with a bad cold that sends one to bed for a couple days—could cause so many deaths, but this influenza brought more than a simple case of inconvenience and discomfort. Patients developed typical flu symptoms abruptly and severely: “fever, headache, . . . cough, drippy nose, sore throat . . . aching backs and legs.”³ With no antibiotics, overwhelmed hospitals could only offer patients food, blankets, and fresh air and hope they stayed alive long enough for the disease to pass. If pneumonia developed, chances of survival fell drastically. Patients turned blue in the face and bled from the nose and ears, and autopsies revealed the cause: the lungs of victims were “filled with a thin, bloody, frothy fluid” causing them to suffocate.⁴ From onset, victims became helpless and prostrate within two hours...and dead within forty-eight.

So many people getting sick at once had a great cumulative effect on communities. Throughout the country, schools and other meeting places closed and cities required the wearing of gauze masks in public. In scenes reminiscent of Europe during the Black Plague centuries earlier, carts went through residential streets in some areas to collect the dead and buried them in mass graves. In other homes the dead remained for days for lack of someone healthy to take care of burial arrangements. Doctors and nurses could not keep up with the sick, while morgues and casket makers could not keep up with the dead...and through it all, Liberty Bond campaigns and parades raised money for the war.

With such an obvious impact on society, why, then, did Americans forget the Great Influenza? Why did personal commemorations of the time, as well as organizational reports by medical and

¹ Spain's press covered the influenza openly because of its neutrality, leading many people to refer to this pandemic as “Spanish Influenza.” Spaniards referred to it as “French Flu.”

² Alfred Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 21.

³ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

military personnel, minimize it or leave it out completely? The reasons are complex because they occur on individual and institutional levels, but most revolve around an overall theme. This paper intends to argue that the dismissal of the Great Influenza came about for a seemingly simple reason: its timing. The fact that it happened during WWI, with the associated mass movement of troops, most certainly helped the spread of the disease. Yet this concurrence also contributed to the intentional oversight of the Great Influenza as a separate or significant event, and resulted in its story being folded into that of the war. The pandemic's place on the larger historical timeline also contributed to the forgetting when this challenge to modern medicine shocked a society of believers in modernity and progress.

In the half century following its occurrence, the Great Influenza rarely received recognition in the historical record beyond a vague or brief reference. Then, the first monographs on the subject appeared in the 1970s and the historiography of the pandemic slowly pried this disaster from the recesses of memory. In *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*, Alfred Crosby offered one of the first narratives of those few months in 1918 and 1919 and the medical research that sought a cause for the pandemic.⁵ In the next few decades, other historians presented a similar, comprehensive approach. The narrative form in these subsequent studies all followed a similar track, asking whether another outbreak could happen, how quickly it would spread, and how ready we would one might be for it. Some authors briefly addressed the concept of society's collective forgetting in their epilogues or afterwords but only briefly speculate about the explanations for it. Crosby even claimed that "it had an enormous influence but one that utterly evades logical analysis."⁶

⁵ The earlier version of Crosby's book was first published in 1976 as *Epidemic and Peace: 1918* by Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn.

With the basic facts of the Great Influenza recovered, historians began to push scholarship on the subject into deeper levels of inquiry. Carol R. Byerly's *Fever of War: The Influenza Epidemic in the U.S. Army during World War I* directly addressed the cause of forgetting by proposing it as an intentional collective act by the medical and governmental institutions of society. She argues that the medical field and the government had confidence in their abilities to keep soldiers healthy, but the influenza blatantly showed their incompetence and as a result, "many medical officers and other government officials became reluctant to recognize the epidemic as a meaningful event or to record it in the national memory."⁷ In reports produced after the emergency, they downplayed its impact on the war and their responsibility for its vast destruction, focusing instead on areas where medicine experienced success, and treating the influenza as an exception to the overall health conditions during the war. Consequently, Byerly

concludes that the medical history of the war not only separated influenza from military engagement, but also effectively reduced the significance of the pandemic altogether, leading future historians to assume it played an insubstantial role in the events of 1918.⁸

The research presented here focuses on how societies remember the past and why America forgot the Great Influenza. A discussion of history and memory, and the evidence of memory in society, will lead to an account of literature and other material works about 1918 meant for a broad audience that minimized or omitted the pandemic. Then, dual timing issues are discussed to explain why society dismissed an event that significantly affected so many people's lives. The first of these is how the Great War overshadowed

⁶ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 322.

⁷ Carol R. Byerly, *Fever of War: The Influenza Epidemic in the U.S. Army during World War I* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 11.

⁸ Ibid.

the pandemic and integrated its impact into accounts of the war. The second timing issue addresses how the pandemic's occurrence on the threshold of modernity—when it shattered peoples' confidences in medicine—led to a denial of its effect on the population and the war. Finally, a review of the consequences of forgetting the Great Influenza will examine how society has reacted to related subsequent events, including disease control and troop care in World War II, and the current threat of a pandemic outbreak and the need for a mobilization plan.

The various ways societies remember their past reflect personal motivations and rarely provide a full account of all things said and done. History, therefore, is not sufficiently defined as "the past" or "things said and done in the past." Rather, as Carl Becker suggested, in its lowest terms, "history is the memory of things said and done."⁹ Moreover, as Barry Schwartz notes, "recollection of the past is an active, constructive process, not a simple matter of retrieving information."¹⁰ Michael Kammen agrees and states, "societies in fact reconstruct their pasts rather than faithfully record them."¹¹ History, therefore, becomes whatever a society decides to remember about the past, including inaccuracies and omissions.

This relationship between history and memory leaves historians, looking for "some material trace which the event has left," to rely on people who experienced an event to record their experience afterwards through mediums that are shared with other members of society.¹² Which events are preserved in society's collective memory and which are lost depends on how they are evaluated. Schwartz explains that a society commemorates events that in some way represent its "deepest and most fundamental values."¹³ The event

then finds its way into cultural expressions, including monuments, holidays, museums, reenactments, and literature. Other types of historical memory include monographs, government and organizational reports and historical works that describe or analyze past events. These intellectual expressions are the body of evidence, usually written, that seeks to present the details of historical events.

Literature is virtually the only material evidence for a cultural, collective memory of the Great Influenza and demonstrates the lack of cultural memory of this event. While the amount of fiction set in WWI is plentiful, the Great Influenza received minimal space in novels and short stories. Crosby covers the subject of literature on the pandemic in five pages and makes two points clear. First, most of the great writers of the time—from Fitzgerald as "the chronicler of his age" to Faulkner with his proneness "to the gloomy and awesome"—fail to mention the pandemic in any of their novels.¹⁴ Second, Crosby argues that with a few exceptions, other writers only briefly mention the pandemic or influenza, including John Dos Passos in *Nineteen Nineteen* and *Three Soldiers*, Willa Cather in *One of Ours* and Wallace Stegner in *The Big Rock Candy Mountain* and *On a Darkling Plain*.¹⁵

Hemingway, who wrote extensively about war and death, is an example of both of these points. He based *A Farewell to Arms* on his experience in Italy as an ambulance driver during WWI, but does not mention influenza. In his short story, "A Natural History of the Dead," which is specifically based on his experience of death in World War I, Spanish influenza earned two sentences as "the only natural death I've ever seen...."¹⁶

Three writers gave the pandemic proper acknowledgement in at least one of their works. William

⁹ Carl Becker, "Everyman His Own Historian," *American Historical Review* 37 (January, 1932): 223.

¹⁰ Barry Schwartz, "The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory," *Social Forces* 61 (December, 1982): 374.

¹¹ Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 3.

¹² Becker, "Everyman His Own Historian," 221.

¹³ Schwartz, "The Social Context of Commemoration," 377.

¹⁴ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 316.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 315-6.

¹⁶ Ernest Hemingway, "A Natural History of the Dead," *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: The Finca Vigia Edition*. (New York: Scribner's, 1987), 338.

Maxwell, who wrote about the loss of his mother in *They Came Like Swallows*, and Thomas Wolfe, who wrote about the loss of his brother in *Look Homeward, Angel*. The third author, Katherine Anne Porter, in her short story "Pale Horse, Pale Rider," not only captured her experience of love lost to influenza, but also provided "the most accurate depiction of American society in the fall of 1918 in literature."¹⁷

Intellectual expressions about the Great Influenza are even harder to find. As reviewed, the historiography of this event began in the 1970s, over fifty years after the pan-

demic. Most current U.S. and world history school texts, as well as popular historical works about 1918, do not mention it at all, or only give it vague reference. Official medical reports also gave it minimum attention. Memoirs of physicians about their war experiences omitted any mention of the influenza pandemic and in speeches after the war that "great shadow cast upon the medical profession" received little notice.¹⁸ Instead, war physicians focused on other diseases where medical science triumphed which allowed them to claim: "We of the medical profession are very proud of the achievements of the medical corps of our country."¹⁹

The connection of the Great Influenza to World War I explains much about why society forgot the pandemic. Byerly explained the cause and effect complexity of this relationship:

The war and the flu collaborated in two ways: the war fostered disease by creating

conditions in the trenches of France that some epidemiologists believe enabled the influenza virus to evolve into a killer of global proportions. In turn, *disease shaped the war effort*, by sickening one million American soldiers and diverting resources,

personnel, and scarce human attention and energy from the military campaign.²⁰

This close association, and the different nature of each event, allowed the war to obscure the reality of the pandemic and made it difficult to commemorate in a way that encapsulated all of

it. Those who lived through the events of 1918, therefore, easily ignored the pandemic's impact both at the time and in post-war cultural and intellectual expressions of that memory, allowing their "deepest and most fundamental values" to remain intact.²¹

In the press, the war overshadowed the Great Influenza. The mobilization needs of the war, and interest in it, demanded that media focus on bond drives and homefront production, and the changing politics and battle activity of the war, especially as rumors of peace began to spread. Even President Woodrow Wilson had influenza during the Paris Peace Conference, but then news about the war's end claimed much greater interest, and besides, he survived. Crosby even claimed that "if the pandemic had killed one or more of the really famous figures of the nation or world it would have been remembered," but no famous person died from it.²² Consequently, the masses



In St. Louis, Missouri, the Red Cross transports a flu victim. (Courtesy of the National Archives, 165-WW 269-B-3)

¹⁷ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 315-9.

¹⁸ Ibid., 11, 320.

¹⁹ Ibid., 11.

²⁰ Byerly, *Fever of War*, 72.

²¹ Schwartz, "The Social Context of Commemoration," 377.

²² Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 322.

focused more on the war, which better supported their belief in the goodness of their country, and the superiority of democracy.

For the government's part, downplaying the pandemic protected our forces from appearing weak to the enemy. In the context of a war of attrition, both sides strove to keep enough bodies on their front lines, while minimizing exposure of this weakness to the enemy. Chief of Staff Peyton March warned President Wilson of "the psychological effect it would have on a weakening enemy to learn that the American divisions and replacements were no longer arriving."²³ Troop movements continued in the usual crowded way, against the Surgeon General's recommendations. As long as America won the war, the government could maintain that it defended its people against the threat to freedom, while ignoring its failure to defend them against the deadly flu.

The pandemic won some recognition, however inappropriate, through its incorporation into war propaganda. A statement by Lieutenant Colonel Phillip S. Doane, head of the Health and Sanitation Section of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, appeared in most newspapers in September 1918 in which he claimed it "well within the range of possibility . . . the epidemic was started by Huns sent ashore by boche submarine commanders."²⁴ In the first week of October, another news story supported this rumor that the Germans spread the influenza virus, noting that, at Camp Grant in Rockford, Illinois, the disease "declined to enter the barbed wire inclosure [sic] where the German prisoners are herded," though it attacked all ranks of American soldiers.²⁵

²³ Byerly, *Fever of War*, 106.

²⁴ "Think Influenza Came in U-Boat; Federal Health Authorities See Possibility of Men from Submarine Spreading Germs," *New York Times*, 19 September 1918, 11. "Huns" and "boche" are hostile terms used during WWI to refer to German soldiers.

²⁵ "Microbe Avoids German Prisoners," *New York Times*, 5 October 1918, 6.

Linking the pandemic not only with the war but also with the enemy served multiple purposes. First, it helped mobilize the nation against an enemy apparently so evil that it would even resort to attacking civilians with a deadly virus. Second, it drew blame away from the government and medical community for failing to control the pandemic and instead focused attention on the war effort.

Finally, it framed the pandemic as a battle tactic of the enemy, which defined it as only one of the many details of the war, thereby lessening any independent significance.

Patriotic values of the military and the nation suppressed the role of influenza in soldier casualties. Hemingway, who not only drove an ambulance during the war but also spent time hospitalized from a wound, must have had contact with soldiers falling ill from influenza. Yet

Hemingway, who not only drove an ambulance during the war but also spent time hospitalized from a wound, must have had contact with soldiers falling ill from influenza.

when he wrote about honor and dying during war in a letter to his parents in October, he did not mention disease. The author wrote that being wounded is "getting beaten up in a good cause" and that those who "are chosen" to have their bodies wounded "are just the lucky ones."²⁶ Not only did he claim to be "very proud and happy that mine was chosen," but he also assured his parents that, if he had died, "it would have been very easy for me" and declared "the mother of a man that has died for his country should be the proudest woman in the world, and the happiest."²⁷

Memorial services reflected these sentiments. Suggesting that "the only way to lend dignity to their battles with disease was to subsume them within the war," Crosby described a service for

²⁶ Henry Serrano Villard and James Nagel, *Hemingway in Love and War: The Lost Diary of Agnes von Kurowsky, Her Letters, and Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 187.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

soldiers who died of the flu before even leaving America. In it, the presiding officer “read the names of the dead one by one to a massed battalion, and as each name rang out, the Sergeant of the man’s company saluted and responded, ‘Died on the field of honor, Sir.’”²⁸ By associating flu deaths with battle deaths, all members of society—from the military to the families of those lost to the pandemic—saw these deaths as honorable simply because they occurred *during* the war.

How much of The degree to which these notions about death and honor applied to the civilian population is difficult, if not impossible, to determine. During both world wars, most civilians felt themselves part of the war effort. The government encouraged these feelings because it required mobilization on the homefront—to produce food and supplies, provide soldiers to fight, and sacrifice their lifestyles during war. The general population, therefore, being just as committed to winning the war, saw their work as contributing to the effort. It is likely that the desire of civilians to win the good fight encouraged the association of losing loved ones to the flu with the sacrifices of war.

The Great Influenza, being a natural disaster rather than man-made, lacked an association with a particular person or a group. With no “face” to this enemy, the subject is more elusive and harder to approach than more traditional topics like politics and war. For historians, this only made it easier to ignore, in favor of the more obvious themes and personalities of the war. With war, there are human decisions are analyzed and strategies are debated. In contrast, the influenza lacks a human motive to question, save the concocted motive perpetuated by propaganda of its strategic use by the German enemy. The absence of a human quality made it easy to omit completely or give it minimum acknowledgement. This slighting occurs in nearly all the historical survey books. For example, in the widely used school text, *The Unfinished Nation*, Alan Brinkley nods to this

disaster when he described the 112,000 U.S. military casualties of World War I, “half of them victims of influenza, not battle.”²⁹ Crosby notes that Thomas A. Bailey, in *The American Pageant*, only gives the pandemic one sentence and “underestimates the total number of deaths due to it by at least one-half.”³⁰

Finally, the geographically diffused nature of the Great Influenza made commemoration more difficult than more geographically concentrated events. These deaths did not follow a military charge or an accident at a factory producing war goods. The deaths from influenza occurred *en masse* within military training camps or onboard ships, but also took place in private family homes and hospitals throughout the nation, quietly and without medals or fanfare. One can go to the Antietam battlefield and image the slaughter of some 20,000 men there in one day of the Civil War, or contemplate the Vietnam Wall bearing the names of 58,000 slain soldiers. What single form of commemoration can encapsulate the souls of 675,000 men and women, both young and old, soldier and civilian, who died in every corner of the nation as well as on the battlefield? The few pieces of literature on the matter are of personal loss and individual mourning. Though they represent hundreds of thousands of other such losses, these examples only capture a splinter of the whole event in a memory for future generations. They do not claim to express loss and sorrow experienced on a mass scale.

Overall, this association with WWI left the Great Influenza a footnote to the war, without its own historical significance. The reasons discussed show the motivations of various groups to forget their experience of the pandemic, resulting in very little material evidence for later historians to study. Consequently, Crosby’s frank observation that “it affected the war, of course” is clear, but what is more apparent is that the war affected the Great Influenza, especially the memory of it.³¹

²⁸ Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic*, 320-1.

²⁹ Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004), 611.

³⁰ Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic*, 315.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

Many of the reasons for overlooking the Great Influenza involved its occurrence during the First World War. Yet a larger timing issue also influenced this reaction. In the early twentieth century, America envisioned itself crossing the threshold into a truly modern age. The shock of the modern world failing to overcome such a terror of the past as the pandemic, caused the government, the medical field, and the masses to react by reducing its impact in the nation's collective memory. In essence, the pandemic betrayed modernity—destroying people's faith in the advances of medicine and technology and their belief that society traveled a road of continuing progress.

The early twentieth century ushered in a truly exciting time in American, and world, history. Changes came fast—the introduction of the automobile and motion pictures, the Progressive Era's reform movement, and a new role for America, as a powerful world player. Science continued to replace religious thought in explaining everything from flight to behavioral disorders to disease epidemics. Medicine conquered many diseases that previously plagued society during both war and peacetime. As WWI began with its modern machine guns and mustard gas—the first truly large-scale modern war in terms of technology—physicians “expressed optimism that modern medicine had produced a new era” and were ready to show how well they could control disease and care for soldiers during war.³² This confidence also permeated the general population, which respected the newly professionalized medical field. They trusted the government, to protect soldiers and civilians alike.

Then the flu came. The Medical Corps did all they could to control the spread of influenza during the war, but respiratory disease had not yet been defeated by medical techniques. Furthermore, with the pressing demand for bodies on the front lines, simple steps could have halted the pandemic. These included a strict quarantine

of the sick, more clothing, and less crowded barracks, hospitals, and ship transports. Medical officers could do little but record the devastation that swept through the army. They tracked symptoms, performed autopsies, and preserved tissue specimens for future research, but could not stop the epidemic from running its course. When they needed the power of science the most, it let them down, leaving their confidence shattered and their pride humbled.

At the time, communications to the public through the media were full of both reassurance and dire warnings. In a *Los Angeles Times* article from 13 October 1918 these mixed messages went to the extreme. On one hand, it claimed:

Perhaps no single order ever promulgated here comes so near to 100 per cent effect. Between schools and churches, theaters and public gatherings of all kinds, indoors and out, there is hardly a man, woman or child in the restricted area – now most of Los Angeles county – who has not to revise his daily and Sunday conduct to a more or less radical extent.³³

Even more serious were warnings to anyone spreading negative news or rumors:

In the meantime, the calamity howler should be interned for the period of the closing order's life. The man who tells of 100 people dead of influenza in one day in Los Angeles and of entire districts prostrated, quarantined and the facts of it suppressed should be brained – or rather, suffer what would be braining to anyone with brains – on the spot and buried at public expense pointed for the hereafter reserved for cruel liars.³⁴

Yet along with this picture of a dire situation, newspapers assured readers that “There is every reason to hope, however, that the condition will soon be over” and that a positive attitude is enough to keep influenza from striking: “there is

³² Byerly, *Fever of War*, 4.

³³ “Fighting ‘Flu’ in Los Angeles,” *Los Angeles Times*, 13 October 1918, sec. II, p. 1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

no surer way to immunity than confidence and cheerfulness. If you're afraid you're going to get influenza you're pretty nearly elected. If you believe you will not get it your chance to escape is excellent."³⁵

This positive spin continued in the memory of the Great Influenza. When both it and the war ended, the Medical Department documented the war experience. In this, it could utilize its institutional power, for "if medical officers could not control influenza and pneumonia, they could control the history."³⁶ In its official history of the war, the Medical Department constructed its performance in three ways. First, it focused on areas where medicine succeeded, such as

in the treatment of the wounded and hospital sanitation, and ignored the subject of influenza as much as possible. Second, its analysis of causal factors shifted from controllable ones such as living conditions and overcrowding to the personal characteristics of victims such as race, thus, allowing the Medical Corps to evade responsibility for the flu deaths. Third, it treated the whole pandemic as an exception to the overall medical experience during the war and of modern medicine at the time.³⁷ Surgeon General Merritte Ireland expressed this view in a gross understatement, "Had the pandemic of influenza which swept over the world in 1918 been avoided, the total number of lives taken by disease during the World War would have been insignificant."³⁸ Using these tactics, the Medical Department

"thereby maintained unshakeable the belief in the progress of modern science and American medicine," effectively reducing the epidemic's significance altogether.³⁹

While the result certainly misrepresented what actually happened, society collectively accepted this version of history out of the desire to believe that America and medical science had entered the modern age where only progress occurred. Focusing on the failure of medicine to control or end the pandemic went against that worldview. In reality, medical officers and the government could not effectively care for soldiers, but families needed to believe that the loved ones they sent to fight for their freedom



Red Cross: Gina Kolata, *Flu: The Story of the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and the search for the Virus that caused it*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 176.

received the best care that modern medicine could offer. This heroic model of science, adopted as the official history of the war, became an attempt at redemption by medicine, and an expression of denial that the promise of modernity had yielded to such death and destruction.

It is unsurprising that individuals and organizations in America wanted to forget the trauma and failure of the Great Influenza. By collectively forgetting, they avoided facing the betrayal of their confidence and faith in progress, and held onto their modern worldview. Forgetting the past, however, can affect future events, as seen in World War II and in the current threat of a pandemic outbreak from the avian flu.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Byerly, *Fever of War*, 155-6.

³⁷ Ibid., 150-80.

³⁸ Ibid., 156.

³⁹ Ibid., 179.

The pandemic influenced WWII in two particularly significant ways. First, many representatives, including President Wilson, were sick with influenza during the Paris Peace Conference at the conclusion of WWI.⁴⁰ That fact leads to an interesting historical question about how much the influenza affected the harsh peace treaty with Germany—the reason given most often as the chief cause of WWII. With Wilson's voice of mercy weakened, it must have been difficult for those leaders, having seen the military and civilian devastation left by the pandemic, to separate those losses from the destruction caused directly by the war. Without a face to blame for the influenza, leaders could easily lay the blame for the pandemic at the feet of Germany along with the war.

A very real consequence of forgetting surfaced during WWII. The Second World War had the same needs of all wars; the demand for soldiers and supplies, the means of transporting them to the front lines, and the challenge of providing enough clothing and living space for troops. Disease, a factor in wars for centuries, also returned, but this time malaria in the Pacific took its toll on American forces. The lessons from the First World War did not serve the new war well. Mortality rates definitely improved as “only 5 percent of the more than 300,000 army deaths were from disease,” where in past wars, deaths due to disease commonly reached 50 percent.⁴¹ This success, however, consisted of only saving lives of the sick, not preventing disease during war. Throughout WWII, “the vast majority of army hospital admissions were due to disease—almost fifteen million of seventeen and a half million.”⁴² Forgetting the Great Influenza also meant losing the lessons learned about caring for troops during war.

When Crosby first wrote his book in the 1970s, little practical application existed for understanding the Great Influenza of 1918, because infection

no longer threatened the population. Crosby, therefore, explains in the new preface that he understood it as “a piece of medical antiquarianism, informative and interesting...but with little immediate relevancy” for the current times.⁴³ He simply felt that its impact on people both separately and in relation to WWI warranted a place in the nations' memory. From that point forward new disease threats gave the pandemic relevance, and interest in it grew slowly among historians finally searching for this forgotten past.

Two events recently brought the tragedy to the nation's attention: President Bush read John M. Barry's book, *The Great Influenza*, and the threat of a global epidemic of avian influenza. Suddenly, it became pertinent to understand how society handled that disaster and what mistakes leaders made. In a press conference, President Bush expressed the need to “put some plans in place” and the Senate followed up by voting “to appropriate \$3.9 billion to finance an expanded pandemic preparedness initiative.”⁴⁴ Hopefully, the effectiveness of these plans, during an outbreak of a global and virulent epidemic, will not be learned. However, it is commendable that the nation is at last reincorporating this event into our collective memory.

Becker, who defined history as “the memory of things said and done,” also claimed that history runs “hand in hand with the anticipation of things to be said and done...”⁴⁵ In other words, we search for the past, or attempt to reconstruct history, because of a present need to anticipate the future, as in today's concern about a new, potential pandemic. Schwartz also found this truth in his study of commemoration in the art of the Capitol Building, noting that “while the object of commemoration is usually to be found in the past, the issue which motivates its selection and shaping is always to be found among the concerns of the present.”⁴⁶ However, if society reconstructs

⁴⁰ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 172.

⁴¹ Byerly, *Fever of War*, 189.

⁴² Ibid., 189.

⁴³ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, xi.

⁴⁴ Warren Vieth, “President Cites Flu Epidemic Risk, Suggests Role for Troops,” *Los Angeles Times*, 5 October 2005, sec. A, p. 10.

⁴⁵ Becker, “Everyman His Own Historian,” 227.

⁴⁶ Schwartz, “The Social Context of Commemoration,” 395.

the past for its own current, practical purposes, why did it take so long to rediscover the Great Influenza? The need to understand what happened back then, such as the example of WWII, and even though society's collective memory failed to record it, primary sources do exist. The ideas suggested in this paper relating to timing explain why America forgot the Great Influenza, but only partly explain why no one ever reached back to retrieve it until the 1970s, and why it only entered public discussion in 2005.

Timing is the main reason it took eighty-seven years for America to reincorporate the Great Influenza into its collective memory. We were simply not ready until now to face this old scar. A current need may be one of the necessary elements, but it is not enough. Addressing that painful experience required two other elements. One involves the trauma of those who experienced the pandemic, watching helplessly as the loved ones they may have passed the virus to succumbed to this faceless enemy while they survived it. The fragile worldview that the pandemic shattered also factors into America's new understanding. Subsequent generations did not want to confront this injured past until medicine's triumph in finally discovering the responsible microbe mended it.

A person who lived through the depression of the 1930s told a documentarian, "it wasn't as if it was a memory, but an open wound."⁴⁷ This sentiment rings just as true for those who lived through the fear and saw the gruesome deaths of the pandemic. Nevertheless, most of that generation passed on, taking with them the pain, guilt, and failures associated with that terrible year, and finally making it safe for society to objectively examine the event without hurting those who endured it.

The second issue returns to memory and how its construction serves the collective society. In the case of the Great Influenza, forgetting allowed individuals and institutions to hold onto a world-

view of being a modern society in a new age of progress. The discovery in 1997 of the virus that caused the 1918 pandemic made this denial unnecessary and allowed Byerly to write her more analytical book. Once science finally triumphed over this formidable enemy, a new lens could look at it—one that shows a slower road to modernity, but a road that America, nevertheless, still traveled. Today's camera reframes the "failure" of modernity in 1918 as a "setback," making the triumph of that long fight even more admirable.

Just as Americans dismissed the Great Influenza because of its historical context, only a particular moment could recover this lost event and reincorporate it into the nation's collective memory. The oversight occurred because it challenged Americans' "deepest and most fundamental values."⁴⁸ Once the country we perceived contemporary significance and understood the reasons that the generation of the pandemic forgot it, American citizens we could remember it again—but only when it no longer threatened our belief in being a modern nation of progress.

⁴⁸ Byerly, "Fever of War," 6.

⁴⁷ Kammen, "Mystic Chords of Memory" 503.

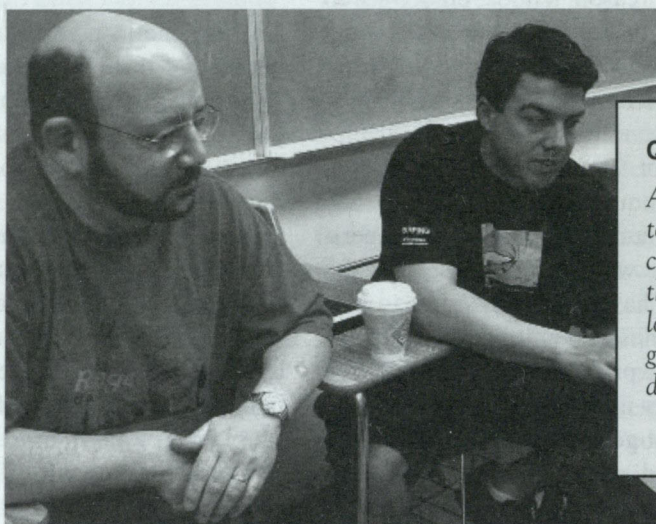
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2006

WELEBAETHAN

JOURNAL OF HISTORY

PUBLISHED SINCE 1973



Quote:

Anonymous sources are to journalism what silicon enhancements are to the feminine figure; they look impressive to the gullible, but something doesn't feel right.

-- Larry King

Fall 2005 editors work together with some of the Spring 2006 editors to mentor them on publication standards.



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Portrait of Oliver Cromwell from
(National Portrait Gallery in Colour
1979)

Oliver Cromwell Discusses the Relevance of Theory for the Study of History

By James Ferrell

Oliver Cromwell, a major figure in English history, is raised from the dead to explain how various theories of historiography can bring about different interpretations of the same events. The author uses Cromwell's voice to demonstrate how various theories of history interpret his campaign in Ireland. The forms of historiography include: narrative, Marxist, teleology, Annales, and cultural history.



James Ferrell received his B.S. degree in chemistry at Ball State University in Muncie, in 1971 and an MBA from Pepperdine University in Malibu, CA in 1994. He publishes a newsletter for the dental industry called Dentalfax® and enjoys teaching business classes at a local junior college. Living in Santa Ana, California, he and his wife, Louise, have four grown children and enjoy spoiling their five grandchildren. Ferrell's area of historical interest is early modern Ireland.

Please allow me to introduce myself. I am Lord Lieutenant Oliver Cromwell, commander of England's army in Ireland. Parliament sent me to crush the rebellion in Ireland and to subjugate those beastly people.¹ Many historians have written about my campaign in Ireland and, I must tell you, many have told an incorrect account of what really happened. The inaccuracies inflame my soul. However, I digress. The question I have been asked to answer is whether theory is relevant to the study of history. As I will show, this depends upon what one expects from historical accounts. 'To read' compared 'to study' are indeed two different things. In addition, I will elucidate some of the more prominent theories and place them in context with examples from my own humble and highly successful adventures in Ireland.

When people read an account of my time in Ireland, for example, what do they expect to learn? There are two options for the readers. First, they may discover an interesting narrative as they would in a novel. However, if they seek meaning from this historical account, then theory becomes very important. Writers of past events use theory as a tool to extract meaning and to provide an interpretation of the causes of the event.² It also provides a framework that enables a historian to explore the relationship between what happened and its causes.³ Theory facilitates the extraction or imputation of meaning, which is very important if one is studying

history. It is irrelevant, however, if one simply wishes to read an interesting story.

As a serious student of history, one must understand the numerous, and often conflicting, theories of interpretation. Leopold von Ranke, for example, instructed historians to study the primary sources to determine the true essence of the event or people.⁴ He believed that the documentary evidence itself would provide meaning.⁵ Although von Ranke's goal is laudable, I must tell you no documents can reveal exactly what happened. The sources alone do not necessarily divulge the cause. This is why theory is essential, so that a historian can determine the meaning behind an event. What events or circumstances lead Parliament to authorize me to invade Ireland in 1649? The documentary evidence clearly demonstrates that I did invade Ireland, but why? Could it have

been to show my prowess as a general, or to stabilize an economic morass, or even, perhaps, because God had ordained it? There is one narrative of my Irish invasion but multiple interpretations depending upon which theory a historian uses to determine meaning. Ever the English gentleman, I will not prejudice you but allow you to see how each historical theory interprets my actions.

Military history, one of the oldest and seemingly simplest ways to tell the story of the past, focuses on armed conflict. Additionally, it is also useful to

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grave error on our part).*

¹ The Irish had been rebelling since 1641, trying to gain the sort of recognition and semi-independence which Scotland had attained. Parliament sent Cromwell because the Irish continued to: kill English settlers, support the king, and send soldiers to England to fight on the king's behalf.

² John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (London: Longman, 2002), 204.

³ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁴ Mark T. Gilderhus, *History and Historians* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2003), 46.

⁵ Leopold von Ranke states in his 1824 *Preface to the First Edition of Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations* that capturing the essence of what really happened in the past is a lofty goal, which is often unattainable. Cited in Rolf Saltzer, ed., *German Essays on History*, (New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1991), 90.

determine meaning. As an example I will relate, in a military history fashion, the story of my conquest of Ireland.

I arrived in Dublin in August 1649 leading an army of twelve thousand English soldiers.⁶ Shortly after our arrival we marched to the city of Drogheda and began laying siege to it. Within seven days my troops occupied the city where we killed over three thousand Irish troops.⁷ From there we moved on to Wexford, another strategic walled city. Like Drogheda the city fell, as did thousands more Irish soldiers. In spite of bad weather, disease, and the treachery of the Irish, I subdued this horrible country in less than a year. One military victory followed another and then I returned to England. Because of the significance of my conquests, one needs to determine why I succeeded in subduing a country of over one and one-half million individuals with so few troops and in such a short period of time.⁸ Looking for meaning, one will find that the answer is superior discipline.

⁶ James Scott Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1999), 64.

⁷ James Touchet Castlehaven, *The Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs of the Irish Wars* (Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1974), 144.

⁸ Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, 225.

I demanded and enforced strict discipline. Fortunately, I discovered that my opponents consisted of a disorganized band of undisciplined troops. Upon my arrival in Ireland I instructed my

army to leave the non-combatant civilian population undisturbed.⁹ I even ordered two soldiers shot for stealing an Irish woman's pig. The pig, in and of itself, did not matter, but I demanded discipline and severe enforcement of my orders. My absolute control over the troops and their unwavering allegiance allowed me to conquer Ireland quickly. If one does not like the military framework of interpretation there are others, like Marxian theory.

The Marxist approach to historical interpretation is relatively simple.¹⁰ One only needs to view the struggle between the ownership of capital and those who labor for those owners.¹¹ Perhaps putting my

⁹ Cromwell relied on the civilian population to sell produce and other food stuffs to his army. He did not want the farmers to avoid his army because they feared that they would be killed.

¹⁰ Marx's theory is closely related to Darwin's natural selection and survival of the fittest. The strong, owners of capital, get stronger at the expense of the weaker, the workers.

¹¹ Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), 71.



Map of Cromwell's campaigns. (Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell: Our Chief of Men*, 1993)

own experience in Marxists terms will help explain this theory's use in history. In the early 1600s Englishmen began buying and confiscating Irish lands. They established large estates, which became profitable using the low-cost labor of those simple Irish peasants. However, in 1641 the Irish began to revolt. They not only interfered with the production of the estates, but they also killed some of the estate owners.¹² In this instance, labor attacked capital. Normally Marxist history illustrates capital exploiting labor. The indiscriminate murdering owners of land certainly demonstrated the ultimate conflict between capital and labor. The Parliament of course had political concerns about the situation in Ireland, yet the overriding reason for my mission to subdue the Irish concerned putting Ireland's economic house back in order. The Irish had forgotten their proper position and relationship to us, the rightful English owners of these estates. One may apply the Marxist theory of understanding the past to most historical settings, especially my conquest of Ireland.

Another mode of analysis that historians employ to interpret the past is based upon teleology.¹³ Simply put, one only needs to look for the hand of God and His divine intervention to interpret what has happened. My invasion of Ireland presents the perfect case in which to utilize this theory. Please do not confuse this with pure religious history, since such history is often just a narrative without interpretation. Instead, one must understand the situation in England and Ireland to see that God ordained my victory in Ireland as part of His plan.

The Roman Catholic Church deluded both the English and the Irish for centuries. God showed the English His one true way, however, and we established the Church of England. The Irish, on the other hand, remained deluded and followed

the false teachings and practices of the popes and priests. God's plan predestined that the English should subdue the Irish and show them the true path to salvation. How else could I have so easily conquered these devil worshipers? After I had captured Drogheda, Wexford, and Munster I wrote to Parliament explaining the reason for my success. "Is it an arm of flesh that doth these things? Is it the wisdom, and counsel, or strength of men? It is the Lord only. God will curse that man and his house that dares to think otherwise."¹⁴ The record clearly shows that God's divine will provided me with the strength and courage to conquer and control Ireland. This reason, and this reason alone, explains our military success. In this, or any other historical event, just look for evidence of God's guidance and intervention to understand the real meaning of the past. If, however, one is an atheist, he or she will find this theory of interpretation difficult to use.

There are other approaches to understand the past. One of the most encompassing is the Annales school of thought. In 1929 Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre founded the journal *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*.¹⁵ This approach focused on composing total history by looking at many social constructs surrounding the event and era of study. This system of analysis also looks at what the founders called the *longue durée*, or the long-term events and conditions influencing an incident in history. This is the precursor to the entire field of historical study called cultural history. In spite of the fact that this mode of analysis is French (I dislike them as much as the Irish), let me give you an example of its application to understand the dialectic between England and Ireland.

Perhaps I forgot to mention that during my campaign in Ireland, my troops killed, some would say massacred, a large number of civilians. We also shot and hacked to death soldiers who tried to surrender. In Wexford my men breeched the walls of the city and rushed in killing all that they met, including civilian men, women, and chil-

¹² John Rothwell, *The Teares of Ireland* (London: A. N., 1642), 1.

¹³ St. Augustine strongly influenced this theoretical framework of looking at historical events as having a definite beginning, the birth of Christ, the middle, and climaxing with the return of Christ. All history is a part of this continual march of humanity through time and God's impact on humanity.

¹⁴ Oliver Cromwell, "1649 Letter to Parliament," in *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, vol. 1 (London: Methuen, 1904), 511.

¹⁵ Gilderhus, *History and Historians*, 116.

dren. Whomever they met, if Irish, my soldiers killed. As I mentioned in my letters, "and when they were come into the marketplace, the enemy making a stiff resistance, our forces brake them; and then put all to the sword that come in their way."¹⁶ My troops also inadvertently, I believe, shot women who huddled around a cross in the middle of the city. Although unfortunate, this type of incident could have been expected. England, Parliament, my troops, and I all viewed the Irish as barbarians and as such fair game for dispatching into hell. As Catholics that is where they would wind up anyway. We just expedited their journey.

As any good Annales historian will tell you, do not look at these events in a vacuum. It is of crucial importance to understand England's relationship to Ireland over the long term. When the Romans arrived in England they found both Britain and Ireland to be uncivilized and barbarian. They civilized England and influenced our society's development. However, the Romans never crossed the sea to Ireland. As a result the Irish continued in their barbaric ways while we, only a few miles away, became the paragon of civilization. As the Irish continued to practice a barbaric religion they rebelled against the civilizing influence of our English settlers. It is very easy to understand my army's actions. Our view of the Irish formed over many years, not just when I arrived in Dublin. Our mindset, or as the Annales adherents say, our *mentalité*, greatly influenced our treatment of the Irish. We had developed a long-term conception of the Irish as that 'barbarian other.' The Irish became the antithesis of the civilized English people. It should have been expected that when presented with the opportunity, especially in the hot blood of battle, English soldiers would kill any Irish they engaged. We considered civilians and soldiers equally deserving death. These rea-

¹⁶ Oliver Cromwell, "Account of Battle of Wexford," in *Oliver Cromwell* (Hallendale, Fla.: New World Book Manufacturing, 1888), 148.

sons are why, upon landing in Dublin, I called the Irish "barbarous and bloodthirsty."¹⁷ No doubt all of this sounds harsh to twenty-first century students of history. Do not forget that if you use the Annales method, you must consider the historical perceptions and relationships of that time, not yours.

Cultural history, closely related to the Annales, provides yet another theory of historical interpretation. This method of divining meaning explores social systems and their relationship to other societies.¹⁸ This helps explain the dichotomy between the Irish and the English. It is easiest to determine what the English and Irish societies had in common: a great distrust and dislike of each other. In spite of the geographical proximity of England and Ireland, our cultures diametrically differed.

*It is easiest to
determine what the
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had in common:
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dislike of each other.*

Not only did Irish culture develop differently than ours, but it proved to be inferior as well. They all spoke Gaelic, or Irish as we called it, an incomprehensible language. Eventually we succeeded in teaching them to speak proper English. The Irish lacked a common currency until we established coinage for them in the early part of the 1600s.¹⁹ They lived in a tribal society governed by chieftains, not unlike those other savages the American Indians. The Irish did not even understand the importance land ownership. They lived primarily as a migratory people, depleting one field and then moving on to another.²⁰ Due to the

¹⁷ Tom Reilly, *Cromwell: An Honorable Enemy: The Untold Story of the Cromwellian Invasion of Ireland* (Kerry, Ireland: Brandon, 1999), 50.

¹⁸ Lynn Hunt, *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 53.

¹⁹ Hans J. Pawlisch, "Sir John Davies, The Ancient Constitution and Civil Law," *Historical Journal* 23, no. 3 (1980): 689.

²⁰ Debora Shuger, "Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1997), 495.

tribal nature of their society they had no central government. We on the other hand, had Parliament and a representative form of government. (I will grant you that the monarchy had been a grave error on our part). These backward folk did not even have a college of higher learning until we English established Trinity College in 1591 in

Dublin for
them.²¹

Perhaps this lack of education is why they adhered to their Brehon laws administered by the chieftains.²²

We employed English common law, carried out by a formal judicial system.

Our cultures differed in other ways also. The Irish raised their children communally. They

lived in the country and, for the most part, avoided the civilizing effect of city life. These Irish even dressed differently and wore their hair differently than the English.²³ The other major cultural difference being, of course, religion. All of these cultural differences exemplify the cultural

superiority of the English way of life over that of the Irish. I had clearly been given the responsibility to invade Ireland and subjugate the people so that we could impart the civilizing aspects of our culture. The end certainly justified the means, although a few innocent Irish perished in the process.



The Muiredach cross
(<http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/muiredach/muiredach.html>)

There are even more modern modalities, or theories, of historical interpretation besides cultural history. One of the more interesting is demographic analysis. Demographic history, in simplest terms, is a way of interpreting the past by measuring population change over time.²⁴

Obviously this is a new concept to me, yet it can be applied to my

era of history, especially in Ireland. Between 1641 and 1652 the population of Ireland declined by around fifty percent. In 1641 William Petty, an English government official, estimated the entire population of Ireland to be 1,466,000 individuals. When Petty took a census in 1652 he estimated the Irish population to be 850,000 people. This means that 616,000 Irish had disappeared from Ireland. Petty, among others, figured that my troops alone killed over 100,000 Irish soldiers and civilians. The plague, other diseases, and starvation decimated the remaining 516,000.²⁵ Then, of course, during this period we English

²¹ John J. Silke, "Irish Scholarship and the Renaissance, 1580-1673," *Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1998): 155.

²² Hodder M. Westropp, *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1869-1870)* 2, no. 3: 342-351. Brehon comes from the Irish word for judge, *Breitheamhuin*, shortened to Brehon.

²³ Kathleen M. Noonan, "The Cruel Pressure of an Enraged, Barbarous People: Irish and English Identity in Seventeenth-Century Policy and Propaganda," *Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1998): 153.

²⁴ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 248.

²⁵ Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, 225.

sold many Irish soldiers as indentured slaves, I mean workers, to plantation owners in Barbados and Virginia. The exact number is not known. This great reduction in the native Irish population enabled the English to seize total control of the island and dominate it for years to come. This is a very brief example of demographic historical analysis based upon extremely limited data. It should, however, allow one to understand the techniques and interpretation that derive from analyzing changes in population during a finite time-frame. Perhaps this mode of historical interpretation is better suited for more modern periods in which there are greater quantities of demographic data than we had during my lifetime. Nonetheless, it is an alternative strategy for the interpretation of the past.

I regret that space limitations prohibit me from explaining the conceptualizing devices of oral history, gender history, and that anathema called postmodernism.²⁶ All of these are additional modalities, or theories, of historical interpretation. I do hope, however, that I have been able to show you that the theory of historical inquiry and explanation is indeed relevant for the serious student of history. Without theory, history is just a story, a simple narrative without interpretation or meaning.

England, Parliament,
my troops, and I all
viewed the Irish as
barbarians and as such
fair game for dispatching
into hell. As Catholics
that is where they would
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²⁶ Oral history is explained in detail in Paul Thompson, *The Voices of the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). For an explanation of gender history refer to Ross E. Dunn, *The New World History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000). Postmodernism is explained in Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History*.

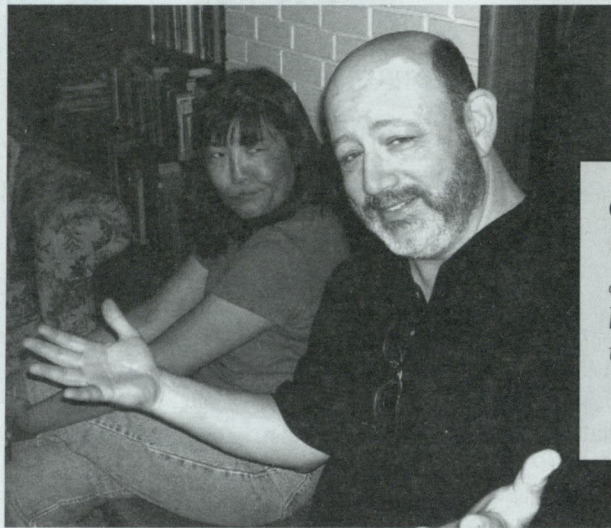
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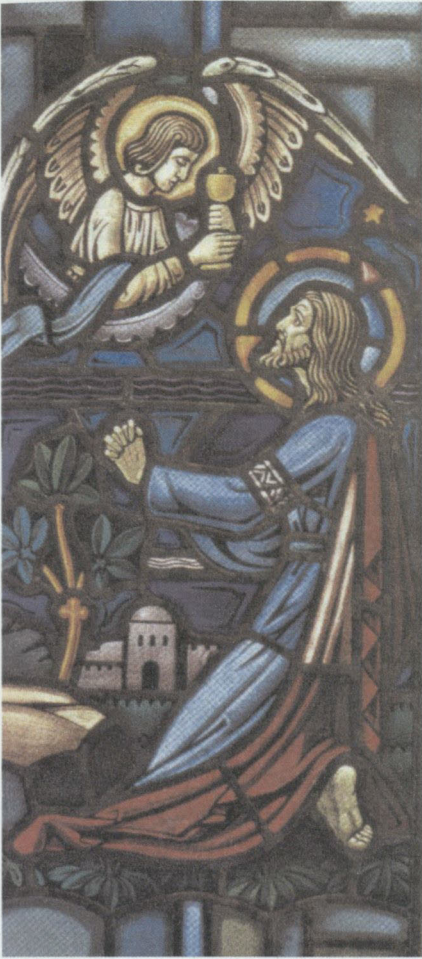
"Pay no attention to what the critics say; there has never been a statue in honor of a critic."

-- Jean Sibelius

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Virginia Chieffo Raguin, *Reflections on Stained Glass: 20th Century Stained Glass in American Art and Architecture* (New York: American Bible Society, 2002)

A Purity of Purpose: Dorothy Day's Conversion Experience

By Nicole Rhoton

Raised in working-class neighborhoods during the early part of the 20th century, Dorothy Day witnessed the strain and suffering of American life from her earliest days. *A Purity of Purpose* details the key events of Day's life as they transformed her from a radical activist to a passionate advocate for the poor and finally to a dedicated humanitarian, serving both the downtrodden masses of society and her God. This fascinating narrative reveals the stimuli that led one woman to commit an entire lifetime to the service of others.



Nicole Rhoton is a history major and graduating senior. After a much needed spring break spent at her leisure Nicole will return to Cal State Fullerton in Fall 2006 to pursue her M.A. Nicole's passion for history is driven by an intense fascination with the human experience both past and present. She hopes to continue her education after graduate school and eventually make a career out of teaching and writing.

Dorothy Day, candidate for sainthood, is often mentioned among other prominent and successful twentieth-century pacifists such as Gandhi, Mother Teresa, and Martin Luther King Jr.¹ The impact of her actions and social reform efforts through love and non-violence is perhaps immeasurable. The Houses of Hospitality that she established during the Great Depression through the *Catholic Worker*, her radical Catholic newspaper, not only initiated a benevolent organization but also led to a larger movement that fed, clothed, and comforted countless impoverished Americans to this day. Prior to conversion to Catholicism at age thirty, Day viewed the Catholic Church as hypocritical, apathetic in relieving societal ills, and overall as an enemy to the poor.

Catholicism was not the original impetus for Day's commitment to reform, indeed it seems that from the beginning she felt responsible to respond to an unjust social structure. By age ten, she already possessed a tremendous ability to identify with the poor, at fourteen she committed to participating in reform efforts through advocacy journalism. After college, she protested with union and labor organizers, reported the unfair and poor living conditions of those in tenement housing, and spoke out during World War I against what she termed a capitalist and imperialist war. At different times in her life she identified with socialism, communism, and anarchism; however, these ideologies did not provide adequate avenues for social reform or provide Day with the spiritual fulfillment needed in her life to effectively make a difference in society.²

¹ Geoffrey Gneuchs, "Radical Orthodoxy: Dorothy Day's Challenge to Liberal America," in *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement: Centenary Essays*, eds. William J. Thorn, Phillip M. Runkel, and Susan Mountin (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2001), 215; see also: Nancy L. Roberts, *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 5.

² Dorothy Day, *From Union Square to Rome* (Silver Springs, Md.: Preservation of the Faith Press, 1940), 35, 156; see also: Dorothy Day, *The Long Loneliness: The Autobiography of Dorothy Day* (New York: Harper & Row, 1952), 62.

Through various life experiences of trial and joy, she found justification for conversion to a faith that she at one time viewed as enemy to the poor.³

Day's conversion experience to Catholicism is perhaps best characterized as an evolution rather than an immediate conversion. She stated that a succession of events brought her to God, "glimpses of Him that I received through many years which made me feel the vital need of Him and of religion."⁴ Moreover, her rationale for conversion is significant today in understanding how her efforts created successful reforms. She realized that unless she reformed and converted to Catholicism, she could not effectively change society. Through her embrace of the teachings of Jesus--to love and care for others as one would care for and love Christ--that Day established her motivation, strength, and vocation. Furthermore, through her understanding of Christian Personalism, one person responsible for the other, Day found a successful model for social change.⁵ With her fundamental understanding and implementation of God's love, the *Catholic Worker* became one of the most effective movements for social transformation during the twentieth century.

Long-held ideas and concepts regarding purpose and personal responsibility shaped by and through her life experiences made her conversion experience an evolutionary process. Certain configurative events transformed and molded her ideas regarding her purpose and vocation. Interestingly, one common theme ran throughout her life and shaped her decisions and guided her reform efforts. The purity of purpose drove her consideration of ideologies.

This purity of purpose, divorced from selfishness and self-seeking, to help others for the result of less suffering, was the central idea that continually provided guidance in her decision making and

³ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 39.

⁴ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 1; see also: James Craig Holte, *The Conversion Experience in America: A Sourcebook on Religious Conversion Autobiography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), 62.

reasoning. From an early age, Day felt that there should be more good in the world, less misery. As this idea developed, she identified suffering as the direct result of an unjust social system and felt personally responsible for direct action.

Even if Day did not always consciously acknowledge this central idea, it consistently shaped her thoughts and decisions and became the normative principle within the *Catholic Worker*. This purpose inclined her to write about social injustice, to seek methods for reform, and to find her vocation. Purity of purpose, devoid of political agendas and self-serving ambitions, drove her to question the intentions and effectiveness of socialism and communism, two of the major politically charged reform ideologies of the early twentieth century. Eventually, she found purity of purpose within the Catholic Church although her adoption of Catholicism took some time. It guided her to have her daughter, Tamar, baptized in the Catholic Church in order to provide her with a purpose. In Christ's teachings she found pure principles, untainted by politics or ambition, and a foundation and justification for personal responsibility motivated solely by love. Childhood realizations and distinctions between good and evil, the hard-learned lessons during her radical years, and the joyful occasion of Tamar's birth were all pivotal and configurative events that shaped her understanding of God and purpose.

Although she felt a higher calling and a sense of social responsibility before conversion, Day could not define how best to change an unjust social structure. In 1952 Day retrospectively wrote that her life before conversion to Catholicism was misguided and without instruc-

"I did not know in
what I believed,
though I tried to
serve a cause."

tion.⁶ She recounted the first twenty-five years of her life as "floundering, years of joy and sorrow."⁷ Childhood religious experiences led her to a Methodist church as an outlet for her zeal. Shortly thereafter, she abstained from membership in any church, and not long after that, became a baptized member at an Episcopalian congregation. Around the age of seventeen she denounced this denomination and turned her attention toward working determinedly for a better social structure without using religion as a means to enact reform.

A purity of purpose drove Day to transform society whether or not she saw it as related to her conception of God. While she did not clarify her understanding of Him or her role in society until after her conversion, she began to confront and consider the meaning of God and attempted to ascertain an understanding of His purpose for her. Personal experiences shaped and defined this relationship but made it at times very blurry. Also, her path to social action remained unclear, while she held a tremendous ability to identify with the suffering of the poor, and an enthusiasm to actively provoke change she stated, "I did not know in what I believed, though I tried to serve a cause."⁸ Although she appeared to be misguided and a little fickle, Day persevered to serve a higher purpose or greater cause.⁹

During childhood and adolescence, her encounters with religion and religionists revealed an intense fascination with God, and instilled within

⁵ Day often referenced Matthew 25:40. Personalism further expounded by Peter Maurin focuses on each individual as a potential member of the Mystical Body of Christ.

⁶ In Part One, "Searching" of Day's autobiography *The Long Loneliness*, Day recounts her experiences from childhood to conversion of not knowing what to do but trying to serve a cause. She also describes her conversion as a "lonely experience" where one does "not know what is going on in the depths of the heart and soul...." *From Union Square to Rome*, 17.

⁷ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 11.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ William D. Miller, *A harsh and Dreadful Love: Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement* (New York: Liveright, 1973), 39.

in her mind a sense of purpose. The people she met or simply read about directly impacted her life and her vision of a just society. At seven years old Day found a Bible in the attic of her Berkeley home. Playing school with her sister, she acted as the teacher, and read aloud from the Bible. She felt at once that she became acquainted with "One" whom she would never forget; she stated, "I was being introduced to someone and I knew almost immediately that I was discovering God." This new discovery excited her and, "It was as though life were fuller, richer, more exciting in every way."¹⁰

Day's discovery of spirituality and also a vision of purpose continued when less than a year later, in 1904, Day's family moved to Oakland where she befriended her Methodist neighbor Naomi Reed.¹¹ With Naomi, she attended Sunday school and church services. She began to pray and sing hymns, this delighted her and she recognized a united belief and a reverent faith among churchgoers. She longed for this faith and belief, and stated, "I believed, but I did not know in what I believed."¹² Yet, at the same time she also felt afraid of God, of death and of eternity. She had nightmares where God became a loud noise in her ears and she would awake shrieking for her mother.¹³ Naomi stopped playing with

young Dorothy when Dorothy called Naomi's brother a bad name. No longer invited to Sunday school, Dorothy ceased thinking about church altogether until a year later in Chicago when she met her first Catholic, her next-door neighbor Mrs. Barrett.

While Day's conception of God remained unclear, she did recognize as early as nine years old, that "human warmth and kindness" were pure actions of love and compassion.¹⁴ Her family still lived in Oakland during the Great Earthquake in San Francisco in 1906. After the earthquake, refugees poured into Oakland and camped in Idora Park and at the race-track where her father worked. She watched her mother and neighbors cook meals from morning to night and give away "every extra garment they possessed." They stripped themselves to the bone in giving, forgetful of the morrow."¹⁵ This image of people caring in solidarity one for the other



Dorothy Day with her grandchildren in the early 1960s. (Dorothy Day: A Biography, 1982)

burned vividly in her mind for the rest of her life for realized that people were capable of compassion, and they "could, if they would, care for each other in time of stress, unjudgingly, with pity and with love."¹⁶

Years later, when Day became more involved with social activism, she also became disillusioned.

¹⁰ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 19.

¹¹ Ibid., 21. In *The Long Loneliness* Day recounts the same experiences but refers to Naomi Reed as Birdie.

¹² Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 20; see also: Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 21-2.

¹³ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 20; see also: Day, "Reflections During Advent," pt. 1, "Searching for Christ," in *Ave Maria*, 26 November 1966.

¹⁴ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 23.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 24.

sioned with those who called themselves Christians yet neglected to reform or actively change the unsatisfactory social order. She felt discouraged and directionless yet believed that God meant for man to be happy and that the "destitution and misery" could and should be alleviated. She witnessed the suffering of those in need but also recalled the compassion and the capacity of people to give during the 1906 earthquake.¹⁷ She remembered the power exerted through care and love of one person helping another during times of tragedy. Recalling the way she felt at fifteen, she wrote, "I wanted everyone to be kind. I wanted every home to be open to the lame, the halt and the blind, the way it had been after the San Francisco earthquake. Only then did people really live, really love their brothers. In such love was the abundant life and I did not have the slightest idea how to find it."¹⁸

In the poor and through God's faithful, Day felt that she eventually came to know of God's love and her purpose in life. Glimpses and memories of these people would remind her of His love throughout her life, even though she did not have a clear conception of God. After the earthquake, her father became unemployed and moved the family to Chicago where for the first time she experienced poverty firsthand. Mrs. Barrett, mother of Dorothy's childhood friends, as well as six other children lived in the same tenement housing as Day's family. One morning Dorothy went to fetch her friend to play when she came upon Mrs. Barrett upon her knees in prayer. Day felt gratitude and happiness as she recognized the fullness of Mrs. Barrett's life in relation to God. She marveled and admired that, after Mrs. Barrett completed all the housework in the "sordid little tenement flat," she knelt and prayed to God.¹⁹

This humble act of reverence and penitence stayed with Dorothy throughout her life. When Day became oppressed with poverty and injustice she witnessed in those who suffered, or when she adhered to the philosophy of economic determin-

ism, there were moments when Day remembered the peace and perhaps a solution that Mrs. Barrett held so dear.²⁰ These experiences added to Day's sense of purpose in life. The love exhibited during the earthquake, and Mrs. Barrett's gratitude and acknowledgment of her sense of purpose, made Day aware of a greater good and drove her to strive for purpose in life.

Dorothy also identified strongly with the lives of the saints, real people living in the real world who, through faith served a higher purpose. Since Day also felt at times the responsibility to serve a cause, their stories both inspired and encouraged her. After conversion, Day remained equally fascinated with the lives of the saints and looked to them for instruction.²¹ While living in the same block of tenements in Chicago, a Catholic friend introduced her to another saint. She did not remember which saint, she recalled only "the feeling of lofty enthusiasm" and how her "heart seemed almost bursting with desire to take part in such high endeavor." She felt her heart swell "with love and gratitude to such a good God", and became "filled with lofty ambitions to be a saint, a natural striving, a thrilling recognition of the possibilities of spiritual adventure."²²

By the age of fifteen, Day became particularly class conscious and believed she found her "purpose" in journalism. Her brother Donald began his journalistic career and wrote about the struggles of the labor movement. An avid reader, Day read about notable figures in the labor movement such as Eugene Debs and the Haymarket Anarchists in her brother's newspaper editorials.²³ She also read everything from the New Testament and *Imitation of Christ*, to Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Jack London, Upton Sinclair and Peter

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Dorothy readily identified and admired many of the saints. After her conversion in 1960 she published a biography on St. Therese of Lisieux, the Little Flower. Brigid O'Shea Merriman, *Searching for Christ: The Spirituality of Dorothy Day* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 171-220.

²² Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 26.

²³ Miller, *A Harsh and Dreadful Love*, 39; see also: Miller, *Dorothy Day: A Biography* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 29.

¹⁷ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 39.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 25.

Kropotkin. Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* introduced Day to the plight of the workers. She took walks down North Avenue and west through slum districts and would "ponder over the poverty of the homes as contrasted with the wealth along the shore drive."²⁴ She identified with the poor and, like many others of her day, felt that something needed to be done. London inspired her to elucidate the problems and exploitation of workers through journalism. Day wanted to "write such books that thousands upon thousands of readers would be convinced of the injustices of things as they were."²⁵ Day felt that she "had received a call" or direction to her life.²⁶

Although Day still believed in God, she became filled with the zeal of a revolutionary and struggled to find purpose in religion and social reform. However, more radical means for reform appealed to Day and she denounced her Episcopalian faith. After reading London and Sinclair, Day became skeptical and distrusted all churches. In Day's opinion the institutional Christian Church, aligned with the wealthy and powerful, perpetuated an unjust social system in sharp contrast to Christian ideals.²⁷ She "did not see anyone taking off his coat and giving it to the poor."²⁸ Consequently, she viewed religion as the opiate of the people and that it would only impede her work.²⁹ Day consciously sought to remove religion from her life all-together.³⁰ Kropotkin's call to join the "ranks of the revolutionists and work with them for the complete transformation of society" appealed to her more than St. Peter's creed, "Servants, be subject to your masters".³¹

*Day felt that she
"has received a call"
or direction
to her life*

Disillusioned with religion at sixteen years old, Day still attempted to serve a purpose and sought alternative avenues such as socialism and communism to actively change the existing social structure in which she lived. While attending the University of Illinois in 1916, Day again recounted how she wanted to make a difference, but did not know how.³² She identified with the class struggle and decided to join a socialist club at school. Upon return to New York in 1917, she voluntarily moved into tenement housing to live among the people who had no other options. The conditions in the tenements provided writing material for the socialist papers *The Call* and *The Masses* whom employed her. Day, still not positive about how to best enact reform, wavered in allegiance between socialism, syndicalism and anarchism.³³ She discredited socialism because it was "too

doctrinaire".³⁴ When she read Tolstoy, she was an anarchist, and because the anarchists were a minority they appealed to Day. Day felt that the Industrial Workers of the World had an immediate program for direct action and signed on in 1917.³⁵ Any action to serve the masses, the disenfranchised or the poor, Day took upon herself.

For Day, social justice replaced religion yet required the same fervor, dedication and sacrifices mandated by any other system of faith. To work for the masses meant she served a purpose. She stated that she was "in love with the masses," that this love "warmed and filled" her heart.³⁶ The love she felt for the masses was motivated by the purity of purpose she sought to achieve. Although Day never became a member of the Communist Party, she participated in communist movements and joined affiliated organizations. The struggle for the underclass and a call for rev-

²⁴ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 35.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Miller, *A Harsh and Dreadful Love*, 39.

²⁷ Ibid., 36.

²⁸ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 39.

²⁹ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 42; see also: Mel Piehl, *Breaking Bread: The Catholic Worker and the Origin of Catholic Radicalism in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 17., Miller, *Dorothy Day: A Biography*, 35.

³⁰ Miller, *Dorothy Day: A Biography*, 29, 34-5.

³¹ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 46-7.

³² Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 39; see also: Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 35

³³ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 62.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Robert H. Craig, *Religion and Radical Politics: An Alternative Christian Tradition in the United States* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 223.

³⁶ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 48.

olution led by communism, Marxism, and socialism appealed to her.³⁷ She initially credited these organizations with attempting to actively change an unjust social system whereas religion did not.³⁸

Day's participation with different radical groups led her to the forefront of poverty and social injustice where amidst the suffering she remembered the consolation that could be found in faith. As a reporter she covered peace meetings, food riots and picket lines, she "investigated starvation and death in the slums."³⁹ In the suffering she observed Day often sought comfort in memories of her Catholic encounters or in reading the New Testament. One event in particular proved pivotal in her understanding of human suffering and a prospective solution. Hungry, alone, and weary Day once again sought solace in prayer and answers from God while imprisoned with suffragettes in 1918 at the Occoquan workhouse in Virginia.⁴⁰

As a result of this prison experience Day faced a significant dilemma: even if movements such as socialism, anarchism, or communism achieved social justice and a twentieth century state of utopia, ultimately, the "fundamental misery of human existence" would remain as an inevitable product of the human experience unless the hearts and souls of men changed.⁴¹ The imprisonment lasted fifteen days and Day declined any food as a form of protest. Although she did not have interest in the right to vote, she believed in the ethical treatment of prisoners.⁴² Her experience in jail, much like other experiences with those in suffering, affected her personally. She felt "keenly the misery of all those others in jail for criminal

offenses" overcome by their agony.⁴³ In her despair she turned to the Bible. At first her heart filled with joy and comfort as she revered to something she learned in childhood and had lost.⁴⁴ Yet further reading and praying to God in weakness only intensified her suffering, she stated, "I felt that we were a people fallen from grace and abandoned by God. I felt that we were indeed children of wrath and that a personal conversion was necessary before any revolution would be successful."⁴⁵

This realization altered Day's perception on how to best enact reform and revealed to her further direction in seeking her purer purpose.⁴⁶ Day did not convert until nine years later, yet in her heart she knew that any movement for reform, unless motivated by purity, would fail. Day chose to ignore intuition, perhaps because she still viewed religion as an opiate of the people, or as enemy of the poor, and she suffered personally and searched everywhere for an answer.

Upon her release from jail in 1918, Day felt ashamed and humiliated for turning to God in such suffering, and, in response, she attempted to forget the comfort she found in her newly re-discovered faith. She sought freelance work as a journalist wherever she could, but quickly became disillusioned with revolutionaries she encountered. Love for the masses and a purpose to take action is what attracted her to the revolutionary lifestyle initially, but she began to lose hope. The stimulating intellectual fervor and unconventional environment of bohemian life at Greenwich Village engulfed Day. After long nights at Hell Hole, a Third Street saloon visited by artists, radicals, and theater types, she often made her way to early morning mass at St. Joseph's Church on Sixth Avenue.⁴⁷ Although she did not understand the meaning of Catholic

³⁷ Craig, *Religion and Radical Politics*, 223.

³⁸ "...Christians who denied Christ in His poor made me turn to communism..." Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 10.

³⁹ Ibid., 73.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 81-8; see also: Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 72-81., Miller, *A Harsh and Dreadful Love*, 49.

⁴¹ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 156.

⁴² Anne Klejment, "The Radical Origins of Catholic Pacifism: Dorothy Day and the Lyrical Left During World War I" in *American Catholic Pacifism: The Influence of Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1996)21.

⁴³ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 86.

⁴⁴ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 80.

⁴⁵ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 87.

⁴⁶ Keith Morton and John Saltmarsh, "A Cultural Context for Understanding Dorothy Day's Social and Political Thought," in *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement: Centenary Essays*, 238.

⁴⁷ Piehl, *Breaking Bread*, 13.

Mass, nor did she consciously pray, she felt comforted in the atmosphere of prayer.⁴⁸

If a period in Day's life suggested misguidance it was the next five or six years in which Day consciously ignored the epiphany of faith she experienced while imprisoned. Though she still sought to serve a purpose through journalism or nursing, she knew intuitively that any purpose without God was null. Rather abruptly, Day broke from her bohemian existence and parted company with the eclectics of the Village. She felt that journalism seemed a meager response to a world at war, and that nursing provided a more meaningful career.⁴⁹ At the end of the war, she felt a responsibility to return to her writing. Back in Chicago in 1920 she found herself imprisoned once again, this time under very humiliating circumstances. Day did not turn to God in jail, for perhaps she considered that weakness, but she yearned for freedom from suffering.⁵⁰ From 1920 to 1923, she traveled in Europe, returned to Chicago, and then moved to New Orleans. In her long autobiographical accounts the description of her life at the time is most vague.⁵¹ A series of love affairs, one that resulted in an abortion, left her emotionally void and she again felt without purpose or direction.⁵² However, she periodically found comfort through Catholic acquaintances and visits to Benediction and the Cathedral. A gift of a rosary from a communist friend encouraged Day to learn how to recite it for evening services in the Cathedral.⁵³

⁴⁸ Miller, *A Harsh and Dreadful Love*, 51.

⁴⁹ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 88.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 105; see also: Roberts, *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker*, 24.

⁵¹ Day's fictional novel *The Eleventh Virgin* can be taken as fact, for Day stated that it was all true. In the novel, Day's fictional name is June, and events in Europe are discussed more thoroughly.

⁵² The only autobiographical account of Day's abortion is the fictional story that is most obviously based on her life told in *The Eleventh Virgin*. Her fear that she could not bear children recorded in *The Long Loneliness* was due to this traumatic experience. Biographer Miller recounts the experience as detailed in *The Eleventh Virgin* and based on "recollections of several people who knew Dorothy then..." Miller, *Dorothy Day: A Biography*, 124-42.

⁵³ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 108.

With the publication of her novel *The Eleventh Virgin* in 1924, Day received enough money to buy a bungalow on Staten Island where she found natural happiness and began to turn to God.⁵⁴ Her life on the island was filled with jubilation, reflection, gratitude, and a newfound love, Forster Batterham. It was on the island amidst the purity of nature, and her love for Forster that Day began her conversion. Day felt that her life with Forster brought her natural happiness and that natural happiness brought her to God. She found a purity of purpose in the nature and joy that surrounded her.

In appreciation for the natural and physical beauty that encircled her, Day felt drawn to Biblical reading and prayer. In her happiness she began to pray more, "I was happy but my very happiness made me know that there was a greater happiness to be obtained from life than any I had ever known. I began to think, to weigh things, and it was at this time that I began consciously to pray more."⁵⁵ On her daily walks to pick up the mail, Day found herself praying. Alarmed, she scolded herself, yet unlike the earlier times in her life when she denounced religion as a weakness and something to be scorned, she now embraced it enthusiastically. She realized that in her happiness, rather than in unhappiness she turned to God. On the beach, she recited the *Te Deum*, which she learned while a member of the Episcopalian church. When she worked around the house she periodically addressed the statue of the Blessed Virgin given to her by a friend. She also started going to Mass regularly on Sunday mornings.⁵⁶

One of the most pivotal moments in Day's life and conversion story occurred with the birth of her daughter Tamar Teresa in 1927 and Day's detrimental decision to have Tamar baptized. Day knew at once that she wanted to baptize Tamar in the Church but, she knew that Forster did not approve and would leave her for doing so.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 109.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 116; see also: Robert Coles, *Dorothy Day: A Radical Devotion* (Reading, Mass.: Perseus, 1987), 43.

⁵⁶ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 122.

⁵⁷ Coles, *Dorothy Day: A Radical Devotion*, 47-50.

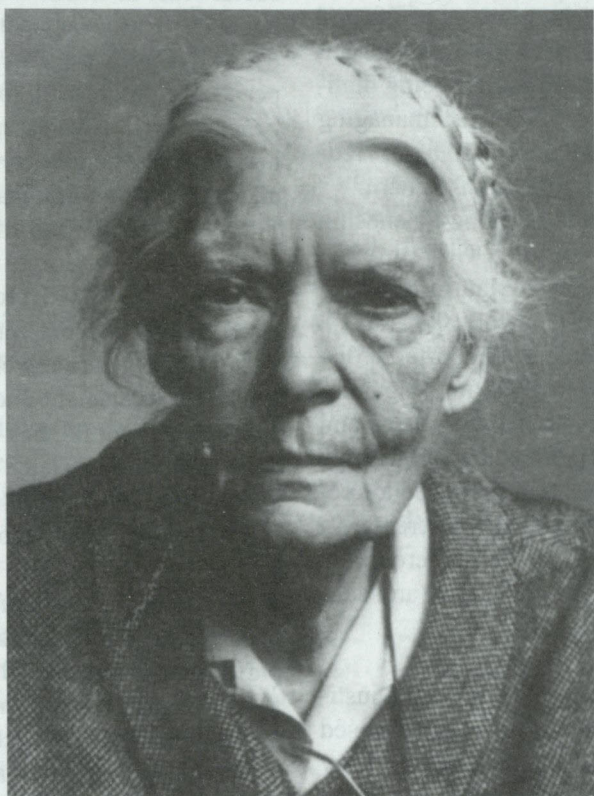
However, the love she felt for her daughter and for God superseded Forster's beliefs. Day stated, "No human creature could receive or contain so vast a flood of love and joy as I often felt after the birth of my child. With this came the need to worship, to adore."⁵⁸ Furthermore, having Tamar baptized provided for the child an instruction for life that Day herself felt she did not have. Day would not have Tamar "floundering through many years. ...doubting and hesitating, undisciplined and amoral."⁵⁹ Moreover, Day knew that to baptize her child, she too must convert. She battled with the decision of giving up family life for conversion, yet Catholicism she decided, provided both her and Tamar with a purpose greater than Forster.⁶⁰

Despite believing in the Catholic Church as the one true church, Day continued to lack a purpose.⁶¹ While Day did not regret her decision to convert, she did not find solace or comfort in her initial conversion. She felt the misery of leaving Forster, and the love of her radical life, "I was just as much against capitalism and imperialism as ever and here I was going over to the opposition, because of course the Church was lined up with property, with the wealthy, with the

state, with capitalism, with all the forces of reaction."⁶² "I felt that the Church was the Church of the poor...but at the same time, I felt that it did not set its face against a social order which made so much charity in the present sense of the word necessary."⁶³ She came to terms with her perplexities of religion but again felt lost, and without a purpose or vocation.

Day remained committed in her conversion and prayed for an answer. Her answer arrived in 1932, his name was Peter Maurin, cofounder of the *Catholic Worker*. While Day covered a story at the "Hunger March" on Washington she witnessed "marching men and banners" drawn to action and demonstration for their fellow poor. She felt that due to obvious philosophical differences she could not participate because she was Catholic, not Communist.⁶⁴ Yet she saw that her "radical associates were the ones who were in the forefront of the struggle for a better social order where there would not be so many poor."⁶⁵ She knew Christ was

with the marchers for they were, "His comrades" but she did not see any Catholic leadership.⁶⁶ The next day, at the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Dorothy went to solemn high Mass



Dorothy Day in the late 1960s. (Dorothy Day: A Biography, 1982)

⁵⁸ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 139; see also: "Reflections During Advent," pt. 1.

⁵⁹ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 136.

⁶⁰ Ibid.: see also: Miller, *Dorothy Day: A Biography*, 179-80.

⁶¹ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 139; see also: June O'Connor, *The Moral Vision of Dorothy Day: A Feminist Perspective* (New York: Crossroad, 1991), 58-9.

⁶² Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 149; see also: Coles, *Dorothy Day: A Radical Devotion*, 56-7.

⁶³ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 150.

⁶⁴ Day, *Houses of Hospitality*, xiii; see also: Miller, *Dorothy Day: A Biography*, 226.

⁶⁵ Day, "Beyond Politics," in *The Catholic Worker*, November 1949, 1,2,4.

⁶⁶ Miller, *Dorothy Day: A Biography*, 226.

and sought guidance at the National Shrine, "There I offered up a special prayer, a prayer which came with tears and anguish, that some way would open up for me to use what talents I possessed for my fellow workers, for the poor."⁶⁷

Upon her return to New York, Dorothy met Peter Maurin and through him she found her purpose; to use her talents to work for God's poor.⁶⁸ In *The Long Loneliness* Day wrote that after conversion it was Peter who gave her, "a way of life and instruction."⁶⁹ Maurin a French Catholic peasant showed up in Day's living room after being highly recommended by Robert Schuster, managing editor of the *Commonwealth*, and also by a, "red-headed Irish Communist in Union Square."⁷⁰ Immediately, they began a lifelong friendship devoted to loving and serving God through actively serving those in need. Maurin provided Day with a theoretical framework, or radical three-point plan, that included, "round-table discussions, houses of hospitality, and farming communes," while Day utilized her experiences and skills as an advocacy journalist to enact effective reform immediately.⁷¹ The plan proposed to create a new social order within the old by creating a liturgical movement that clothed, sheltered, and fed those in need, and by work, prayer, and subsistence.

With Peter's direction, Day found religious justification for the reconstruction of society based upon the teachings of Jesus Christ.⁷² They thought in terms of the Mystical Body of Christ, with all members as the body and Christ as the head. Loving and serving the poor demonstrated

an active love for Christ.⁷³

The *Catholic Worker* began one year after their first introduction as a radical Catholic newspaper for the unemployed and thereafter provided Day with a meaningful purpose for the rest of her life. This periodical aimed, "to realize in the individual and in society the expressed and implied teachings of Christ in society," and to create a social order in which it was "easier for men to be good."⁷⁴ The newspaper hit Union Square amidst the May Day⁷⁵ riots on 1 May 1933 for one cent per copy. Addressed to those "sitting on park benches in the warm spring sunlight. . . those huddling in shelters trying to escape the rain," and "those who think that there is no hope for the future, no recognition of their plight," the newspaper called attention to the fact that the Catholic Church had a social program and that "men of God" were "working for not only their spiritual, but for their material welfare."⁷⁶ The paper soon became a movement and "houses of hospitality" and farming communes were established. Today, over half a century later 185 communities remain and some 104,000 subscribers receive the tabloid sized *Catholic Worker* for a penny per copy.⁷⁷

The story of the *Catholic Worker* is a successful one, yet it is only through understanding Day's purity of purpose that the movement became so successful. She did not neglect her skills as a radical but used them effectively to work for a new social order within a Catholic framework, for a purpose, motivated purely by love through

⁶⁷ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 166.

⁶⁸ O'Connor, *The Moral Vision of Dorothy Day*, 25.

⁶⁹ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 9.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 165; see also: Roberts, *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker*, 32.

⁷¹ Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 172; see also: Day, "To Christ—To the Land," in *The Catholic Worker*, January 1936. In Dorothy Day, *Peter Maurin: Apostle to the World* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 1-10, Peters' three-point plan is discussed at length.

⁷² Janet W. Parachin, "Educating for an Engaged Spirituality: Dorothy Day and Thich Nhat Hanh as Spiritual Exemplars," *Religious Education* 95, no. 3, (Summer 2000), 254.

⁷³ Day, *Peter Maurin: Apostle to the World*, 116; see also: Day, "Liturgy and Sociology," in *The Catholic Worker*, January 1936, 5., Patrick W. Carey, *American Catholic Religious Thought: The Shaping of a Theological and Social Tradition* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2004) 399.

⁷⁴ Day, "Catholic Worker Positions," in *The Catholic Worker*, May 1972; see also: Day, "On Pilgrimage—January 1965," in *The Catholic Worker*, January 1965, 2.

⁷⁵ Ironically Day's full name was Dorothy May Day.

⁷⁶ Day, "To Our Readers," in *The Catholic Worker*, May 1933, 4.

⁷⁷ Roberts, *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker*, 3.

Christ.⁷⁸ She continued to reject the social order and worked for a non-violent revolution "to establish an order more in accord with Christian values."⁷⁹ Her past experiences as an activist shaped the issues she addressed in prayer while Catholicism equally influenced her activism.⁸⁰ Moreover, she did not denounce her Communist friends. She instead credited them with helping her find God. She stated, "I can say with warmth that I loved the people I worked with and learned much from them. They helped me to find God in His poor, in His abandoned ones, as I had not found Him in Christian churches."⁸¹ Yet, while others claimed they did not need a church to worship God, Day stated, "My very experience as a radical, my whole makeup, led me to want to associate myself with others, with the masses, in loving and praising God."⁸²

Dorothy Day's ability to identify so strongly with the poor and working classes led her to seek solutions to poverty and an unjust social structure through direct action and protest. While communism and socialism proved to be inadequate models for social reform, her involvement with different radical groups provided her with valuable experiences and brought her to the forefront of human suffering and social injustice. Eventually it was here, amidst the poverty that Day found God. Ultimately Day became disillusioned with these organizations and institutions because they were not founded purely upon love. Love was a concept that Day was familiar with; love for the poor, for God and for fellow man. She later recalled, "It was human love that helped me to

understand divine love. Human love at its best, unselfish, glowing, illuminating our days, gives us a glimpse of the love of God for man."⁸³ Through her transformation and spiritual awakening, love became the foundational concept on which social reform was to be enacted. Not until Day reformed, could she reform society.

Not influenced by political motives or a sense of *noblesse oblige*, concepts that characterized so many other social reformers during the twentieth century, Dorothy Day indeed stands out as an atypical social reformer. Her ability to focus on the individual and the responsibility of one to another characterized as a simple love of ones neighbor are ideas that arose through Catholicism. While the birth of her daughter ultimately led Day to the final step toward conversion, she demonstrated an ongoing undefined relationship with God through most of her life. She later identified the purity of purpose that had guided her throughout her life was her God-given ability to accept faith. She realized that even at moments of misguidance and hopelessness she undeniably sought God, and in faith found Him, and in Him she found her purpose.

⁷⁸ Charles Chatfield, "The Catholic Worker in the United States Peace Tradition," in *American Catholic Pacifism: The Influence of Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1996) 1-2; see also: Holte, *The Conversion Experience*, 62.; Roberts, *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker*, 68.

⁷⁹ Day, "Catholic Worker Positions," in *The Catholic Worker*, May 1972.

⁸⁰ *Catholic Worker*

⁸¹ Day, "Beyond Politics," in *The Catholic Worker*, November 1949, 1,2,4.

⁸² Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 139.

⁸³ Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 151.

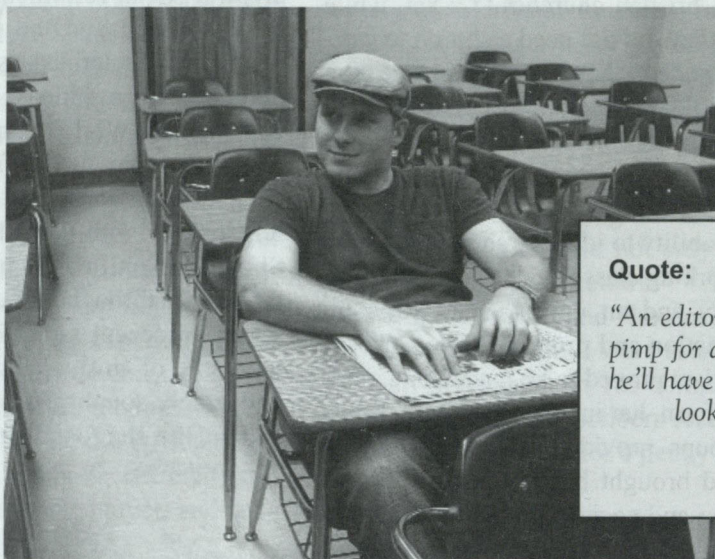
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-- Gene Fowler

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CAL STATE
FULLERTON



Golden Hammer and Eagle statue.
(Photograph courtesy of Catherine
Madeline Bilanchone)

“Families Forward” Helps Build a More Compassionate City: Homeless in Irvine, California

By Catherine Madeline Bilanchone

The testimony of Margaret “Margie” Wakeham, the current Executive Director of the non-profit organization Families Forward, brings an added personal dimension to this investigation into the effects of the evolving social philosophies and housing policies of the Irvine Company, the City of Irvine, the developers, and the city’s residents.



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An observer must look beneath the façade of Irvine's pristine exterior and examine the international, national, statewide, and local factors that affected the city's development over the past forty years. Heralded as one of the largest and most successful planned cities in the nation by organizations such as the Urban Land Institute, Irvine, California is known for its marriage of parks, thematic villages, commercial, and industrial developments. Irvine's middle-class families educate their children in the state's tenth finest school district and drive through the country's fourth safest metropolis.¹ Pristinely manicured boulevards are generally perceived as devoid of blight, crime, and homelessness.² Local secular and faith-based organizations not only maintain Irvine's excellence, but also fill the void in public and government policies that inadequately provided aid to Irvine's lower-income residents for the past twenty years. One of Irvine's most acclaimed non-profit organizations, Families Forward, promotes a comprehensive approach that helps homeless residents of South Orange County attain self-sufficiency. Tracing the establishment and expansion of this organization provides a window in which to view the effect of the social philosophies and housing policies of the Irvine Company, the City of Irvine, the developers, and the city's residents.

The testimony of Margaret "Margie" Wakeham, Executive Director of Families Forward, brings an added personal dimension to the investigation while her expertise provides invaluable insight. She is an acclaimed social activist whose many

accomplishments include a four-term tenure on the Irvine Unified School District's Board of Education and her tenure on the board of Families Forward. The addition of Margie's testimony serves as an integral component of this investigation because it helped reveal the complexity of the city's social, economic, and political dynamics that have contributed to a growing trend of homelessness and hardship.

Fifty years ago, the opening of Disneyland and the Santa Ana freeway hastened the encroachment of suburban development on the Irvine Ranch. Numerous developers offered to buy the entirety or portions of the ranch from the Irvine Company. Attempting to avoid the shapeless sprawl that characterized urban growth in the 1950s, the Irvine Company "decided not to sell off the company's acreage piecemeal to speculators and developers" in favor of "[planning] for its orderly development themselves."³ Irvine planners incorporated elements of Ebenezer Howard's garden-city design in conjunction with new-town principles of the 1960s that signaled a departure from shapeless urban sprawl.⁴ Instead, new-town planners embraced "village concepts, land preservation, architectural innovation, a variety of housing types, careful landscape design, institutional planning, and a rejection of elitist exclusionism."⁵

Even though the architectural designs did not display a radical departure from the principles of postwar urban development, historian Nicholas Dagen Bloom argues that the "renegade" social philosophy of new-town planners rejected the social values of mainstream middle-class America who pursued "social exclusivity during the last two centuries"⁶ Bloom also claims that planned development could not only "relieve the urban crisis and slow the pattern of middle-class

¹ California Department of Education. *2005 Statewide Rank. Local Educational Agency List of Schools: 2005-6 Accountability Progress Reporting (APR), 2005 Academic Performance Index (API) Base Report*. [website]; available from http://api.cde.ca.gov/APIBase2006/2005Base_Dst.aspx?allcds=3073650; Internet; accessed 23 March 2006.

² Morgan Quinto Awards, *12th Annual America's Safest (and Most Dangerous Cities)*, City and State Ranking Publications. [website]; available from www.morganquinto.com/cit06pop.htm#25; Internet; accessed 20 March 2006. Statistics derived from a comparison of cities that have a population between 100,000 and 499,999. The organization used the final 2004 statistics, released by the FBI on October 17, 2005, to determine the rankings.

³ Nicholas Dagen Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy: 1960s New Towns and the Transformation of the American Dream*, (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2001), 12.

⁴ Pathways in American Planning History: A Thematic Chronology, *Garden Cities*, [website]; available from <http://www.planning.org/pathways/details/gardencity.htm> Internet; accessed 10 December 2005.

⁵ Bloom, 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 153.

flight," but that "communities worked best when people of different classes, races, ages, and religions (reflecting the diversity of American life in general) lived in close proximity."⁷ Certain segments of the community have continuously promoted this philosophy, notably a small organization called Irvine Tomorrow, a group that has promoted social justice and slower, more controlled growth since the 1970s.

Because the application of garden city and new-town principles did not intend to build a city on a hill, the Irvine Company's plans instead focused on developing socially heterogeneous villages and "avoiding the excesses of uncontrolled suburbanization."⁸ Irvine's development over the past forty years raised "serious questions concerning population balance and diversity, environmental integrity, and regional obligations and responsibilities."⁹ However, historian Martin Schiesl's juxtaposition of the Irvine Company's attempts to "maximize profits on land development" with the "desire of citizen groups and public officials to maintain a higher quality of life" is too one-dimensional.¹⁰ The evidence illuminates the complexity of Irvine's development and its treatment of its low-income residents. It also demonstrates that the Irvine Company, the City of Irvine, developers' positions, and residents' views have not remained static or demonstrated overarching philosophical unity within any group. In addition to the investigation of the changing dimensions of Irvine's attempt to include or exclude low-income residents, it is imperative to highlight the impact of myriad international, national, statewide, and local events.

⁷ Ibid., 154.

⁸ Martin J. Schiesl, "Designing the Model Community: The Irvine Company and Suburban Development, 1950-88," In *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County since World War II*, Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster, eds., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 64.

⁹ Ibid., 55.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Irvine launched urban development in the 1950s that signaled a departure from its agrarian and ranching past. This investigation begins with William Pereira, Irvine's first planner, who hoped to avoid the "tragedies of helter-skelter planning; the impossible traffic, the sprawling disorganization."¹¹ As a testament to the developer's success in containing urban sprawl, Margie states:

I think that Irvine has grown in a very careful, thoughtful way, even if you don't agree with it. It's not hodgepodge....it's been very thoughtful, and the partnership probably between the Irvine Company and the City has been responsible for that thoughtful growth.

This reality lies in contention with popular opinion that often portrays Irvine as a homogenous lily-white bastion of libertarian conservative middle-class families.

As Irvine is now free from ghettoization and blight, the well-kept villages comprised of apartments and single-family homes have demonstrated the success of integrated housing. However, the Irvine Company's inclusion or exclusion of low-income housing in the villages and the provision of services has not been static. This reality lies in contention with popular opinion

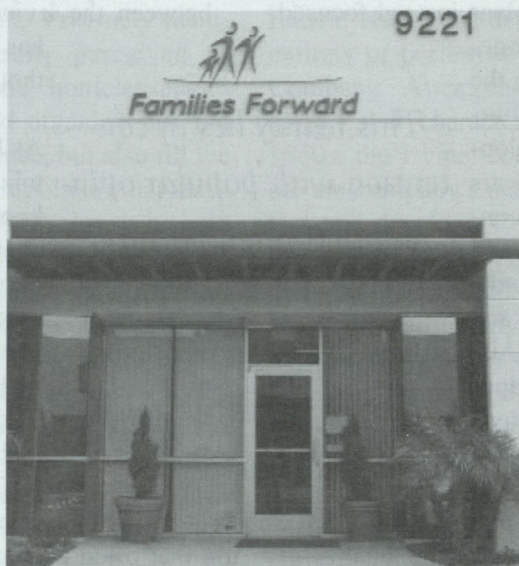
that often portrays Irvine as a homogeneous lily-white bastion of libertarian conservative middle-class families. Although some families reflect this characterization, the evidence exposes the existence of a low-income underclass who live in integrated, affordable housing throughout Irvine's villages. As a result, Irvine has not only avoided blighted areas that plague surrounding cities in Orange County, but also has largely avoided elitist stigmatization of residents with less economic means. Besides these benefits, low-income housing provides homes for workers in the service and manufacturing industry, a mainstay of the city's economy. These workers constitute a large portion of Irvine's residents who despite their best efforts, live on the border of poverty and sometimes lose their homes. Historians' analyses of the city's growth over the past forty years have had a tendency to focus narrowly on particular elements of Irvine's development. Some theories

¹¹ Bloom, 13.

herald the success of Irvine as the nation's largest planned city while others highlight the city's socio-economic elitism and libertarian conservatism.¹² However, the evidence indicates that the vacillation of Irvine's development policies has largely relied upon the rise and fall of myriad politicians, developers, Irvine Company executives, as well as divided public sentiment.

When the Irvine Company began developing in earnest in the 1960s, documents show that the company planned to develop an affluent community that precluded affordable housing. Pointedly, the Irvine Company rejected all bids from low- and moderate-income builders in favor of developers who specialized in more expensive homes.¹³ Historians Raymond Burby and Shirley Weiss explain that "because the focus on more costly housing was intended to escalate land values rapidly, the inclusion of lower income housing was seen as threatening."¹⁴ As a result, the land's subsequent appreciation in value as well as the City's Capital Improvements Policy also raised the costs incurred from the construction of more affordable housing thereby averting plans for its development.¹⁵ "Acting on these considerations," Shiesl concludes, "the Irvine Company chose not to hold down the costs of the new houses and continued to advertise its urban landscape as a high-income homogeneous place to live."¹⁶ Besides these tac-

tics, the builders added aesthetic amenities so that "most of the homes were luxury dwellings with costly frills and were affordable to only upper-middle- and upper-class people. The average selling price for a single family house in the 1960s was \$35,000, more than twice the average for the county."¹⁷ In addition, the Irvine Company's partnership with the Irvine Unified School District (IUSD) helped create one of the strongest school districts in the county, which in turn boosted Irvine's land value. Margie affirmed:



Families Forward home office, located in Irvine, California. (Photograph courtesy of Catherine Madeline Bilanchone)

One of the things that I do believe the Irvine Company has done, and I know this because of my role with the School District, is that the Irvine Company and the School District were good partners in developing. I think they were very altruistic about thinking that the schools were a very necessary component of the villages that they developed. But, it was a win-win for the school district as well as the Irvine Company. The Irvine Company could charge more for their houses

because the school district was so good. The Irvine Company gave back to the School District so that the District could enrich the schools and the programs with funding that other school districts didn't have. So, you know, it wasn't just because they were good guys: it was because it was smart business planning.

Although the City's General Plan called for housing at all income levels, the plan's zoning density levels increased the cost of housing thereby precluding low- and moderate-income families from qualifying for home loans. Moreover, the city had been reluctant to reduce densities or amenities, which the developer deemed necessary in order to

¹² Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 152-5.

¹³ Schiesl, 64.

¹⁴ Ibid., 65.

¹⁵ Marion Louise Gass, "Potential Effects of Industrial Zoning and Phased Development on Low and Moderate Income Housing in the City of Irvine" (master's thesis, California State University, Fullerton), 29.

¹⁶ Schiesl, 65.

¹⁷ Ibid.

include some moderate-income housing.¹⁸ Through their refusal to cap housing prices and the escalation of housing costs because of the school district's excellent rapport, the Irvine Company's initial claims of commitment to demographic diversity and the integration of affordable housing were ultimately hollow. Although the Irvine Company did not put forth a concerted effort to attract minorities during the first twenty years of development, Margie acknowledged that exclusionary tactics, "the discrimination as well, has been so economic ... Having said that, it is a matter of supply and demand, and who's got the money to pay." When asked if the Irvine Company's plans incorporated enough low-income housing into the villages, Margie's response demonstrated the issues' political and fiscal complexity. She replied:

Well, therein lies some of the political whim, because the Irvine Company has probably done in large part what the city has required of it. If the city didn't push them to maintain a standard or a minimum level of affordable housing, then clearly the Irvine Company didn't jump into it.

However, Margie's next statement showed the transitory nature of company policy and its subsequent support of various levels of affordable housing in later years despite its complacency regarding the continuing deficiency of low- and very low-income housing.

The Irvine Company has done a lot for affordable housing ... and the terms of the affordability. There are various levels of what we call affordable housing, and what we see are the higher levels of affordability in many places. What Families Forward would consider affordable are the low- and very low-affordable levels. There's not so much of that [as opposed to villages] where there are higher levels, and that seems to be satisfactory towards the city.

Margie's testimony confirmed the initial absence of city and company commitment to building affordable housing for low- and very low-income residents. However, the ascension of particular

Irvine Company executives in the early 1970s "signified a role reversal from previous Irvine Company policy," and highlighted the extent of "resident's grass roots efforts to exclude low-income and subsidized housing."¹⁹ A 1974 article in the *New Worlds* magazine explained the philosophy of Bill Watt, the company's vice president for multifamily housing.²⁰ Watt admitted: No one likes apartments except those who live in them. That's the way it's been and it's something we've got to turn around. There are a lot of people out there who can't afford or don't need the single-family residential lifestyle. And over the next fifteen years there'll be a big surge of them, young people and old people, divorced people and single people.²¹

By promoting the construction of attractively designed complexes with adequate amenities, Watt attempted to convince wary residents that apartments would not threaten property values. Watt's statement exemplifies Bloom's argument that at certain phases in the development process, the "Irvine Company's interest in more-affordable and higher-density housing has exceeded that of Irvine residents."²²

When William Mason, the president of the Irvine Company who initiated large-scale development in the 1960s and 1970s, unexpectedly died in 1973, Raymond "Ray" Watson became president and ushered in a new phase of development. Like Watt, Watson challenged resident's objections to affordable housing and, with the assistance of the city government, successfully integrated lower-cost units into new villages. Even before his ascension to the presidency, Watson responded to residents' criticism of the company for not including enough affordable housing in its master plan. Watson told the *Los Angeles Times* that the city will "provide low-income housing for as much as 20% of its estimated 430,000 population.... We realistically have to consider that 20% of our residents will be in the lower income brackets. I

¹⁹ Gass, 42-3.

²⁰ The Irvine Company, *New Worlds Magazine*: formerly *New Worlds of Irvine*, established in 1970.

²¹ Jerome Collins, "Just Building Isn't Enough," *New Worlds*, June/July 1974, 54-62.

²² Bloom, 85.

¹⁸ Gass, 44.

include young couples, students and professors who can't afford a house these days."²³ Gabrielle Pryor, a politician and low-income housing activist recalled, "Watson really did believe in democracy. He also believed in Pereira's original conception of the city. Watson's solution to the city's dilemma over low-income housing was to put it in first when developing future villages. That way no villager could object."²⁴ Besides the Irvine Company's shift away from exclusionary tactics, in 1974 the city mandated that all new large-scale developments would include 10 percent affordable housing. As a result, Irvine "became the first city in the country to require that some inexpensive housing be permanently available in residential developments."²⁵ This trend began a process of discreetly integrating thousands of affordable apartments throughout the community.²⁶ Despite the changes in some of the company's executive's philosophies towards the inclusion of low-income housing, the company and city plans to develop the Irvine Industrial Complex revealed that Watt and Watson's ideologies were not widespread nor wholly representative of company policy. Forthcoming events demonstrate that these affordable-housing advocates' efforts did not ensure the equal treatment of Irvine's low-income residents during the 1970s.

Much like its modern equivalent, the Irvine Industrial Complex of the early 1970s suffered from parking problems, traffic congestion, a lack of mass transit, and an escalating scarcity of low and moderately priced housing for its workers. Company executives felt concerned that if the construction of affordable housing did not

accommodate the workers, it would become difficult to recruit employees because of long commutes. In response to the housing shortage:

Some companies tapped all the lower cost housing areas of Santa Ana for employees and are looking as far north as Long Beach. A preliminary survey report issued by the City of Irvine Planning Department indicted that nearly 75 percent of the people who work in Irvine cannot afford to purchase or rent a home in the city.²⁷

Beginning construction in 1980, the company integrated affordable units with marketrate apartments in five different areas, thereby displaying the continuity of its building strategies.

The Environmental Impact Report on IIC-East Planned Community Zoning Ordinance indicated that businesses that relocated to Irvine would demand the construction of 43,000 houses for low- and moderate-income workers.²⁸ The city's approved zoning for IIC-East without provisions for low- and moderate-income housing prompted the Orange County Fair Housing Council (OCFHC) to file a lawsuit against the City of Irvine on 14

April 1975. In the memorandum, the OCFHC argued that the "exclusionary conduct by the City of Irvine places an undue and unnecessary burden on the constitutional 'right to travel' and to migrate and settle in the community of low and moderate income of an individual's choice."²⁹ The OCFHC also accused the city of violating constitutional and statutory obligations under California Planning and Zoning Law to develop and implement a General Plan program which makes "adequate provision for all of the economic segments of the community."³⁰ Later that October, as a likely response to the lawsuit, the city amended its General Plan. The amended plan "indicates the need to provide a range of housing types for varying income ranges and encourages development of a land use pattern oriented to and

²³ John Gregory, "Irvine Co. Promises Housing for Lower-Income Brackets," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 August 1970. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *Los Angeles Times* (1881-1985); accessed 27 October 2005.

²⁴ Bloom, 147-8.

²⁵ Schiesl, 75.

²⁶ Bloom, 112.

²⁷ Gass, 9.

²⁸ Ibid., 51.

²⁹ Ibid., 52.

³⁰ Ibid., 51.

utilized by all social and economic levels."³¹ Two years later, the case settled in favor of the Fair Housing Council and the city drafted plans to build what an *LA Times* journalist classified as the "largest privately developed low-income housing project in history."³² All 725 units became available to those whose annual income equaled 80 percent or lower of the county annual average median income (AMI) of \$17,760. Beginning construction in 1980, the company integrated affordable units with market-rate apartments in five different areas, thereby displaying the continuity of its building strategies. However, the company encountered "widespread resident opposition to low-income projects" in Irvine's more affluent areas of Turtle Rock and Northwood.³³

Despite the Irvine Company's assertion that attracting business was an essential element of a healthy economy and a balanced community, Margie's testimony demonstrated that even to this day, the company has not provided adequate worker housing. She disclosed:

You're seeing corporations relocating into other areas because they cannot afford to pay the wages that their workers need to live in Orange County. That's why you have people driving so far. When a company comes to an area and looks at settling, they're looking at tax breaks, they're looking at education, and they're looking at housing. If their workers have to drive two hours to work and they leave their kids at home and the kids get sick, the people leave. You can't just run over to check on your kids or pick them up at school. You end up having to miss a day's work. So, you know, there are a lot of reasons for cities to develop affordable housing and make sure that it's lasting.

As well, the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978

compounded local housing problems as it "marked the beginning of a tax-limitation movement that has profoundly affected the fiscal relationship between state and local governments and the provision of public services in California."³⁴ When questioned on whether or not the Irvine Company's general plan encouraged balanced development, Margie noted that it has been largely dictated by positions of power. She indicated that "it virtually has at times been molded by the political views of the city council, even through the ownership of the Irvine Company." It was one thing when it was owned by the Irvine Company, and it has certainly been another thing when it's been owned by Donald Bren." Along with other investors, Bren replaced Watson at company's helm in 1977 and gained complete control in 1983. Bren, an experienced developer himself whose larger projects include Mission Viejo, touted different developmental philosophies than Watson and Mason. Historian Martin Schiesl explains:

Although [Bren is] not as liberal as other developers in new towns, he is involved with the community and is demonstrating to the residents the importance of social prominence, compromise, and business acumen. Bren is, in short, an excellent leader of an upper class California community.³⁵

Despite the overwhelming success of newly constructed residential and business districts in the 1980s and 1990s under Bren's guidance, Shiesl notes the irony in the fact that successful development compromised Irvine's attempt to contain urban sprawl. Shiesl clarifies:

As at the other new towns, the phenomenal success of the office parks of Irvine has increased rather than controlled sprawl. With employment exceeding the number of residents in Irvine, it is clear the city is a new employment center for the region rather than a balanced community.³⁶

In order to understand the economic, social, and

³¹ City of Irvine, *General Plan Amendment, NO&\$-GPA-2*, Adopted, 14 October 1975.

³² Herman Wong, "2 1/2 Years since Suit Settled: Irvine Ranch Low-Income Housing Plans Advance," *Los Angeles Times*, 31 December, 1979. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *Los Angeles Times* (1881-1985); accessed 27 October 2005.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Steven M. Sheffrin and Terri Sexton, *Proposition 13 in Recession and Recovery*, (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC), 1998), iii.

³⁵ Bloom, 149.

³⁶ Ibid., 62.

political trends that affected Irvine and thus lead to the establishment of Families Forward during the 1980s, it is imperative to trace larger national, statewide, and local events. The 1980s ushered in a new era of social service and economic policy reform. With the election of Ronald Reagan to the White House in 1981, the economic policy known as "Reaganomics" strove to reduce domestic spending, while the libertarian policy known as "New Federalism" dismantled and realigned the nation's federal welfare and mental health care systems to state control. This realignment in mental healthcare reform became known as "deinstitutionalization" that, combined with Reagan's repeal of the Mental Health Systems Act, resulted in the absence of the federal government in homelessness policy until the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987.

Although Reagan allotted 600 surplus military barracks for emergency housing nationwide, none were in California. In 1984, the only money "appropriated for shelters was \$5,000,000.00 pushed through the California State Legislature by Assemblywoman Maxine Waters (D-Los Angeles)."³⁷ Of that, Orange County distributed \$284,000 between dozens of non-profit organizations and food banks. Federal cutbacks in social service programs combined with California Governor Deukmejian's refusal to provide any funding for shelters further exacerbated the problem. Despite economic recovery that provided seven million new jobs, the failure of this recovery to trickle down to the most in need created an emergence of an "underclass of people [who] lived alongside the traditional winos and derelicts on the streets and in shelters and seedy hotels."³⁸ Reflecting on the relationship between the government, greater society, and the chronically homeless, Margie argued that both sectors were accountable for their care.

I think that society has a responsibility to care for the disabled, albeit physically or mentally dis-

abled. I think that we ought to do it, and we ought to do it well. And I think that we should be ashamed of ourselves for not doing that. It's like not being responsible for your children. You know, they're the least among us and they deserve it, so I think that is a great failure.

Many of Orange County's charitable organizations' programs mirrored Margie's belief in social accountability. Despite organizations' provision of 300 beds countywide, the "United Way of Orange County estimates that 4,000 to 6,000 people go homeless every night in Orange County."³⁹ Besides these national, statewide, and local issues, the arrival of the 1984 Olympics further exacerbated the problem by displacing low-income people who lived in hotels. The Housing Coalition of Orange County, comprised of twenty-four non-profit agencies, worked collaboratively to deal with the "Olympic-period housing problem in Orange County." In response to the crisis, other secular and faith-based organizations expanded their services. For instance, the Irvine Presbyterian Church converted its sanctuary into an emergency shelter. Despite their efforts, this church and other charitable organizations were unable to adequately accommodate the thousands of the county's homeless.⁴⁰

The severity of the homeless problem during the 1980s was problematic not only across the county, but also in Irvine, a city associated with wealth that had, until that time, not been related to the invasion of the homeless in Orange County. Kevin Roderick of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote a six-page documentary in 1985 that noted, "Their presence has become apparent even in the new, squeaky-clean cities such as Irvine in Orange County, where the well-to-do moved to escape such urban ills."⁴¹ Renowned scholars nationwide attempted to explain the apparent upsurge of homelessness in the 1980s. According to Robertson's article "Homeless Veterans: An Emerging Problem?"

³⁷ Kevin Roderick, "Recovery Fails Them. Homeless: Life among the Derelicts," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 February 1985. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *Los Angeles Times* (1881-1985); accessed 27 October 2005.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Jerry Hicks, "Motel Price Hikes for Olympics May Create Crisis for the Poor," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 April 1984. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *Los Angeles Times* (1881-1985); accessed 27 October 2005.

⁴¹ Roderick, 1985.

Surveys conducted during the 1980s indicated that as many as half of homeless veterans that served during the Vietnam era compared to only one-third of veterans in the general population. These estimates led many to suggest that homelessness among veterans might be yet another consequence of military service during the Vietnam War and, more specifically, of combat-related posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD).⁴²

When questioned about the various causes of homelessness, Margie commented on the aforementioned surveys although she did not directly deal with veterans in her work with Families Forward. She recalled, "We had a lot of servicemen coming back from Vietnam at that time that came back and were abandoned when they returned. They all had the post traumatic stress and drug problems." However, veterans were only a fraction of the homeless population and were more likely to populate cities than suburbs. The authors of the Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC)'s study *Homelessness in California* analyze numerous theories concluding that the increase in homelessness predominantly resulted from one or a combination of the following reasons: deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill, substance abuse, "the destruction of skid rows, and the development of demanding standards for the construction of new housing. Others suggested that it was the government's increasing unwillingness to subsidize single-parent families."⁴³ In some cases, individuals were not interested in meshing with the rest of society, denoting an indi-

vidual's choice to become homeless. In support of this theory, Margie declared:

I do think that many of the homeless individuals that are mentally ill or drug-addicted choose: whatever is happening in their own

mind, they choose that lifestyle. Is that a logically, well-thought through, normal kind of a process? I don't think so. I don't think that their situation allows the ability to think it through in that kind of a way.



Pantries hold canned food donations. (Photograph courtesy of Catherine Madeline Bilanchone)

Despite this occurrence, the authors of the PPIC study argued that larger economic issues largely contributed to the marked rise in homelessness. The study claimed that "growing income inequality," especially among the poor, resulted in "forcing lower-

income families to 'buy down' as a result of higher housing prices and rapidly rising rents. They maintain that this buy-down process has increased the demand for and price of barely standard units and has literally forced the lowest-income renters into the streets."⁴⁴ Theories introduced in the 1990s such as The Little Hoover Commission's *Meeting the Needs of California's Homeless: It Takes More Than a Roof* list the aforementioned reasons, but also incorporated one or a combination of the following: "a general shift in the economy away from factory jobs to lower-paid service," divorce or domestic violence, layoffs combined with living on the margin, and money mismanagement.⁴⁵ Additional hypotheses include accidents, illness, de-unionization, salary inequities, loss of childcare or transportation, or some other complication or misfortune. For instance, larger statewide issues

⁴² M. Robertson, "Homeless Veterans: An Emerging Problem?" in *The Homeless in Contemporary Society*. R. D. Bingham, R. E. Green, and S. B. White, eds. (Beverly Hills: Sage Press, 1987).

⁴³ John M. Quigley, Steven Raphael, and Eugene Smolensky, *Homelessness in California* (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2001), iii.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Little Hoover Commission, *Meeting the Needs of California's Homeless: It Takes More Than a Roof* (Sacramento: Little Hoover Commission, Commission on California State Government Organization & Economy, 1989), 11.

exacerbated existing problems when "California entered one of the most severe recessions in the history of the state" in 1991.⁴⁶

Reflecting upon previously mentioned theories regarding various causative factors of homelessness, Margie's experience at Families Forward supported earlier hypotheses of the 1980s, but most closely aligned with the conclusions of the Little Hoover Commission. She enumerated the importance of various factors that contribute to situational homelessness besides larger housing, economic, institutional, or social trends. Margie relayed:

I think many of the families that I see here in our program ... [are] situationally homeless. These are folks who've had a divorce, they've been sick. They were not high-income-earners anyway. They live on the margin, and the least thing can cause them to lose their housing.

Additional factors Margie indicated included a fear of ridicule and the inaccessibility of services. Another study conducted by the Department of Housing and Community Development in 1985 asserted that several factors predominantly caused the apparent upsurge of homelessness in California [during the 1980s]: 1) shortages of housing affordable to low-income persons; 2)

⁴⁶ Sheffrin and Sexton, *Proposition 13 in Recession and Recovery*, iii.

effect of unemployment on the 'marginal' work force; 3) deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill; and 4) breakdown of traditional social structures and relationships.⁴⁷

Margie discussed the breakdown of the family as outlined by the DHCD, as well as a departure from standard views of the mentally ill and substance-abusing chronically homeless.

She also explained her position in Families Forward as a role model where she demonstrated, and at times, enforced responsible behavior. Margie explained:

The other segment of the homeless population tends to be families with children, and typically from what I've seen, there's a difference between the situationally homeless and the chronically homeless. The chronically homeless are making irresponsible decisions over and over and over again, and they're doing it because they come from families where they have no history, where they have no model or community. They are not sufficiently educated or trained in any kind of a trade. Many of them are single moms or single dads where the other parent that has helped create these children has not been responsible in staying. I think that there is a degree of responsibility that is missing. It's the victim mentality: I'm not responsible, poor me! They can do a dirty deed and now they are stuck with these five kids. It's something that my husband says: Well, who *had* the kids for cry-

⁴⁷ Department of Housing and Community Development, *A Study of the Issues and Characteristics of the Homeless Population in California*, 1985, ii.



The staff of Families Forward. (Photograph courtesy of Catherine Madeline Bilanchone)

ing out loud? ... But I think, here at Families Forward, you know my hammer (re: spray painted golden hammer) over there, and they do call me "*The Hammer*" [because] there is a need to demonstrate responsible behavior. Don't tell me you're going to be responsible, be responsible."

Besides discussing factors that lead to situational homelessness, Margie addressed some chronic social problems regarding the shame that accompanies homelessness, as well as the deplorable inaccessibility of services. She acknowledged that some people do not access help because of fear of ridicule. "We've become, as a society and in Irvine, so worried about what people might think of us." Individuals often hit "rock bottom" before they access services that could prevent homelessness. Even if an individual made an attempt to obtain assistance, Margie explained that many individuals could not avoid homelessness because they were unaware of "the safety nets [that] are often available." The Little Hoover Commission demonstrates that the inaccessibility of services not only resulted from a lack of coordination and confusing forms, but also from "bureaucratic red tape with fastidious policies."⁴⁸ For instance, Orange County general relief stipulated that in order to qualify for and maintain housing stipends, the recipient must have a verified place to rent. However, Orange County's demolition of cheap hotels and implementation of higher rents has made it virtually impossible to find housing.⁴⁹

Criticizing service procedures, Margie stated, "Don't make them walk through hot coals and across the spikes in order to get the services they need...It's just not user-friendly, and that probably is because government is so hamstrung and so bound up in its own bureaucracy." Exemplifying bureaucratic inefficiency, she referenced stories told by some of the hurricane Katrina victims that Families Forward houses. With dismay, she retorted:

They've got to give these FEMA volunteers sexual harassment training before they can go out and do the work that needs to be

done—that is just plain stupid ... They're starving, people are mentally ill, they can't get services, and then we send people over to Social Services. A lot of our Katrina families qualify for food stamps and many of them don't want to go. And then they're criticized or dinged somehow because they didn't apply. What kind of illogical hogwash is that?

In addition to problems regarding inefficient programs and inaccessibility of services, Margie explained that social service's overwhelming disrespect for clients has been a major deterrent. Revealing the magnitude of the problem, Margie relayed:

[Even] if I were starving, I doubt that I would go to the welfare department and to social services and apply for aid because I think it is one of the most undignified things ... You can't make an appointment, so you have to go spend the day there and because you don't have the right shade of ink or whatever, you have to come back again. Who wants to put up with that? ... [After a disaster like Katrina], [when] people ... get in line, they are treated worse than I would ever consider treating my animals.

Many secular and faith-based charitable organizations in Orange County provide emergency or transitional housing in an attempt to battle economic, bureaucratic, domestic, and social forces that largely contribute to homelessness. However, Families Forward is the only organization in Irvine that attempts to "permanently end the cycle of homelessness" through the provision of training, counseling, and access to resources that help individuals achieve and maintain self-sufficiency. In order to understand the organization's philosophical evolution as well as its methods that have attempted to rectify, not mask problems, it is important to trace the history of Families Forward, beginning with its inception in the early 1980s.

Christian Temporary Housing Facilities (CTHF) in Orange, the startup organization of Families Forward, was established in July of 1984 in

⁴⁸ Little Hoover Commission, 2.

⁴⁹ Roderick, 1985.

response to Irvine residents' growing need for subsistence and transitional housing. Mike Elias, CTHF's Executive Director addressed the housing shortage and skyrocketing prices that required at least \$1500.00 (ratio to AMI) "to move into the cheapest apartments. The average rent for a family [was] between \$700.00 and \$900.00. It [was] very hard to find anything under \$700.00 for a family." As a result, Elias noted, the families spend 90 percent of their income in a hotel.⁵⁰ "They [were] all over," Elias said, "as evidenced by upscale Irvine's recent formation of a group to rent temporary apartments for its homeless."⁵¹ The organization in reference was Irvine Temporary Housing, Inc. (ITH), an offshoot of Christian Temporary Housing Facilities that incorporated less than six months after its inception. ITH hired a program counselor to manage a ninety-day program, and managed five units at Park West Apartments. Margie explains that the organization was:

A combination of political leaders and the faith-based community, of which UUMC [University United Methodist Church] was a part. Good Shepard [Good Shepard Lutheran Church] and other churches in the city were involved in it. If you look at the original board, there were pastors [and politicians like] Larry Agran ... but it was really a grass roots effort.

Agran, who was elected Mayor three times in the 1980s, teamed up with the city's comparatively liberal city council in order to "expand Irvine's commitment to social issues" such as "[homelessness], child care, recycling, chlorofluorocarbons, pay equity, and discrimination."⁵²

Explaining the establishment of the coalition in 1984, Margie recalled, "There was a recognition that there were families in crisis and something needed to be done about it. Plus, there were funds available: Community Development Block Grants that came from HUD [Department of Housing and Development] through the federal government to be distributed locally." In 1989,

the City of Irvine allocated HUD grant monies to ITH which enabled the organization to acquire five additional transitional homes where families would stay an average of three months. Margie discussed the lessons she learned concerning the importance of flexibility and supplying the client with adequate services in order to ensure their success. She remembered:

Originally, the program was ninety days. Absolutely! Ninety days, you're out. If you couldn't get it together, then [that's] too bad. You know, we learned a lot over that time. If you're going to invest so heavily in a family and another month or another three months in your housing is going to make a difference, then for crying out loud, keep them!

Margie also learned that the universal application of her methodological approach with families was not always successful. "They might conform to do it my way while they're here because I held the 'golden hammer,' but as soon as they moved out, they're going to revert to their way and I'd taught them nothing." Margie's initial inability to accept the validity of other methods to obtain self-sufficiency was comparable to the experiences of middle-class progressive reformers before her who attempted to instill American values in immigrant mothers in the early 20th century. However, one of Margie's greatest strengths as a leader and activist remains her ability to admit fault and learn from unsuccessful attempts which has increased the organization's success rate of helping families maintain self-sufficiency.

While continuing her role with the school district, Margie became a board member of Irvine Temporary Housing in 1986 and helped the organization assist fifty families in the first three years of service. Expanding its services to meet the needs of its clients in Irvine and the greater south Orange County area, ITH established a food pantry in 1987. Later that year, Irvine Temporary Housing became Families Forward in order to reflect their expanding services. "As we widened our scope beyond transitional housing, we changed our name to Families Forward to reflect the comprehensive approach we have to

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Bloom, 112.

helping families maintain their self-sufficiency."⁵³ The receipt of a HUD grant in 1988 subsidized two more homes, and an additional five were added a year later. Margie became president in 1992, after an embezzlement scandal severely discredited the organization earlier that year. Besides rebuilding Families Forward's credibility, Margie had to contend with the 1994 Orange County bankruptcy. The county government consequently slashed poor-dependent services in an attempt to repay Wall Street. Besides cutting health services by 35 percent, historian Mark Baldassare indicates:

...70 percent of the layoffs and vacancy deletions...were in community and social services and health services. Some complained that the budget cuts were aimed at the poor and the immigrants. These groups were heavily dependent on county programs, but they did not have a voice in these local fiscal decisions.⁵⁴

Recognizing that many Irvine's low-and moderate-income residents needed aid, Families Forward has attempted to work in concert with existing city programs or fill the void in public assistance.

In an effort to explain public support of dismantling poor-dependent social services after the Orange County Bankruptcy, Mark Baldassare, also the director of the Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC), conducted a survey and outlined his findings in *When Government Fails: The Orange County Bankruptcy*. The survey showed that Orange County's political tenure as a conservative bastion of the GOP merely defined the region's fiscal ideologies and failed to account for predominant liberalism regarding social issues.⁵⁵ However, Baldassare repeatedly mentioned surveys that displayed voter support for reducing or eliminating public services or poor-dependent health programs. This finding reaffirms the prevalence of Orange County's more conservative social attitudes.⁵⁶

⁵³ Families Forward, *About Our Agency: Our History*, Handout.

⁵⁴ Mark Baldassare, *When Government Fails: The Orange County Bankruptcy*, (California: University of California Press and the PPIC, 1998), 138-9.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 15-16.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 44.

In addition, the county's closure of four local social service offices exacerbated existing problems regarding the accessibility of services. The county reduced the funding for a program geared toward child abuse prevention by 50 percent, it eliminated a program for the homeless, a prenatal health clinic shut its doors, and closed fifteen clinics for children. In the meantime, the Orange

County Transportation Authority issued cuts in bus services that hurt the poor the most. Mark Baldassare conducted a survey, which concluded that despite budget cuts that eliminated or reduced poor-dependent services, the survey failed to collect any evidence "to suggest that the less affluent had a more difficult time after the bankruptcy."⁵⁷ Despite his exhaustive research, the survey's inability to compile data reflecting the immediate and lasting effects of the bankruptcy on the poor resulted from, according to Baldassare, the fact

that the poor are often harder to reach, thereby demonstrating their lack of representation in the county.

Recognizing that many of Irvine's low- and moderate-income residents needed aid, Families Forward has attempted to work in concert with existing city programs or fill the void in public assistance. Although the city provides services to help low-income renters, some services have closed due to overcapacity. For instance, the city's Single-Family Rehabilitation Grant Program and the Down Payment Assistance Program are not currently accepting applications, and the Orange County Housing and Community Services has temporarily closed its Section 8 Housing Vouchers program. However, Irvine does provide housing and other forms of assistance for seniors, youth, and individuals with disabilities. The city also "participates in the Federal Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) and the Home Investment Partnership (HOME)

⁵⁷ Ibid., 215.

Program. Each year the city uses CDBG and HOME funds to assist non-profit public service organizations that provide services and housing to low and moderate income residents."⁵⁸

Families Forward applies and often receives CDBG grants issued by the federal Department of Housing and Development (HUD) and distributed by the city. As well, the HOME Program is innovative and provides strong stipulations in the contracts which prevent low-income housing from being converted to market-rate housing for ninety-nine years. This program is a marked improvement over Coastal twenty to thirty-year federally-subsidized housing contracts that have already converted to market-rate, thereby decreasing the city's stock of affordable housing. "The city created special services, transportation, and housing for the disabled in the 1990s. The city's program of affordable childcare provides a service much in demand by low-income families."⁵⁹ In addition, the city continues the Lease Purchase Program, the Mortgage Certificate Program, and the First Time Buyers Program. As these programs only assist individuals with enough capital to make a down payment on a property, Irvine's low- and very low-income residents seek additional county aide or assistance from Families Forward, the only organization listed by the city that provides transitional housing.

As an organization that caters to those dealing with situational homelessness, Families Forward has devised numerous prevention programs in addition to helping individuals acquire the necessary skills to succeed in the future. The Homeless Intervention Program, considered their signature program, boasts a success rate of 80 percent. The program accommodates families in fourteen houses for approximately one year, in which the family provides a percentage of the rent. Many of these houses reside on the former Tustin Marine Air Station and are part of the Intervention Program's Homeward Bound project. Besides housing, the family receives:

Counseling and case management services to resolve issues of depression, child care, medical care, food assistance, low self-esteem, unemployment and various other concerns. Critical life skills education is also provided in topics such as budgeting and saving, debt reduction, parenting or stress management.⁶⁰

Although Families Forward's current philosophy promotes the decentralization of low-income housing in order to prevent blight and social stigmatization, it was an unintended consequence of housing availability in the early 1980s. Margie not only explained the importance of integrated housing in regards to maintaining a balanced community, but also highlighted its comparative uniqueness with other cities in Orange County.

I would say that the biggest thing ... is that our transitional housing is decentralized all over Irvine, and I think that that is really important. When Families Forward began, we didn't think strategically about how we should have our places located. We took what we could get. There were no run-down apartment complexes within the city of Irvine that we could take over, which has been the case with Orange Coast Community Center in Fullerton; I mean *most* of the shelters in the county have taken over old run-down apartments complexes that they've rehabbed. You know, Families Forward has a different model than that, and we did that because that was what we could get. When we originally went to Parkwest apartments, they didn't have five apartments in a row. They gave us five available apartments that were all over the place. So out of that, unintentionally, kind of grew a program that has become a part of who we are. It's a part of the dignity that we look to for families: that decentralization. It's not a project. They don't live *over there*, in that place that you mark them with a homeless stamp on their forehead as they walk out. It helps the families to maintain dignity and to lift their head up when they're out in the community. So, I think that that works, and

⁵⁸ City of Irvine, CDBG / HOME Fund, [website] http://www.cityofirvine.org/depts/cd/planningactivities/cdbg_program.asp; Internet; accessed 10 December 2005.

⁵⁹ Bloom, 182.

⁶⁰ Families Forward, *Helping Families Help Themselves*, Pamphlet.

that has become an important part of my philosophy on looking at affordable housing: integrated. Don't separate the people by their economic means where the very low live in the very lowest and the more moderately affordable live at a different end of the complex. And, you mix it up even more when you include the traditional fair market housing.

Unlike local shelters that provide emergency services for the disabled and victims of domestic violence, Families Forward's unique Prevention Program targets the core causes of homelessness.

Margie explained, "Our philosophy here is that we would like to prevent people from ever getting to be homeless, to [have them] recognize that help is available, and that if you go and ask for it early on, then maybe you would never get to that point where you are on the street." The results of the PPIC study *Homelessness in California* alternatively concludes that the "most effective policy option for providing low-end housing for the very poor, including the homeless" would be the increase in the city's rent subsidies.⁶¹ However, Families Forward's programs extend beyond the distribution of rent subsidies to include methods of developing better family relationships, and put additional emphasis on debt management because:

People have created so much debt for themselves that even if they made the twenty-one dollars an hour, they couldn't qualify to get into an apartment because the housing market is so tight ... So, what we're looking at is

teaching people to budget, to make good financial decisions, thinking about doing more with less.

In conjunction with the Intervention and Prevention Programs, Families Forward offers the REACH Program, an acronym for resource,

education, accessibility, counseling, and housing. This program complements Irvine's FOR Families program that provides "personal interviews, problem solving and goal setting, source referral, and community education classes."⁶² Margie explained that the REACH program "evolved out of a study" the



Park West apartment homes located in Irvine, California. (Photograph courtesy of Catherine Madeline Bilanchone)

Irvine House Foundation funded and worked collaboratively with the University of California, Irvine. Margie clarified that over the years, the program "morphed into various others [including] parent education, back to school, and zero to five issues." One of the more atypical results of this program is its usefulness not only to low-income residents, but also "general run-of-the-mill families in Irvine, often with a much higher socio-economic means." As a homeless prevention program, it offers "parent education [and it] teaches people to make better decisions about their lives, whether it's relationships or money or legal issues." Despite the program's success, Margie lamented its limitations, in that services have not been taught in Spanish or other languages. Although some of Families Forward's literature lists the organization's services in Spanish, Margie indicated that in order to access those in need who speak other languages, "you

⁶¹ Quigley, Raphael, and Smolensky, *Homelessness in California*, iii.

⁶² City of Irvine, *Family Services*, [website] available at <http://www.cityofirvine.org/depts/cs/familyservices/default.asp>; Internet; accessed 2 December 2005.

[the organization] really need to go to them," and she found that it was "difficult to get the people to the session."

A crucial portion of the organization's Prevention Program targets children in what Margie termed as "at risk families" through the provision of school-based counseling and partnerships with the school district. Margie admitted that one of the reasons for the program's success is due to the contacts she made during her tenure on the school board. Margie outlined why the program has been so successful, and, in doing so, revealed the exceptional qualities of IUSD. She disclosed:

At the school, the kids are identified as "at risk" in one way or another. The school district is working with the kids up to the family. Families Forward is working with the family down to the kids. And oftentimes, that relationship-what we see, what they see, really can be shared, and you can double-team the family and get various perspectives. And that has been a *tremendous* resource to the community. I wish we'd establish that at the other school districts so we could have that same kind of a relationship. But I think that Irvine has been a little more progressive in their community service programs and their mental health programs for kids.

Families Forward's Career Counseling Program also compliments the city's FOR Families Program that offers community education classes, as well as the Irvine Youth Employment Service that provides "referrals to local job opportunities, pre-employment consultation for high school and college youth, [and sponsors] two annual job fairs."⁶³ However, the city's program largely targets youth and does not offer comprehensive training programs that would provide an adult with the tools necessary to obtain a job that supplied a self-sustaining wage. In contrast, Families Forward supports individuals continuing their education, learning a trade, and becoming a "life-long learner" in order to prevent job obsolescence. The organization has "networked with IBC [IBC Education Foundation] and One Stop--a lot

of the educational institutions and the ROP [North Orange County Regional Occupational Program]." However, many students "really need ongoing counseling and the interaction between the career coach and their counselor is invaluable." As well, Margie indicated that some college programs are prohibitive, even if they are only a year in duration. Because the families only have between six months to a year, "They've got to make something happen so they can move on." More immediate approaches to career counseling besides school include assistance with résumés, interview techniques, and tips on navigating the job market.

It is crucial to examine, however, trends in the job market as well as the inflated prices of houses in Orange County in order to view the challenges lower-income residents face. Pointedly, demilitarization, the dismantling of manufacturing industries and the rise of technologically dependent careers that require advanced degrees exacerbate the problem. Margie acknowledged that those without college degrees are more likely to be employed in the service industry. "One thing that I've heard over and over again is the disparity between the "haves" and the "have-nots." There is a thinning of the middle class. There are so many people down here in the service industry: cleaning your house, pumping your gas, [and] cleaning your buildings. ... And then you've got this bubble up at the other end that is living the good life. There aren't many of us here living in the middle any more." Margie demonstrated the magnitude of the job market's salary inequities, and the inability of many workers to afford housing in Orange County. Referencing statistics compiled by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the data shows that 30 percent of a worker's income should be devoted to living expenses. Margie estimated that up to three-quarters of Irvine's renters "are probably paying 50 to 75 percent of their income in their housing expenses. On top of that, when you're adding on to that childcare, transportation and all those things, it's no wonder that people get evicted and can't make it."

⁶³ Ibid.

Over the years, Families Forward has narrowed its focus in order to maintain the quality of its services for the situationally homeless. Families Forward established the Community Partner Program because the organization has been incapable of providing all of the services families need to obtain self-sufficiency. Although Families Forward collaborated with organizations like Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), The Laguna Beach Community Clinic, and the Irvine School Readiness Center, Margie admitted that the program "is better on paper than it is in actuality" because of logistical problems. In order to provide accessible services to their clientele, Families Forward and other like organizations will be establishing a "non-profit village" facility at the future Great Park that will soon replace the decommissioned El Toro Marine Base. Margie noted that "the idea of having people who offer the services on site that overlap [with] those that our families can use just makes so much sense."

Despite these positive advances that will expand Families Forward's and similar organization's capacity to aid low-income families in the future, problems such as inflated housing prices, the conversion of low-income to market-rate rentals, and growing salary inequities continue to plague the residents of Orange County. Statistics gathered this year show that on any given night there are 27,947 homeless persons in Orange County, 70 percent of whom are families with children.⁶⁴ These numbers indicate that in various stages of the city's development, the combined efforts of the Irvine Company, the City of Irvine, developers, grass roots activists, charitable organizations, as well as federal, state, and county programs failed to create an environment where low-income families can maintain self-sufficiency.

Some policies at all levels of government have worked against the creation of affordable housing, ranging from a federal cutback in funding for housing developments to rent control, special district taxes on building, initiatives to control growth (which generally drive up land values), and local redevelopment efforts (which tend to

eliminate existing low-cost housing.)⁶⁵

Besides these policies and initiatives, the general inaccessibility of services, the lack of affordable housing, the undignified treatment of clientele, and the inadequate provision of social services have plagued an otherwise superbly designed city.

Over the last forty years, Irvine has become the largest planned city in the nation with a reputation for affluence, safety, and excellent schools. Scholars' analyses of the overall development of Irvine highlight certain pervasive trends that have distinguished the town from other postwar suburban areas. For instance, historian Bloom enumerates Irvine's integration of affordable housing in the villages, the economic and social importance of that decentralization, as well as the significance of activist and charitable organizations such as Families Forward.

Irvine demonstrated from the beginning the wisdom of integrating affordable housing units in market-rate complexes. ... Although the redesign of low-income housing programs along more decentralized lines played an important role in reducing social conflict, long-term citizen action has played just as important a part in preserving the idealistic vision.⁶⁶

The parties that contributed to the city's development largely maintained new-town principles of special design. Despite this, Irvine has not represented an alternative to suburban social exclusivity because of the prevalence of socio-economic discrimination. This investigation demonstrates that one must look beneath the flawless façade to examine the history of the city's less affluent residents. Even though the *Orange County Chapter of the American Institute for Planners* labeled Irvine as "one of the most comprehensive and completely balanced new communities to be found in the United States," Margie revealed that "the only thing that wasn't master planned was the human component of the city. I don't think that they thought about domestic violence or homelessness."⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Margie Wakeham, *Families Forward Letter*, November 2005.

⁶⁵ Little Hoover Commission, 10.

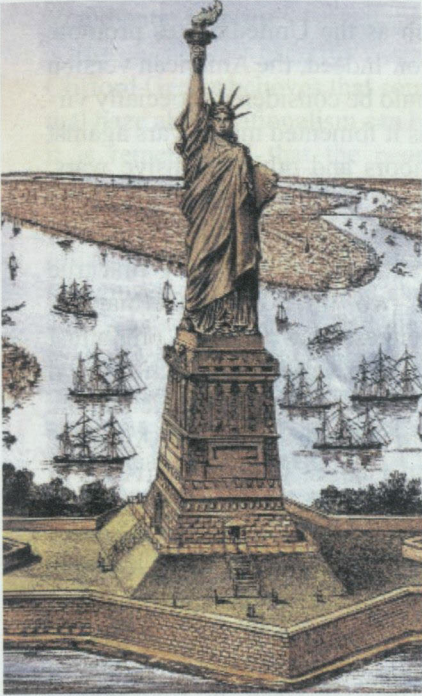
⁶⁶ Bloom, 183.

⁶⁷ Schiesl, 64.

Other elements that the planners could not control that greatly affected the development of Irvine and its treatment of low-income residents included the social philosophies and the housing policies of the Irvine Company, the City of Irvine, the developers, and the residents. Moreover, the fact that their views have not remained static nor demonstrated overarching philosophical unity within any group rejects historian Martin Schiesl's one-dimensional juxtaposition of the Irvine Company's profit-minded greed with the desire of city officials' and activists' righteous pursuit "a higher quality of life" prescribed by new-town principles.⁶⁸ As well, Irvine's application of garden city and new-town spatial organization failed to contain the shapeless urban sprawl of postwar California. However, these principles did help the city avoid common urban problems including blight, ghettoization, and haphazard growth. Besides an investigation of company and city policies in the development of Irvine, the evidence demonstrates the importance of international, national, statewide, and local events on local development.

Within that larger context, tracing the establishment and expansion of Families Forward provides an alternative view of the social philosophies and housing policies of the Irvine Company, the City of Irvine, the developers, and the city's residents. This analysis exhibits the exceptionalism of Families Forward's holistic approach that filled the void in public social services for the past twenty years. Moreover, the addition of Margie's testimony serves as an integral component of this investigation because it adds a personal dimension to the investigation, while her expertise provides invaluable insight. Not only does her testimony reveal the complexity of the city's social, economic, and political dynamics that contribute to a growing trend of homelessness and hardship, but it also demonstrates the success of applying the principles of the "golden hammer" of responsibility in building a better and more compassionate Irvine.

⁶⁸ Schiesl, 64.



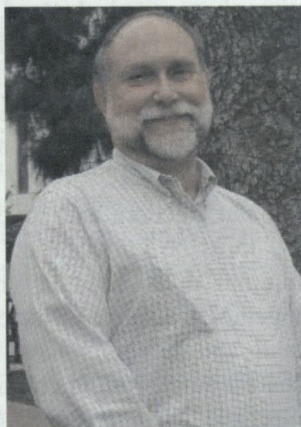
Statue of Liberty, 1885 (Courtesy of Wilson's Almanac)

American Nationalism

By Kenneth McMullen

Defining American nationalism is constructed primarily from Hans Kohn's book, *An American Nationalism: An interpretative Essay*, but other authors are referenced as well. In an attempt to understand American nationalism, the origins of the American people are defined to be from other nations, thus giving way to first defining nationalism and then nation.

Best American Paper



Kenneth W. McMullen was born in Ohio and has lived extensively on both coasts (a Navy brat). He attended California State University, Fullerton, where he received his B.A. in Political Science (1976). After working in several campaigns, Ken somehow migrated to programming. Ken has traveled in 46 of the 50 states while working as a database programmer for over twenty years. After his career in database programming, he has returned to college and is in the Master's of History program at California State University, Fullerton. He is currently teaching U. S. History, World History, and American Government in a local high school. He is married with three children and two grandchildren.

Much of the news emanating from the Middle East resonates with nationalistic overtones. Many ethnic groups struggle to determine their place in the existing community of nations. In this atmosphere, the nature of nationalism, its causes, and resulting effects are examined for a better understanding of the events unfolding in western Asia. Therefore, it seems appropriate to examine American nationalism as it relates to the accepted definitions of nationalism. This investigation revolves around Hans Kohn's book, *American Nationalism: An Interpretative Essay*, and references various published works in the field.¹

Scholarship on nationalism in the later half of the twentieth century casts a shadow over the phenomena as a cause of most, if not all, the wars and violence since 1900. Benedict Anderson contends that since the end of World War II, every successful revolution defined itself in nationalistic terms.² John Hutchinson commented that on a more general level, the early twentieth century confirmed for many the intimate connection between nationalism and war—one that recently led many scholars to seek a trans-national ideology to counteract the violence inherent in national chauvinism.³ Yet nationalism *sui generis* is not responsible for war; even organizations created for peace can be warlike. As historian William M. Fowler Jr. comments:

The Iroquois Confederation, organized to preserve peace, proved even more successful at waging war. Blessed with superior organization, European technology, and an ample number of warriors, the Five Nations swept to victory, virtually annihilating the Huron. Within a few years the Iroquois dominated all the tribes and territory between the Illinois country in the west, the Hudson Valley in the east, and as far south as the

Carolinas, where the powerful Cherokee blocked their expansion.⁴

Democracies such as the United States promote nationalistic fervor. Indeed, the American version of nationalism could be considered especially virulent inasmuch as it fomented major wars against both of its neighbors and other extensive wars. These includes both the four largest powers in Western Europe—Great Britain twice, France in an undeclared war, Spain in America's first true world war, and two times with Germany—engaged in its longest war against Communist forces in Vietnam, and suffered through its own bloody civil war. This listing does not include the various constabulary actions in Central America, various Caribbean islands, and the activities in which the United States engaged in its self-assigned duties as the world's policeman.

Kohn posits five problems he feels are characteristic of American nationalism: its origins; its federal structure; its relationship to Great Britain—the mother country; its multi-ethnic character; and its position in the community of nations.⁵ In order to compare American nationalism to nationalism in general it one must discuss commonly held definitions concerning nationalism.

Ernest Gellner says that nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness as is commonly posited. Instead, it invents nations where they do not exist. Nationalism needs some pre-existing differentiating elements to ignite the process, even if those elements are purely negative.⁶ As writer Hutchinson argued:

Nationalism was, first of all, a doctrine of popular freedom and sovereignty. The people must be united; they must dissolve all internal divisions; they must be gathered together in a single historic territory, a homeland; and they must have legal equality and share a single public culture. But which culture and what territory? Only a homeland that was 'theirs' by historic right, the land of

¹ Hans Kohn, *American Nationalism: An Interpretative Essay* (New York: Collier Books, 1961).

² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 2.

³ John Hutchinson, "Introduction", in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, Oxford Readers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 9.

⁴ William M. Fowler, Jr., *Empires at War: The French and Indian War and the Struggle for North America, 1754-1763* (New York: Walker, 2005), 8.

⁵ Kohn, 9.

⁶ Ernest Gellner, "Nationalism" in *Thought and Change* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964), 158-69, in Hutchinson, *Nationalism*, 62.

their forebears; only a culture that was 'theirs' as a heritage, passed down the generations, and therefore an expression of their authentic identity.⁷

Clifford Geertz believes that some of the conceptual haze about nationalism can be burned away if it is remembered that the peoples of the new states are simultaneously animated by two powerful, thoroughly independent, yet distinct and often opposed motives. The people desire to be recognized as responsible agents whose hopes, acts, and wishes matter. And they have the desire to build an efficient, dynamic modern state.⁸ Still other scholars have noted that an outside source can have a major impact on a people's self-consciousness. Barbara Ward, for instance, claims that:

But by the end of the Middle Ages – say, the fourteenth century – France had become conscious of itself as a big national group speaking the French tongue, and possibly the chief reason for this self-awareness was the amount of time the French had to spend fighting the English next door. Nothing so concentrates one's national feeling as being aware of somebody else's [national feelings].⁹

Anthony D. Smith, too, provides a list, of the elements that make up nationalism. In his discussion as to why England in the late fourteenth century lacked certain elements necessary for consideration as a nation, Smith does enumerate some of the developing elements of nationalism found in the English state: full economic unity; stable territory boundaries; a public, mass-educations sys-

tem; and full legal rights for the masses. Smith notes other, fully developed English elements: a common name and myth of descent; a common culture based on language and ecclesiastical organization; and strong emotional attachment to the island kingdom.¹⁰ The above citations can be combined to form a definition of nationalism with the following elements: sovereignty of a defined territory, one common language, an ethnic core of a single ethnicity, and a culture based on an ancient culture, real or imagined, passed down through generations to the present time. As nationalism is associated with the concept of *nation*, it is appropriate to examine the definition scholars have created for this construct.

*The people desire to be
recognized as
responsible agents
whose hopes, acts
and wishes matter.*

Elie Kedourie holds that in nationalist doctrine, language, race, culture, and, sometimes even religion, constitute different aspects of the same primordial entity, the nation.¹¹ Ward believes the nation is a normal, perhaps the normal, personality for human groups in the post-tribal stage.¹²

Joseph Stalin defined a nation thus: "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."¹³ Walker Connor does not hold to as material a definition as Stalin:

Defining and conceptualizing the nation is much more difficult because the essence of a nation is intangible. This essence is a psychological bond that joins a people and differentiates it, in the sub-conscious convic-

⁷ Hutchinson, *Nationalism*, 4.

⁸ Clifford Geertz, "The Integration Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in Clifford Geertz ed., *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa* (New York: Free Press, 1963), 107-13, in Hutchinson, *Nationalism*, 30.

⁹ Barbara Ward, *Five Ideas that Changed the World, The Aggrey – Fraser – Guggisberg Lectures* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1959), 13.

¹⁰ Anthony D. Smith, "The Origins of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 12/3 (1989), 349-56, in Hutchinson, *Nationalism*, 148-49.

¹¹ Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1960) 71-81, 99-102, in Hutchinson, *Nationalism*, 49.

¹² Ward, 22.

¹³ Joseph Stalin, "The Nation" in *Marxism and the Natural Question*, from *The Essential Stalin: Major Theoretical Writings, 1905-1952*, Bruce Franklin ed., (London: Croom Helm, 1973), 57-61, in Hutchinson, 20.

tion of its members, from all other people in a most vital way.¹⁴

Anderson defines the nation as an imagined community. It is imagined because even in the smallest state, no citizen can ever know most of his fellow citizens, they can only be imagined.¹⁵ Not all scholars, however, are as matter of fact about nations.

Nations, as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: that is a reality, for better or worse, and in general an inescapable one.¹⁶

Having seen the accepted definitions of nationalism and nation, let us turn to Kohn's examinations of American nationalism.

In his work, Kohn explains that the "essay" is to discuss what he sees as "the chief problems inherent in the very complex phenomena of American nationalism."¹⁷ He believes the five problems--see above--listed chronologically, lead from one into the next. The first in his order, and the first in chronological order, is consideration of the origin of the United States of America as a country.

¹⁴ Walker Connor, "A Nation Is a Nation, Is a State, Is an Ethnic Group, Is a ...," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1 / 4 (1978), 379-88, in Hutchinson, *Nationalism*, 36.

¹⁵ Anderson, 6.

¹⁶ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 48-9, 55-62, in Hutchinson, *Nationalism*, 63.

¹⁷ Kohn, 9.

The pathology of American nationalism differs significantly from that of other nations. Kohn shows that the Americans built their state without the foundational elements that, according to most of the scholarship in the field, are necessary for the make up of a distinct nation. Americans, due to the multi-ethnic backgrounds of its citizens,



The American Flag (Picture provided by yahoo.pictures.com)

cannot claim common descent. The Americans do not have one common religion. There is no historic ancient land from which America sprang into existence. They, the Americans, have no enduring traditions of civilization to conjure up as a

way of differentiating themselves from other peoples. And, lastly, they do not have a differing language—again to set them apart.

Its [the United States of America] very beginning singles it out. According to Alexis de Tocqueville in his classic work *Democracy in America*, the development of the United States offers the only opportunity to witness in broad daylight the birth and growth of a national society.¹⁸

In reference to Kohn's point that the Americans had no distinctly American historic, ancient homeland, the colonists would have disagreed: they claimed England as their ancient homeland. Liah Greenfeld notes that all the British settlements, in what is now the United States of America, considered themselves to be true English.¹⁹

¹⁸ Kohn, 15.

¹⁹ Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 407.

The nationality of American identity and conscious does not demand an explanation. The English settlers came with a national identity; it was a given. They necessarily conceived of the community to which they belonged as a nation; the idea of the nation was an American inheritance.²⁰

In addition, the Americans do have a mythos, if not a distinct ancient people. Craig R. Smith insists the Americans created their mythic heroes from the lives of the real people who delivered the impassioned speeches against the Stamp Act, wrote the thoughtful treatises on independence, and led the nation through the fight for their independence and the fight for the Constitution. These myths emerged much closer to the actual events than the narratives of other people's ancients.

George Washington did not throw a silver dollar across the Potomac, but he did across the Rappahannock. Paul Revere did ride through the countryside warning the people that the British were coming. Betsy Ross constructed an American flag for one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and Nathan Hale died for it.²¹

These stories had an immediacy for the Americans of the early republic; they, or their parents, knew these now mythological people.²² As for the idea that America did not have an ethnic core, Kohn is overlooking the historic make-up of the English ethnicity: Britons, Romans, Angles, Saxons, Danes, Vikings, and Normans. There is no common ancestry for the English; the Americans have just pursued the same course that their, culturally speaking, ancient forebears did: assimilate the newcomers. If the Americans did not have all the elements necessary for nationalism, Kohn contends that the United States did have something to trump the missing elements:

²⁰ Ibid., 402.

²¹ Craig R. Smith, *Daniel Webster and the Oratory of Civil Religion* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 9.

²² Ibid., 7. To use Daniel Webster as a specific example, his father knew General George Washington and guarded Washington's tent the night Washington found out about Benedict Arnold's treason.

the Americans possessed the American Revolution.

Kohn believes the American Revolution should not be classified with the typical nationalistic wars—fought for freedom against foreign overlords. He viewed the American Revolution as a British civil war carrying on the struggle between the Whigs and the Tories. The author Kevin Phillips concurs and argues that the Anglo-Americans fought the English not because they felt themselves un-English, but because they were English. ... they [Anglo-Americans] were upholding English constitutional rights, based upon the English revolutions of the seventeenth century, against their distortion by the arbitrary actions of the English government of the day.²³

Kohn ignores the fact that up to 4 July 1776 the moderates tried to resolve the disputes with the mother country short of independence. Like latter day Indian nationalists, the North American colonists initially put their faith in the universalist pretensions of the British capital.²⁴ Indeed, the American moderates, headed by John Dickinson, placed their faith and hopes in the freedom loving Englishmen in Parliament. Yet, moderates throughout the first and second British empires necessarily reflected an immature nationalism, one destined to be overwhelmed by emotion.²⁵

Kohn proposes that the nation founded at the end of the American Revolution united around an Enlightenment idea, an idea that found its expression in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Kohn comments that "the Constitution is unlike any other: it represents the lifeblood of the American nation, its supreme symbol and manifestation. It is so welded with the national existence itself that the two have become inseparable."

²³ Kohn, 19. This topic is covered exceedingly well in Kevin Phillips' book *The Cousins' Wars: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America* (New York: Basic Books, a Member of Perseus Books Group, 1999).

²⁴ Sanjay Seth, "Rewriting Histories of Nationalism: The Politics of 'Moderate Nationalism' in India, 1870-1905," *American Historical Review*, 104, No. 1 (February, 1999): 106.

²⁵ Ibid., 98.

ble.”²⁶ This Enlightenment idea is “the English tradition of liberty as it developed from old roots in the two English revolutions in the seventeenth century.”²⁷ He asserts that America took this English birthright and extended it to all mankind. Kohn quotes Benjamin Harrison—the twenty-third President of the United States:

At first we talked of English rights but it was not long until we began to talk of human rights. What kings and parliaments had given, they could take away. And so our fathers were driven to claim a divine endowment and to allow it to all men, since God made all of one blood.²⁸

In its origins, America became the incarnation of an idea. Kohn quotes Richard Hofstadter, “It has been our [the United States of America] fate as a nation, not have ideologies but to be one.”²⁹ Kohn contends that because the spirit of American liberty came from England, this helped form a bond between the former colonies and its mother country. “America is, and has been since its beginning, the frontier land of both the English tradition of liberty and modern Western civilization.”³⁰

The frontier movement is not distinctly American, but in no other country did the pioneering spirit reach the same level of intensity or exercise as decisive an influence as among the Americans. To emphasize this point Kohn quotes from James Bryce’s *The American Commonwealth*, “The West may be called the most distinctly American part of America because the points in which it differs from the East are the same points in which America as a whole differs from Europe.”³¹ Kohn next moves to discuss

how this new country strove to create a cultural identity distinct from its motherland.

While secure in their political and social systems, the Americans continued to search for, and create, their own culture, a culture to separate them from England. “Both Americans and Europe often doubted whether cultural life in the United States

equaled its political vitality and economic strength.”³² Kohn spends many pages discussing the trials and tribulations of the Americans as they tried, and usually failed, to produce an uniquely, American literature. What Kohn does not discuss is why the Americans tried so hard to be the equal of Britain. The reason is simple: the Americans believed the British still saw them—the colonists—as the

child and wanted to show they, as adults, could stand on their own in the world. In addition, the separation left bitter feelings toward the mother country and a great deal of cultural pain. John Dickinson wrote, before independence, that if America separated from the mother country, “Where shall we find another Britain, to supply our loss? Torn from the body to which we are united by religion, liberty, laws, affections, relation, language and commerce, we must bleed at every vein.” Only time and the War of 1812 healed such a separation. Slowly a distinctly American culture grew from the British colonial culture of the late eighteenth century; the uniqueness being derived from the different social habits and environment.³³

Kohn notes that by the end of the eighteenth century Americans attained the status of co-heirs and full partners to the British culture. Kohn demonstrates that this occurred partly because America accepted, and indeed, gloried in its past association with the English culture. Many Americans

²⁶ Kohn, 20.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 21. Later on in the same speech, Harrison said, “We made our convenience an exception in the case of the black man; God erased it with a sponge dipped in the white man’s blood.”

²⁹ Ibid., 25.

³⁰ Ibid., 32.

³¹ Ibid., 33.

³² Ibid., 52.

³³ Ibid., 57.

frankly claimed Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Locke, etc., as part of their cultural heritage.

Concurrent with the striving to produce an American high culture, the United States and Great Britain worked to create a viable strategic relation. After the War of 1812, a friendly relationship seemed unlikely, but through trade and other diplomatic contacts, relations began to grow closer. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the British invested massive amounts of money in American land and industry. By the end of the eighteenth century the two countries became partners, "a fellowship never defined or circumscribed by words or formula and yet more alive than any legal tie could ever have made it."³⁴ Kohn also maintains that American culture is a branch on the English tree, different yet inseparably connected to it. Having established a country and worked out the relationship with the mother country, America dealt with the formation of a central, federal government.

Since the American Revolution, the country had increased its size to twenty times larger, both in land and in population, than the original colonies on the Atlantic seaboard.³⁵ Before the expansionistic nationalism of the 1840's, some leading Americans saw the possibility of two or three Anglo-American countries arising to govern the immense continent. Jefferson himself thought that the tension among the states would eventually cause the compact to break down.³⁶ Kohn contends that the breakup did not happen, at least until 1860, because of the cohesion among the American people.

What endowed the variety of sectional interests with a surprisingly strong national cohesion was the combination of individual liberty and federal principle, based on the tradition set by England's Glorious Revolution of substituting discussion and concession and compromise legislation for force.³⁷

Nevertheless, a break would come. The expansion after the Mexican-American War greatly increased the amount of land available for settlement. The political discussions on how to handle this new land triggered increased tension among the states. Kohn contends that from this internal strife grew what he calls Southern nationalism, but Geertz considered such feelings as primordial attachments. Geertz argues that young states—countries—are susceptible to serious disaffection based on primordial attachments. By a primordial attachment, Geertz refers to one that stems from the assumed givens of social existence. In the case of Southern leaders the 'given' from which their disaffection sprang consisted of "particular social customs." Geertz notes that custom, blood, and speech "are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves." One is bound to one's neighbor "at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributable to the very tie itself." Geertz maintains that the general strength of such primordial bonds differ from person to person, but for virtually everyone some attachments flow more from a sense of natural affinity than from social interaction³⁸.

Kohn often sounds like a Southern apologist in denying that slavery represented the root cause of the war. While he acknowledges the cultural differences, Kohn does not acknowledge that chattel slavery resided at the base of the cultural differences. The Southern culture—especially in South Carolina—depended on its "peculiar institution" for the life style of the plantation owner, the Southern lifestyle. The differences in the economic structure of the two regions, again, came about because of chattel slavery. Thus the tensions between the regions came about because of differences in custom and economic structures, but at the bottom of it all stood the black slave.

Geertz contends that people of young states are driven by their own motives (see discussion of Geertz's two motives above), and Southern lead-

³⁴ Ibid., 91.

³⁵ Ibid., 101.

³⁶ Ibid., 113.

³⁷ Ibid., 110.

³⁸ Geertz, "Integration Revolution", in Hutchinson, *Nationalism*, 31.

ers based their actions on what they foresaw, or what they *said* they foresaw, in the political future.³⁹ The Southerners claimed that Northern control of the government would eventually exclude them from their rightful political roles. The Northern control of the national economic policy had already excluded Southern interests. Geertz explains this Southern position, and the rhetoric that flowed from it, in quoting Mazzini, in that "the demand to exist and to have a name is to such a great extent fired by a humiliating sense of exclusion from the important centers of power in world society."⁴⁰

Kohn's European background led him to fashion rather tenuous historical analogies. In one passage, he attempts to explain how the American Civil War and the Swiss Canton Civil War relate to each other, and argues that the Swiss federalism could have happened here without the sectional rancor that divided Southerners and Northerners. The difficulty with Kohn's position is that the issues causing the division among the Swiss did not have the same high emotional content as that of the American breakup. The intensity of the differences between the North and the South made it almost impossible to heal the breach. Kohn argues that the Civil War both "questioned and at the same time completed the crystallization of American nationalism."⁴¹

It is clear that American nationalism emerged stronger after the Civil War. This is because the nationalists defeated the attempt by the Southern regionalists—primordialists in Geertz's eyes—to supplant the national structures with regional ones. Kohn notes that after the Civil War the central government used nationalism to strengthen its control. He uses Teddy Roosevelt as an example of what Kohn calls the New Nationalism—another aggressive form of American nationalism. Roosevelt called for the people to put the national need before the sectional or personal advantage. Kohn contends that the Spanish-American War came about because of the New Nationalism. By

the end of the nineteenth century, Kohn believes that the United States respected the sense of balance and moderation needed in a republic of many republics [the various states], which knew it differed from other nations not only by its basis in individual liberty but also by its fundamental federation.⁴²

Next Kohn discusses how America strengthened this federated form of government while accepting, and creating, a multi-ethnic nation.

Kohn suggests that America's ability to assimilate millions of multi-ethnic immigrants by using them to populate the vast lands of the West became one of the foundations of American nationalism. "The character of the United States as a land with open gateways, ... became as important for American nationalism as its identification with the idea of individual liberty and its federal character."⁴³

Kohn points out that this massive wave of non-Americans did not weaken American nationalism, it strengthened it. The immigrants did not feel identified with the traditional sections or states; they came to America to become Americans.

The "Americanization" of nineteenth century immigrants consisted of largely giving them, in schools and clubs and churches, a solid grounding in English literature and, on a higher level, English history and political ideals.⁴⁴

Seth has noted that the value of the British educational system in India is that it transformed the *Indians*, who then could transform India.⁴⁵ Placed into an American context, the American mass-educational system became an effective tool of nationalism in that it transformed immigrants and their children into Americans. This relates very well to Anderson's print-capitalism. As the immigrants and their children are educated in English, they become literate and thus can be

³⁹ Ibid. For the motives in question, see page 3 above.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Kohn, 113.

⁴² Ibid., 136.

⁴³ Ibid., 141.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 97.

⁴⁵ Seth, *Rewriting*, 112-13.

affected by the massive outpourings of the American print-capitalism industry.⁴⁶ Even if the "Americanization" process did not completely hold onto the immigrants themselves, it did their children—some of whom became passionate American patriots.

The American nation became a universal nation, Kohn claims, not just in the sense that the Americans extended its idea of liberty to all mankind but also in the sense it was a nation of many ethnic strains. This process of blending the multi-ethnic peoples into one citizenry started right

from the beginning. Kohn quotes Crevecoeur who says that Americans are that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a man, whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations.⁴⁷

Kohn insists that the only way to bind such a nation together consisted of binding them all to the American idea. As an example, he tells of the efforts of some German and Irish immigrant groups, in the nineteenth century, who asked, at different times, the American government for land grants to establish ethnic settlements. The United States government proved "unwilling to give an acre for the purpose."

Probably no decision in the history of the American immigration policy possesses more

profound significance. By its terms, the immigrant was to enjoy no special privileges to encourage his coming; also, he was to suffer no restrictions. His opportunities were those of the native, nothing more, nothing less.⁴⁸



Immigrants leave Ellis Island via railroad with tickets pinned to their coats (Pamela Reeves, Ellis Island: Gateway to the American Dream)

While many immigrant groups setup schools and colleges with instruction in their native language to keep the old country alive here in the new, their children, and especially their grandchildren, merged into the American culture.

Kohn demonstrated that even in their arriving, the immigrants added to the nationalism of their new country. President Grant recognized that immigration needed federal law because the immigrants were not, at their point of arrival, citizens of any state or section. Kohn did not stress, but should have done so, that these laws then added to the ascendancy of the central government by tying the immigrants to Washington, D. C., strengthening the national ties over potential state or regional loyalties. These immigration laws assisted the growth of the national governing authority at the expense of the states.

Anti-immigrant movements did start up in response to the various waves of massive immigration. But Kohn points out that these never lasted very long. He notes the good nature of the American people did not allow these movements to continue.

In the end, the immigrants became American, and America became the immigrants. Echoing

⁴⁶ Kohn could not have approached this topic, at least not in this manner, as Anderson's book, *Imagined Communities*, was published after Kohn wrote his "essay."

⁴⁷ Kohn, 15.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 145.

Crevecoeur, Kohn quotes Herman Melville who said, "You cannot spill a drop of American blood with out spilling the blood of the whole world."⁴⁹ Events in the last fifteen years have shown that creating a melting-pot" may, indeed, be a very good thing. An examination of the ethnically charged violence due to the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia into various disparate pieces shows the benefit of assimilating many peoples into one. Having shown how America became a nation of many nations, Kohn next looks at America as a nation among many nations.

Kohn contends the western migration became the focus of America to the extent America turned its back on Europe and Europe's problems. His European background leads him to over-emphasize this migration. American elites had always felt that the New World did not have a lot to learn from the Old and thus tried to ignore it, especially after Washington's Farewell Address.

In addition, Kohn argues that America inherited the British anti-militarism ethos while paradoxically treasuring a war-like spirit based on patriotism. Thus, while Americans did not look in favor at a standing military, they had no trouble electing a military man President. This point is much in evidence throughout the United States' history, especially for Kohn as he wrote the book after the United States elected Eisenhower President.

The aggressive nationalism noted above caused, in Kohn's opinion, both the Mexican-American War and the Spanish-American War. Kohn traces the history of American foreign policy by noting that the country behaved in an interventionist manner, then isolationist, and then repeat the cycle. This is a simplification of a more complex set of conditions. While America became isolationist in relation to Europe, it stayed activist in regards to the Far East—especially China. This happened because of the activities of the

Christian missionary organizations in China. These organizations represented a significant political force, which influenced American Foreign policy during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. America has always stood for, and sometimes agitated militarily for, an Open Door in China while ignoring Europe and its problems. Additionally, America has a tradition—for good or ill—of being active in Latin America and on the Caribbean islands.

*At this time Athens
was a democracy,
and the tyranny
epitomized domination
and persecution.*

Kohn maintains the big change in the foreign policy cycle came with World War I. He contends WWI fully linked America into the destinies of the countries on both sides of the North Atlantic. While Kohn may correct in his estimation of America joining the North Atlantic community during WWI, he is incorrect in

the amount of change that occurred in America. After the war America turned isolationist, again, in regards to Europe. It has been clearly and repeatedly demonstrated that the isolationist attitude of the general population hindered FDR in his attempts to deliver war material to Great Britain before Pearl Harbor. World War II did resurrect the North Atlantic cooperation between the English speaking countries. After WWII, the perceived threat of communism prevented America from returning back into isolationism. When Britain began to pull back from its traditional overseas roles as the defender of certain countries, America stepped up and took over for her mother country.⁵⁰ By the early 1950s, Pax Americana had replaced Pax Britannica.

In reviewing Kohn's essay, it is important to remember that he first came to the United States in 1934 and that he composed this work in 1956. During the Great Depression, a new theory developed which stated that slavery did not cause the

⁴⁹ Ibid., 154.

⁵⁰ One of the first such occurrences of this occurred in 1947 when Great Britain could no longer afford to assist Greece in her defense against the Communistic insurgents operating from with Albania, Yugoslavia. Do you want to footnote this or not? If not, no quotation marks are needed.

Civil War. The author seems to have adopted this and it greatly colored his approach to American nationalism, and Southern regionalism, greatly. Thus Kohn ignores slavery as a true factor in Southern primordialism.

A second point to note is that he wrote this work in 1956, during the Cold War. This aspect influenced his outlook in placing America in the Western leadership role. This overlooked the roles Great Britain and France played in international relations. Also, his essay predates the great American Civil Rights Movement. This movement would have certainly affected his views on how America, and the South, had integrated all its ethnicities into the national society.

In his approach to the study of American nationalism, Kohn is a structuralist. Nowhere does he show, or allow for, any individual agency. Although he is not a determinist, he indicates some aspects of American history in which different direction possible existed.

In conclusion, it seems that American nationalism is unique because of: its origins, its federated government in the midst of sovereign states, and its ability to mold a multi-ethnic body of peoples into a mass culture that is distinctively American. Liah Greenfeld added one additional note.

The uniqueness of the American nation consists in that in the course of its long existence, a *national* existence longer than that of any other society with the exception of England, it has remained faithful to the original idea of the nation, and has come closest to the realization of the principles of individualistic, civil nationalism.⁵¹

As every nationalistic movement produces a unique country, so too has America. It produced a nation that adopted the language, ancient customs, and revered playwrights of another country. In its multi-ethnic foundations, it places more

emphasis on some cultural/ethnic holidays than the original ancestral home countries. Together, these comprise the major aspects of American nationalism.

⁵¹ Greenfeld, 484.

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Difference of opinions are often debated but always with respect.

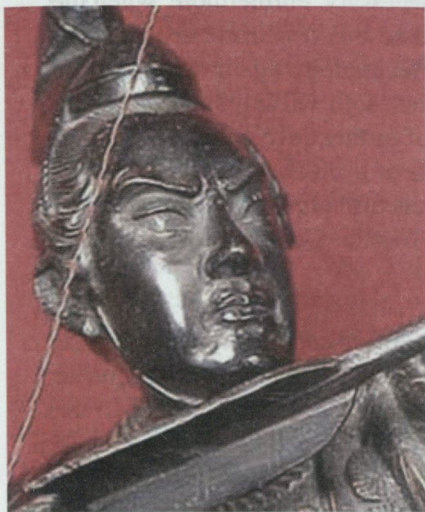
Quote:

"Few people are capable of expressing with equanimity opinions which differ from the prejudices of their social environment. Most people are even incapable of forming such opinions."

-- Albert Einstein



CAL STATE
FULLERTON



Japanese Meiji Bronze Samurai Archer
(Courtesy Fujiya Antiques, LLC
Database)

Guns, Swords, and Disarmament: Some Considerations on Firearm Technology During the Tokugawa Shogunate

By Charles Gray

Contrary to popular misconceptions, Charles Gray argues Japanese decisions about the development and use of guns had nothing to do with romantic notions about the sword. The Tokugawa Shogunate manipulated firearm regulation as part of their political and social control structure.

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The Japanese move away from guns and back to the sword during the period of the Shogunate is often cited as an example of their innate cultural resistance to using guns. However, portraying the Japanese actions as love of the sword or a desire for a traditional life style does not bear truth under close examination. At the time the Shogunate retreated from gunpowder weapons, the Japanese had just finished the unification of the state and the invasion of Korea, both actions in which guns played a vital role. Nor, more importantly, did Japanese leaders demonstrate noticeably more resistance to guns than European leaders did at a similar time. In fact, given Oda Nobunaga's victory at Nagashino in 1575 and the various innovations demonstrated there such as covers to protect matchlocks from the rain, Japan's gun use moved ahead of Europe's in terms of open-field infantry tactics.¹ An attempt to assign spiritual or cultural reasons to the Japanese actions risks adapting the Orientalist viewpoint by assigning fundamentally illogical Western views to Asian cultures – an erroneous analysis.

The Tokugawa Shogunate abandoned widespread gun usage for pragmatic, not abstract reasons, enabled by the success of Japan's Military Revolution, not its failure. Of all the nations to embrace the military revolution, only Japan can boast that its revolution lived up to its full promise. The success of the Military Revolution tactics allowed the Shogunate to become the dominant force in Japan, a success that enabled them to establish an order that prevented other factions from taking advantage of the gun to undo the Bakufu's achievement.

It is possible the real reason the Japanese moved away from general gun use involves neither cultural nor social attitudes. Rather, Japan gave up the gun because it enabled Japan's ruling power to arrive at a hegemonic level of control over the rest of the nation and eliminate any danger of a

possible internal threat. This, combined with the lack of external enemies, made continued firearm development unnecessary. Furthermore, when the situation changed so that it became necessary to advance firearm technology again, the Japanese government proved both willing and able to do so. This process of further development culminated in the creation of a military capable of challenging the combined might of the United States, China, and the British Commonwealth during World War II.

After achieving military superiority and political control over the majority of Japan, the Shogunate drove to disarm Japan. Toward that end, the Tokugawa Bakufu's leadership engaged in a series of "sword hunts," first enacted by Hideyoshi to provide for the construction of a large statue of Buddha, which required a tremendous amount of iron and other material.² This stated objective masked the underlying Tokugawa goal, openly stated in a period commentary, of preventing peasant uprisings by depriving their class of weapons.³

In addition, later Shogunate regulations restricting the number and the type of Daimyo soldiers, relocating the feudal Samurai class from the fields to Castle Towns where they grew dependent upon the Shogunate and Daimyos for their monetary gain rather than live off their own lands, and imposing an alternate-attendance system upon the Daimyos comprised parts of a social-control continuum.⁴ Rather than a sign of like or dislike of guns, the sword hunts and gradual reduction of guns in circulation indicates a control mechanism used by Bakufu to eliminate any pre-unification societal aspects that might act against the stability the Shogunate prized so greatly. The forced demolition of many of the Han fortresses that existed during the pre-Tokugawa era provides an excellent example of

¹ Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), 140-1; see also: Noel Perrin, *Giving Up the Gun: Japan's Reversion to the Sword, 1543-1879*, (Boston: David R. Godine), 1979. 19-23.

² Document 11, "Collection of Swords (1588)". Printed in David J. Lu, ed., *Japan A Documentary History*, (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), 192.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Document 2, "Laws of Military Households (1615)", Ibid., 206-208.

the Shogunate's potential-threat elimination process.⁵ Why, then, is the equally useful move to reduce the number of firearms available to potential Shogunate enemies assigned a special place in the Japanese *psyche* rather than viewed in the same light?

To consider the return to the sword as an example of a Japanese cultural mandate runs counter to atypical events that occurred in Japan during the Tokugawa Bakufu. The control over the Daimyos, the establishment of the four-class system, and the political subjugation of the large monastic orders all demonstrated tremendous breaks from pre-Shogunate conditions. The samurai, reduced from independent feudal lords to dependent retainers of the feudal Hans or the Shogunate itself and in many cases unable to subsist on their stipend, often became ronin. The successful transformation in social status demonstrated a far more radical metamorphosis in the Japanese order than merely the possession or lack of guns. Rather than see the process of gun disarmament as a unique event, it must be placed in context with these other revolutionary actions that all took place in the same social and political order.

The varied gun-and-cannon manufacturing counters the idea that Japanese gun technology withered. Ieyasu's attempts to restrict gun production to Nagahama in 1607 and 1609 represented a drive not to eliminate guns, but to control their manufacture and dispersal.⁶ Furthermore, Nagahama production records extending to the end of the Shogunate showed the generally high prices paid for a small number of weapons and indicated that the need for guns diminished as large-scale battles became outdated. More telling,

information on weapons production in the region of Sakai, which the Tokugawa Shoguns did not directly control, indicates firearm production gradually increased between 1623 and 1690, peaking in the 1660s and then declining. After 1696, production transitioned to farm tools and government maintenance contracts on older firearms, a cycle logically attributed to the cessation of large-scale warfare in Japan rather than any plan to eliminate guns.⁷ After the conclusion of Japan's last major land conflict in the 1630s, the need for guns to supply massed infantry units faded and with it the demand for gun production.⁸

The control over the Daimyos, the establishment of the four-class system, and the political subjugation of the large monastic orders all demonstrated tremendous breaks from the pre-Shogunate conditions.

Equally important, the fact that the Shogunate maintained the capability to produce guns, both by providing stipends and the occasional governmental contract, argues a different conclusion.⁹ The government's demand that Nagahama gunsmiths obtain official Shogunate approval of any outside order demonstrates a desire to control firearm dispersal. The firearm demand shown by Sakai's less restricted trade proved that abundant demand from non-Tokugawa factions continued well into the seventeenth century.

Yet the interesting factor remains that even after the demand for firearms peaked and ebbed, government subsidy kept the gunsmiths in both locations afloat.¹⁰ Clearly, the Shogunate, at least on some level, displayed interest in maintaining the ability to produce firearms. Such a state of affairs argues against any purely culture-based motive to eliminate the gun from Japanese society.

If it is argued that the Shogunate's arms-control acts exemplify the establishment of a social order friendly to the Bakufu's dominion, then other

⁵ Ibid., 206.

⁶ Perrin 62.

⁷ Ibid., 64.

⁸ Olof G. Liden, *Tanegashima: The Arrival of Europe in Japan*, (Copenhagen: NAIS Press, 2002), 152-3.

⁹ Perrin, 62.

¹⁰ Ibid.

possible reasons for Japan's turning away from the gun, such as the Orientalist love of the sword, exist. First, the Japanese samurai, much like the knights of Europe, generally preferred the sword and bow to the gun. The first two weapons required tremendous skill to wield, while the third only required a short training period in order to turn a lowly peasant into a samurai killer. Both in the internal battles for dominion over Japan and the later invasion of Korea--and even earlier than the feudal lords of Europe--the Japanese realized that the gun's pragmatic effectiveness demanded its adaptation when they first recognized the value of massed volley fire.¹¹ In both conflicts, Japanese forces operated guns with great effectiveness.¹²

After this period, however, the Japanese did not turn away from the gun and eagerly return to their sword-and-bow roots. Rather, there was a gradual withering away of firearms. Yet, if the Japanese indeed harbored a general disdain of firearms, especially one as great as writers such as Perrin claim, what caused the delay? More probably, Japan experienced the same process as that of most comparable nations. Just as fortifications in areas of Europe not plagued by war lagged and the post-Civil War US Navy suffered from general neglect, so did the gun in the general atmosphere of peace under Tokugawa dominion. Assuming the Japanese love of the sword as sufficient to override using a more effective weapon constitutes a dangerously Orientalist view. Iconography in Europe still often uses the sword and the United States Marine Corps includes a dress sword for officers, yet no one claims Europe or the US has turned its back on the gun.

Rather, the love of the sword may spring from the quite pragmatic legal advantages accrued to the samurai class, which outwardly reflected the samurai's permission to wear the twin swords.¹³ This, however, was not a wartime privilege, but a social privilege obtained in peacetime. The sword, quite apart from its utility as a weapon on the battlefield, signified a certain social class. Wearing the twin blades defined membership in the samurai class much as a sword, not a rifle, signified British knighting.



Samurai from The Japan Project (Courtesy of http://WWW.globaled.org/japanproject/lessons/lesson17_1.p hp)

Consequently, the samurai's twin swords, far from consideration as simple "working" weapons, stood as ceremonial identifiers of class status, especially in the latter Shogunate decades. Under this interpretation, while still maintaining some utility as weapons, their actual war-fighting potential remained strictly secondary to their social purpose of identifying a class with certain privileges and duties.¹⁴ Just as the idealized "code" of the samurai replaced the brutal pragmatism of pre-Shogunate era, so did the need for utility fade in the samurai choice of weapons.¹⁵

While some samurai revolted against modernization after the Meiji Restoration, by far the majority remained loyal to the government, maintaining the vital positions of military, industrial, and bureaucratic influence they enjoyed during the peacetime under the Shogunate. Arguing that all samurai were active warriors during the Shogunate badly misjudges Japanese culture. While many of the lower-class samurai found themselves economically destitute, others found themselves and their descendants rising both socially and eco-

¹¹ Parker, 140.

¹² Delmar M. Brown, "The Impact of Firearms on Japanese Warfare, 1543-98," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (May, 1948): 240; see also: Perrin, 30-1.

¹³ Mikiso Hane, *Premodern Japan: A Historical Survey*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 142-3.

¹⁴ Ibid., 143-4.

¹⁵ Ibid.

nomically both during the Shogunate period and afterwards, during Japan's modernization period.¹⁶ In fact, Ray A. Moore states of the latter part of the Shogunate, "The traditional military units had little to do except to man the castle gates and form a procession for the daimyo when he ventured forth from his compound."¹⁷ Clearly, the place of "working" as opposed to decorative arms—not simply guns—declined in Japan in the wake of the Shogunate's unification of the nation.¹⁸

Finally, a look at the technological aspect of Japan's giving up the gun, namely, the lack of wheel or flintlock weapons, confirms that while Japan may have possessed the base technology for flintlocks, it neither developed or fielded them.¹⁹ This technological difference from Europe may go far to explain the gradual reduction of firearm usage and, in fact, may do so better than any other argument. Quite simply, large set-piece battles best suited the matchlock. Volley fire and mass units of musketeers primarily attempted to counteract the matchlock's disadvantages: its inability to fire quickly, the difficulty in keeping it "ready to fire," and its inaccuracy, although in the last, Japan appeared to exceed the standards of its contemporary European counterparts.²⁰ While a mass of trained soldiers could mitigate these disadvantages on the battlefield by, few or no avenues for such warfare existed after the Tokugawa took control. The Shogunate established a hegemonic power over Japan, one that the Daimyos and Christian rebels alike proved incapable of breaking. In this atmosphere, raising a mass army was both suicidal and largely unneeded.

Consequently, conflict during the Shogunate period remained largely controlled, small scale, or *ad hoc*, more along the lines of the 47 Ronin than Nagashino. A samurai's preference of the sword over the matchlock in an unexpected duel indicates less a 'moral' dislike of the matchlock than a pragmatic realization that the matchlock was completely unsuitable for the purpose at hand. The lack of wheel locks or flintlocks made carrying ready-to-fire weapons casually, much less concealed, impossible, and given the prohibitions against carrying any weapons by any group other than Samurai, concealment was a pre-requisite for use.²¹ Thus, social restrictions on weapon ownership conspired to keep any non-samurai gun demands from rising.

Why soldiers carried no such weapons is understandable in light of the Shogunate. Military necessity drove the innovations of weapons. In Europe, nations moved to improve fortifications and firearms only when driven by the press of events, not before. Europeans developed artillery forts not on the nebulous chance of possible need but on the imminent threat of military conflict.²² No such need existed under the overarching power of the Shogunate; thus, the need to improve weapons did not press Japan as it did those nations engaged in continual conflict, such as most European nations.²³ If the Japanese had possessed the wheel lock during their period of conflict, they likely would have adopted it, just as they did the matchlock. However, no indication exists that such weapons were ever demonstrated to the Japanese during this early period, and the two instances of the Shogun seeing a demonstration in of the flintlock 1636 or receiving it in 1643 occurred well beyond the point of the Bakufu effectively establishing its dominance.²⁴ Unlike the first introduction of Western-style firearms

¹⁶ M. Bronfenbrenner, "Some Lessons of Japan's Economic Development, 1853-1938," *Pacific Affairs* 34, no. 1 (Spring, 1961), 18; Hane, 192-3.

¹⁷ Ray A. Moore, "Samurai Discontent and Social Mobility in the Late Tokugawa Period," *Monumenta Nipponica* 24, no. 1/2 (1969), 82-3.

¹⁸ In the later period of the Shogunate, one observer stated that seven out of every ten samurai were "effeminate weaklings." Hane, 193.

¹⁹ Perrin argues that the Japanese already possessed the flint lighter. Perrin, 70.

²⁰ Parker, 140.

²¹ Brown, 253.

²² Parker, 28.

²³ Chris Bishop, ed., *The Encyclopedia of World Seapower*, (New York: Crescent Books, 1988), 147.

²⁴ In the three illustrations of pistols found in Perrin's book, all were evidently matchlock weapons—and thus unsuitable to usage off the field of battle. One of these illustrations is of a kabuki actor, and as such, must be considered less authoritative than the two illustrations from military manuals. Perrin, interior front cover, 34, 37.

into Japan, which came during a period of extensive conflict, no gain accompanied the diversion of resources into weapons for which the existing social and political order possessed no need.

Japan's gun reduction came about as a response to the success of its military revolution—the only completely successful military revolution, in the sense that one faction achieved predominance. The military revolution's goal involved securing victory for the government supporting it; the continual deadlock in European politics up until (in some respects) 1945, then, might be labeled a *failed* military revolution. While army and navy sizes increased, at least in terms of European dominance, the initial promise of crushing victory proved elusive.

In Japan, however, the military-revolution tenets adopted by Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu Tokugawa, successfully destroyed military opposition to the Tokugawa Shogunate. Although some feudal domains remained powerful enough to claim privileges after the Shimbara Revolt (1637-38), no serious threat to the Shogunate arose until the arrival of Commodore Perry in the nineteenth century. Indeed, even this is not arguable as a major turning point, for Japan engaged in modernization before his arrival, albeit not to the nation-changing level of the Meiji restoration. The gradual reduction in firearms and cannon occurred not as a sudden break with the past, but as a simple reflection of a new social order that had rendered the tactics of mass warfare and siege operations tactically and culturally obsolete.

Further demonstrating this perspective, the Japanese were able to modernize their military in an extremely short time when confronted by what they saw as aggressive Western threats. Less than one hundred years after the visit by Commodore Perry's fleet, Japan defeated a European nation, albeit a backward one, in the Russo-Japanese conflict of 1904. Clearly, this was not a nation so in love with the sword that it effectively eliminated firearms from its arsenal, but rather one that saw gun usage diminish for concrete political rea-

sons. The speed with which Japan abandoned its stance against the gun in the nineteenth century belies the theory that it gave up the gun for cultural reasons. Japan's swift modernization process argues against any deep-seated cultural prejudice against firearm technology in the first place.

It is hard to determine if avoiding modernization was a dominant facet of the Tokugawa Bakufu. Many sources claim that it was, but here, again, information seems to argue in opposition. After 1832, Japan imported numerous types of weapons, including 135 muskets and cannons. More importantly, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Japan imported and translated several Western military treatises including *Ensei kukd seisen* (*A Selection of Works on Western Gunnery*) translated in 1841 and *Kenrin hikkei* (*Artillery Pocket Book*) translated in 1851 as well as others ranging from western military tactics to the use of naval forces. Modern artillery-fort doctrines also came under scrutiny, such as when Chief Minister Matsudaira Sadanobua ordered the translation of the chapter "Fortification" from *Machines Wiskunst*, itself published in Japan in 1790. In 1786, Hayashi Shihei wrote of the potential dangers posed by a Russian invasion in *Kaikoku Heidand* (*Military Science of a Maritime Country*) and *Sangoku tsuran-zusetsu* (*An illustrated Survey of the Three Countries*).²⁵

Furthermore, in 1841, Takashima Shohan, by order of the Shogunate, engaged in exercises designed to master the Western style of gunnery to avoid China's fate. Again, this occurred not only before the Meiji restoration, but before the widely accepted "opening to the West" that Commodore Perry supposedly initiated. Finally, Arima explicitly mentions that the Shogunate expressed great interest in using Western style mortars before, during, and after the Shimbara Revolt, once again indicating that the ongoing process of adaptation and development did not end with the use of matchlocks but continued throughout the entire Tokugawa Shogunate peri-

25 Seiho Arima, "The Western Influence on Japanese Military Science, Shipbuilding, and Navigation," *Monumenta Nipponica* 19, no. 3/4 (1964), 124.

od.²⁶ Rather than a trend toward further disarmament, there existed a clearly observed desire to improve the technological status of Japanese firearms before the period of the Meiji Restoration and, in some cases, before the nineteenth century itself. While Shogunate moves against open commerce restricted Western technology from penetrating general Japanese society, interest in firearms and cannon was far from absent among officers of the Shogunate and some of the Hans.²⁷

The establishment of the Shogunate's power within Japan brought an end to the internal conflicts that had been characterized by large-scale infantry and cavalry clashes; that, combined with an end to large-scale foreign actions after the end of the invasion of Korea, eliminated much of the matchlock gun's utility. Matchlocks were only useful in large-scale conflicts. Their cumbersome nature, their need for extensive preparations to fire, and their inability to be concealed made them effectively useless in the peacetime existence that characterized the Shogunate. Artificially restricted military forces could not assemble the troop strength required to make effective use of the matchlock. Equally, the hegemonic dominion of the Shogunate prevented any threatening power from rising until the opening of the nation to the West. The pressures that drove European states, namely continual competition with military foes, did not exist in the Shogunate. In an atmosphere of maintaining social and political order rather than destroying enemies, the development of more effective weapons was a low, almost nonexistent priority.

The absence of serious foreign enemies, at least until the opening of Japan to the West, further retarded the need to develop weapons that were more effective. However, the Japanese leaders

were at least partially aware of foreign technological developments and both followed and emulated them even before the nineteenth century. Not until the opening of Japan did the urgent need arise to develop a military capable of matching the West on the battlefield. Thus, far from being evidence of a conscious decision to give up the gun, Japan's experience with firearms in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries stands as an example of what might have happened had one or more European states achieved

*Artificially restricted
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such a crushing victory over its opponents that it could impose a hegemonic dominion over the rest of Europe. Competition drove the military revolution—in Japan's case at least, the competition was won. Not surprisingly, the response to such a win included a reduction in the emphasis on those no-longer-needed weapons that achieved the victory. Finally, any study of

the Japanese experience with the gun cannot simply attack the question from the viewpoint of the gun but must examine the Japanese nation as a whole. Asking why Japan gave up the gun places the historian in a dangerous position and assumes that the nation, as such, made it as a conscious decision.

²⁸ Ibid., 128.

²⁹ Ibid., 355.

³⁰ For a further discussion of the decision to isolate the nation, see, Lu, 220-8.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

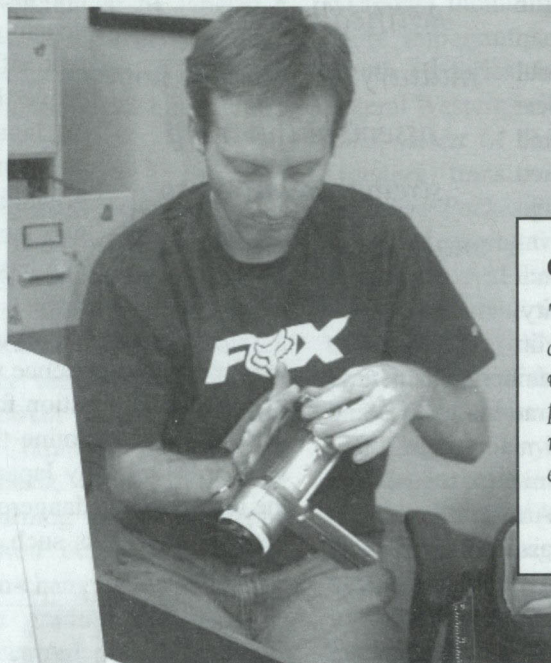
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Quote:

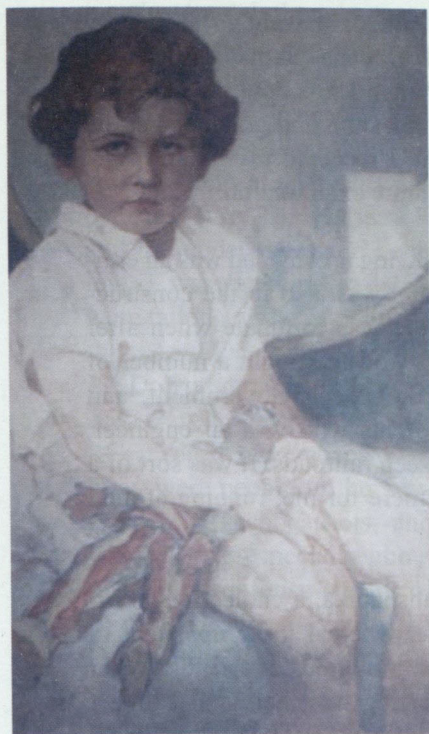
"If we continue to develop our technology without wisdom or prudence, our servant may prove to be our executioner."

-- Omar Bradley

The Welebaethan uses various means of technology.



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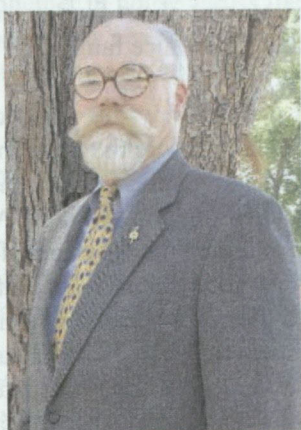


Painting of Dr. Chytil. (Courtesy of Dr. Chytil)

Dr. Chytil: Hunting for Mushrooms

By John Stahler

John Stahler interviews Dr. Renatus Chytil, a native Czechoslovakian Jew who narrates memories of his youth during World War II. Chytil touches on the pain of Germany's takeover of his native land. After surviving a Nazi labor camp, the Communist takeover in 1948 dashed his hopes and he fled to the U.S. He recounts his professional appointments at University of California, Berkeley, and Cornell University in New York. He explains that since the 1980s, he has dedicated his life to fight for his family's rights to approximately 1,500 kilograms of gold that the Czech government refuses to return.



After earning his Bachelor's degree in history from California State University, Fullerton, **John Stahler** served as graduate assistant to Dr. George Giacomakis while completing his Master's degree in Oral and Public History. Future plans include utilizing fifteen years of wine journalism experience as a basis for a doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Riverside, researching and writing histories on various aspects of the California wine industry, and teaching history at the college level.

Tragedy, loss, and a ceaseless struggle against the gross miscarriage of justice epitomize the life story of Dr. Renatus Chytil. Born into an affluent and politically influential Czech family of both Jewish and Christian heritage, Renatus recounts from his unique and highly personal perspective the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia by the West, first to Hitler, and then after the Second World War to Stalin. At a personal level, he lost his father in a Nazi prison camp, and while the Chytil family regained most of its property stolen by the Nazis, the communist regime confiscated it once again after the 1948 coup. However, the Chytil family suffered their greatest financial loss due to the desultory response of the American judicial and political systems. After World War II, the United States government took millions of dollars of Czech gold, including that of the Chytil family, into protective custody and never returned it to its rightful owners.

John Stahler interviewed Dr. Renatus Chytil on 24 June, 1 July, and 8 July, 2005, at California State University, Fullerton. During these interviews, Dr. Chytil also reviewed approximately seventy family photographs, thus supplying additional information for both the text and captions published here.

JS: ...If you would like to start talking about where you were born, when you grew up, your parents, grade school, or the European equivalent to grade school, what you remember about your home when you were a child?

RC: I was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia, October 18, 1925, in a district called Smichov, which means *laughing place*... I don't remember too much when I was a little fellow, but we moved to another house at Prage 19 Deivici, Na čihadle 14, I became quite interested in all possible things, like piano, which I played quite well. My dad was also quite a good pianist. At the age of four, I played Chopin, Mozart—the classics. During Christmas when I was four or five, I got diphtheria and became completely deaf,

I didn't go to school. I went to secondary school, called Obecna Škola, first grade through fifth. When I was about nine or ten, I went to the gymnasium and graduated at the age of eighteen. I received my "Maturitas," which is a mature examination.

When I was growing up, my dad was an eminent attorney and was also in the construction business. He was fortunate when after the First World War he bought a number of quarries from the Czech Government, and with a friend of his who was an engineer, supplied the Czech railroads. It was sort of a child paradise there for me, running around in the quarry.

We lived at Hanspaulka, a choice neighborhood of Prague, where I grew up, went to school, and had a number of friends. What was very interesting was that at that time I was subject to ridicule because I had curly hair. Also, anybody who happened to be rich was always called a Jew. So, anti-Semitism was quite developed before World War II. It didn't bother me because my grandmother was Jewish. Her name was Fischlová, of a very interesting family. My dad was a half-Jew, actually. My mother was a Christian, and I was raised as a Christian student. My brother was five years older than I, and my sister was about four years younger. So, we had a very nice family...

I used to play the piano quite well. It was actually before the Munich Agreement that I became interested in American jazz like Duke Ellington. All these American tunes – I could play them by ear. My dad, who was a very good pianist, said that he didn't like me to play jazz because I would lose my touch. American jazz was always a very good friend to me, the syncopated music. When I was about thirteen, we had a music room downstairs on the first floor...quite a big room with a Bösendorfer piano. Dad liked to play it, and he gave me a key so that I could play too. There was a huge pillow in the form of a dice which my mother had put

together, and I thought that it was a very good hiding place. Before the war, gentlemen of politics would come and visit with my dad. Eduard Beneš would come to us for advice... He was a short guy, and would come around and dry his sweaty hands all over my curly hair. I didn't like it, so I ran and hid under the piano behind the big pillow. I was listening to what the big-shots were talking about in politics.

JS: Do you remember those conversations?

RC: Yes, I remember some.

They were people in the government, Czech patriots, and were talking especially about the defense of Czechoslovakia. When the First World War was over, my father was asked by Kraman to become the general secretary of the Czechoslovak National Democratic Party. Dad also knew other people quite well, like Russians and

English people who we brought into the government. When Dad was about sixteen, he knew very well the family of the first president, Tomas G. Masaryk. Actually, the families knew each other quite well, because in Prague we lived together in house across the hall from each other. It was a very close situation—quite an interesting relationship.

At night, when I was little, Dad would tell me stories about what he was doing during the war...He was studying law at that time, and also playing piano. He was not able to be drafted because of problems with his stomach, and was underweight. He was doing other things that would be helpful to the future Czechoslovak state. During the First World War, dad was involved in the resistance movement against the Hapsburgs. He also developed the idea to sabotage the ammunition and guns sent to the front. They would take off some special parts, and when the guns arrived, they didn't work.

*"There was a huge pillow
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His father was also a lawyer and a judge, and had four children. The oldest was Mafka, my father's sister, who married Alfons Mucha, an artist. During the First World War they went to America. They got information through Marka that my father sent in coded letters telling what was going on in Austria., and sent back information to my dad about what was going on in the United States ... Alfons Mucha was one of the highest Freemasons in Europe. He also knew Sarah Bernhardt, and was actually her agent for a

while...and also got personally acquainted with President Wilson. It was always on the higher level, and this was what I learned from the stories of my dad while listening under the Bösendorfer piano.

During that time, of course, as everybody did, we had dancing lessons, went to school, and had projects. It was a very normal life similar to

America. Everything was developing very well until the Munich Agreement. That was very difficult for me to take because they already knew that Hitler and the Nazis, and also the communists, would do very unpleasant things to Czechoslovakia. When the Munich program was introduced, it was very hard for me to take because I knew that Czechoslovakia would be occupied by Germany... Czechoslovakia was a very rich country compared with the others, very advanced democratically and militarily. It was part of a small détente with Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, and quite strong politically and militarily. One of the architects who started this détente was my father, and I knew that the defense lines against Nazi Germany were pretty strong because they had been built by our company,

called Litická. With my father's friend, the civil engineer Loskot, they designed all of the fortifications against the Nazis. They were very good, the best in Europe, as a matter of fact.

JS: Was it like a Maginot Line?

RC: It was better than that. It was fortifications with lines every five miles. . . around Nížbor, around Berounka. Nothing much is being taught about it today. When the Germans came and tried to blow the bunkers out, they couldn't do it because it was so well built. It blew out some of the glass in our house.

My dad was a very unassuming person. He was a good counselor, giving advice, working *pro bono* for other people, quite a respected publisher of a newspaper... He was in politics, and had an income from his construction company. He was not an engineer, but Dr. Loskot was a very good engineer, and had an invention like a string beton of pre-stressed concrete and post-stressed concrete. What may be interesting to mention here is that the father of Secretary of State Madeline Albright, Josef Korbel, used to work for my dad before the war.

JS: What did he do?

RC: He was an aspiring politician at that time, and I knew him when I was younger. I didn't like him because he would use the chauffeur of our company for his trips to wherever he wanted to go, and dad had to drive his own car. So, during the conclusion of 1939, just before World War Two, my dad was able to help Korbel, the father of

Albright, to England through France because my father had many political contacts there. Actually, when Maddelena was about one year of age, if her parents had stayed in

Czechoslovakia, they would have gone to Auschwitz like their grandparents. These are things that have never been discussed. I tried to get in touch with Albright, but no way because I am from a different...time span.

When Hitler took Austria—my dad was very well informed because he worked in politics and international finance, and was very much against the Anschluss as well as the Munich Agreement. The idea was to resist Hitler during those times. It had a very adverse effect on me later on after I grew up.



A young Dr. Chytil. (Courtesy of Dr. Chytil)

During the First World War, the Czech people were fighting for freedom to get away from the Hapsburgs. They lost their freedom in 1621, and became subject to the Hapsburgs after the Husite Wars. I knew Czech history quite well and thought that if Masaryk was the president, who knew my dad quite well, that the Czechs would be stronger and those German generals would actually get rid of Hitler. So, when the occupation of Czechoslovakia took place on March 19 of 1939, even as a young teenager I was completely disturbed... I didn't understand too much except that there was fear all of the time.

JS: What do you recall of that event?

RC: I remember the day when the Nazis occupied Czechoslovakia. My mother came

early in the morning, crying, and awakened me. She said, "The Germans are coming." Anyhow, my parents decided I should go to school. It was a long walk from Hanspaulka, from where we used to live, to Dejvice. I was going on the main street, and I saw the Nazi convoy, but instead of driving on the left side, they were on the right side—tanks, trucks, motorcars, and so forth. I remember when I crossed, there was a French gymnasium on Ša'recká. There was a girl who tried to cross the street, and somehow she was caught by a tank. One tank after another was going over her body, but nobody stopped. That was my first experience seeing the Germans. Of course they came to the Dejvice, took the square, and the school I went to, and made a kitchen out of it. When I was going home with my friend, we went through the housing of the university students. There was some shooting going on between the students and the Germans...I saw a car near our house...but I didn't know what was going on, so I just tried to be courageous coming home. The car was a big Daimler with a chauffeur, and there was a Gestapo man visiting my mother in the *hala*. He said that they would like to have the house and that we should move out. She said, "No, we cannot do that." (laughs)

JS: She told the Gestapo "No!"?

RC: Well, she spoke excellent German because as a young person she went to Pension in Dresden...a women's college. She spoke perfect German, and so did my dad. I spoke it pretty good too, but I hated speaking German. So, I went upstairs and listened, and she was saying to him that it's impossible to give them the house because there are children here. He said, "Well, we need the house," but for some reason she was able to talk him out of it. It was quite amazing. He said, "Your husband is in a law office?" and she said, "Yes." Finally he left, and then my dad came around and indicated that it would be quite a problem. My brother said, "What happens to our gold? Will they

take it?" And dad said, "Don't worry about it. We get it back after the war." That was the first time I heard about the gold, but didn't really understand what it was all about.

When I was a child, our family used to go to a summer house not too far away from Prague, near Nižbor on the Berounka River. In 1939, we went there, but there's not much memory of what happened from March until September. By September, my father, along with other people, had been arrested by the Gestapo and sent to concentration camps, to Buchenwald and Dachau, as political hostages.

I had a friend there, the son of a big communist, who was working for a glass factory there. When he learned that my dad had been put into a concentration camp by the Nazis, and that I wanted to help somehow, he discussed it with his relations...they introduced me to some people, and said, "Look, you would like to have your dad coming back, right?" I said, "Yes." "Well, if you do what we tell you, I think we will be able to get him out." That's what they were telling me. I didn't believe it, but I would do anything to get my dad out. It came to me later on that I was sold by the communist party cell to the communist underground to do a dirty job—whatever they said I had to do. I don't want to talk about it. I don't want to think about it...It was a very difficult situation. I actually lived two lives—one normal, and the other was in the underground. No hero, no nothing, but if I made a mistake, they would kill me. So I had to execute everything that I was told to do. The reason I was doing that was because I was promised, with my wishful thinking, that they would be able to get my father out of the concentration camp. Somehow, several months later, he returned, but had to go to Gestapo every week and report what he was doing. He was under surveillance all of the time. From 1939 until 1945, our family had been continuously under surveillance.

JS: As soon as the Germans came in, they took your father away?

RC: No, the Germans came in March. They took him in September to Buchenwald and Dachau with other Czech political hostages.

JS: When did they take him back to Terezin?

RC: In Christmas 1944, and the reason for that was that he was leading the Czech underground. He was very smart and unassuming, and got information and sent it over

to London. For example, the Nazi's were building an atomic bomb, and he sent information to London and the airplanes came to bomb the Nazi scientists. They had a meeting near Prague, and the British and Americans bombed all the research which could have put them behind the Germans in developing the bomb. While the United States was working on an atomic bomb, the Nazis were already working on a hydrogen bomb from heavy water. They transported the heavy water from Norway through Germany to Prague in heavily armed trains. Once in a while, British or American airplanes came and were hitting them to make sure that the heavy water would not get to the destination.

JS: Was your father still engaged in the quarry business during the war?

RC: No, he was in a partnership. Dr. Loskot was running it. Father was practicing law, doing practically nothing, because every week he had to go to the Gestapo. They asked him what he was doing, and he had to tell them various stories. His business was actually the Czech resistance movement. There were two movements. One was the communists, under the management of the Kremlin, and the other was under the Allies in London. So, my dad was actually support-

ing and giving information to the British and Americans in London.

He found out that many spies in that organization were giving information to the Soviets. For example, he found out that the Nazis and Soviets were working together after the Allied invasion of Europe. There was a problem during the Battle of the Bulge because the Nazis received information about US positions, and were able to resist and slow down the movements of the Allies.

When my dad found out about it and gave the message to London, the problem was later rectified. But he led the clandestine operations very cleverly, and nobody could find out...

He was arrested with my mother in 1944, and went to Pankrác Prison in Prague, where he stayed for some time, my mother also. They never saw each other since

the arrest, and then he was sent to Terezin...a fortress in Bohemia built by Maria Teresa for political prisoners and was very bad. The Nazis made a political prison out of it, an extermination prison. Whoever went there did not return. There were not only Jews, but political prisoners. For example, I have a copy of my father's death certificate. They always referred to typhoid, but he was actually beaten up by the guards. The whole idea was to exterminate all the Czech patriots, so the Bolsheviks, as we called them, would get a free hand to take care of Czechoslovakia. The basic reason for that was that we had uranium mines, and the Soviet Union wanted the uranium for development of their bombs. Political questions are always based on economics. It doesn't matter how you slice it.

JS: So, both your mother and father were arrested in December of 1944?

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RC: It was a couple of weeks before Christmas...Father knew that there was no way for the Nazis to win. Already in 1944, he made a report to the Allies that it will be difficult to solve the problem. The difficulty was Stalin all the time. He didn't want the United States and England to have Germany because it was well industrialized, especially Czechoslovakia...

So, during World War II, it was a schizophrenic life, really. I studied and did very well, prepared for law, and was one of the first after the conclusion of World War II to get a doctorate. But the Gestapo was always around, and so I call it the "Gestapo syndrome." It is very, very difficult to describe. It was a constant fear, not as much for me but that my parents could be sent somewhere else. That meant that our villa was subject to continuous surveillance by the Gestapo. When my dad was in the concentration camp, the Gestapo put a person into our house to watch what was going on. I had to polish his boots, but I put itching powder in them.

JS: You put itching powder in his boots?

RC: Nothing happened. (chuckles) Always I would try to do something. When I got into the underground, the chores were very difficult. I couldn't get out of it...it was a very, very difficult proposition... It's very hard for me to put everything together, because any time I think about these things I get emotional. When the Nazis came, immediately my whole world changed. Politically, I was anti-Nazi, very much so. The "Gestapo syndrome" has always stayed with me.

JS: So was life sort of normal?

RC: We wouldn't call it that. It was under fear of extermination. We just didn't know.

JS: After they took your father away to Buchenwald, what did you do?

RC: I went back to school. For some reason, they allowed the school to function. Then they closed it because it was a private school, and I had to go to a real gymnasium, a public school. Of course, because I was a quarter Jew, they threw me out. Under the Nazi Nuremberg Laws, the quarter Jew Mischlings had the same fate as a Jew, but I did not realize it. I never met my deceased Jewish grandmother, although I knew her from her picture...They had on the document that my grandmother was Jewish, so I was not allowed to study in public schools. I was assigned to a slave labor camp.

JS: How old were you when that happened?

RC: I must have been about fifteen ...They were sending me in a train to camp, and I jumped out of the train. Frequently there were German checkpoints on the railroads and streets. It was an occupation, very gruesome, especially for our family.

JS: What happened after you jumped off the train? What did you do?

RC: Well I was just running. I knew the area quite well and kept hiding. I was not a hero... then I was drafted for slave labor and had to go work in a quarry, with a hammer, drilling holes in stone, hard labor, and blasting.

JS: Was that the quarry that your family owned?

RC: Yes, fortunately, but there was still a danger because there were about 400 people working in that quarry—some of them were hard-core communists...I worked as a laborer. My muscles are from the quarry. I was trained as a mason. I can cut stone, build a chimney... It was a huge quarry.

Sometimes there was a train coming with heavy water. There was a tunnel. When the train came, there were usually American airplanes trying to bomb it. Since the trains were heavily guarded by the military, they

would shoot at the planes. My job at the time was to go "hunting for mushrooms," which means that when one of the pilots had jumped out of the plane and tried to come down, I had to be the first with some other fellows to find him before the Germans would get him, otherwise they would shoot him.

JS: Did you ever find American or Allied pilots?

RC: Oh, yes. There were several of them. We tried to teach them how to be sort of "crazy," and get them back to England through Turkey.

JS: What was the procedure? How did they get them from Czechoslovakia to Turkey?

RC: I have no idea. It was not my department. My job was just to find them.

JS: After you found them, where did you take them?

RC: Hide them in a village, get them clothing—civilian clothes—burn all the equipment, even their shoes...There was one fellow from San Francisco. His name was Freddy. We found him after he parachuted from his airplane. He had awfully large feet, so he was using his American boots. One day, I went to the village, and he was sitting there talking with some girls wearing these American boots. It was obvious they were American military boots. I talked to him and tried to explain that if the Germans would see him with American boots that they would kill the whole family, the whole village. He laughed and didn't believe me.

Finally, we found somebody who was better versed in English than I was and explained it to him. We got him some large shoes, and there he went. But he told me about San Francisco, and that was my first idea that I wanted to come to California.

JS: Did you do any work with the partisans?

RC: No, this was not partisans. Actually, we called it cells. I had some job to do, but I cannot talk about it. How the cells worked, they were organized very much like terrorist groups. They worked in threes. They called it troika. One was looking for the other one, so if one escaped, they would shoot him, and the other one



Dr. Chytil at a speaking engagement. (Courtesy of Dr. Chytil)

would do the same. If somebody would get caught, they knew exactly how they had to get rid of him because the Gestapo could take everything out of people by torture. Anyone who got caught was practically dead. So, I was trying to do many things, and didn't want to do it, but what are you going to do? If you don't do it, you get killed. So, there was really a horrible problem. But still, during all this time, I was studying for the future. I said that when my dad comes back from the concentration camp, I am going to become a lawyer after the war. I had books that I read and studied. I also learned Russian.

JS: Do you recall in May of 1942 when Reinhard Heydrich was assassinated by Czech partisans?

RC: Yes, I recall it. I think this is still a question. It would take more research. Heydrich should have been killed, there was no doubt

about it, but he could have been killed in a much easier way. Then there would have been no Lidice, and no hundreds of Czechs exterminated. There are several scenarios of how it happened, but I don't know which one to believe. After the fact, everybody is a hero, and talks about how he did it. But here, only the heroes stay alive.

JS: Did you talk about that assassination, or was it very quiet...

RC: No, I knew about it, but didn't talk about it. They did very little talking... There is no reason, no logic in war and fighting. The only thing is to stay alive and not be exterminated. I really cannot contribute anything when it comes to the Lidice situation, except that I know there is more than one scenario for it.

JS: At the end of the war, there were American troops in Czechoslovakia, briefly, and then they were pulled back.

RC: This whole situation goes back to 1936. My dad was very serious with Beneš, asking him not to go see Stalin. Beneš thought that with his ideas he could make Stalin turn into a democrat. The whole policy was such that it was a schism. The Americans, although very important, didn't understand what was going on. That was my impression of it. But without America, there would be nothing. That's the whole problem. Stalin was too smart, even for Roosevelt. He was a ruthless person. It's very difficult to explain, but actually Stalin made arrangements that Russians should occupy Czechoslovakia.

General Patton came to Czechoslovakia before the Russians, about three days before, stopped in Pilsen and then moved on to Prague. I saw the tanks there and briefly made contact with some of the American soldiers. Patton was ordered to move back to Pilsen, and wait for the Russians to come from the East, for the Soviets to "liberate" Czechoslovakia. In the meantime, hundreds

of Czechs had been killed by the Nazis. It was very unfortunate. At that time, my dad was not alive. He was buried at a concentration camp, Terezin, a small fortress (kleine Festung), not as a Jew but as a political prisoner. So, he could not be around to explain the situation as well as us. It was all rigged, and I saw it. It was very, very difficult. I had lunch with Patton, as a matter of fact.

JS: You had lunch with General Patton?

RC: Yes. I had a talent or ability to get close or make contacts with people. We needed some dancing orchestra, as each institution, university, had a ball. So I went to see Patton, through some people, asking him if he could lend us his jazz musicians for the ball, and he said yes. We had a very nice lunch at a social club, and he was very polite, very nice. He made arrangements so that an American military band would come and play at the dance.

JS: What did you do between the time the war ended in May of 1945 and the communist takeover in 1948?

RC: I was very sad that I saw the communists would take over very soon. It took three years, occurring in 1948. I was already finished becoming a lawyer. I got my doctorate, and was working with my father's law firm... I had a very difficult situation, because the communists wanted to take everything that we had. I was able to get back all of the property back that the Nazis had taken from the family. The construction company was partially nationalized by degrees, so I was studying law, and helping the family to stay alive financially. The Minister of Foreign Trade was a former chief editor of dad's newspaper, and I knew him very well. They knew me when I was little, so I could come to see him. I said, "Look, I have to make some money for the family. I understand foreign trade. I know that there is wheat and meat in South America. They need Czech chemical glass, and I could

make a trade arrangement. He said, "Go ahead." I would make it, and he would send me to his assistant, and he would put... a stamp on it. So, I was making pretty good money at that time. But the family always looked at me as little Renecek, little baby. It was very, very difficult. I got involved in academic politics. I did all right, but in February, 1948, was the *coup d'etat*, and that was the end of our freedom...I could describe, step by step, how it happened.

I knew what was going to happen, but wasn't quite sure when. As a matter of fact, I knew the American Ambassador, Steinhard, and the Ambassador from England, Nichols, because we had the same dentist. I was able to meet with him and talk to him. In my very difficult English I tried to explain to him that Czechoslovakia was going to go communist. The reason was very simple—the uranium mines were in Krkonose. Czechoslovakia had lots of uranium, and Russia wanted to get it. They were working to get energy through conquest.

In 1948, I took off. I had to go illegally. How it happened was very simple. A friend of my dad, Dr. Jina, called for me on the phone and said, "Rene, I want to meet with you." I said, "OK." He said, "I am calling from a *budka*, (telephone booth) not from my house. Let's meet at one of the places we know at Petchin Gardens. I want to talk to you. Don't tell anybody." So, we met, and he said, "Rene, I saw your name on a black list of people who have to be re-educated in Bulgaria. My good friend Zdenek, your father, died in a concentration camp, and I don't want you to die there also. You have to get out of Czechoslovakia to go abroad as soon as possible." So, I escaped. I left everything, the family, my mother, siblings, and friends. It was about the fifth or sixth of June, 1948, and beautiful weather. I went to Germany first, and then I went to Holland where I got political asylum...

My Dutch friends made arrangements to get me smuggled to Holland from Germany. I met a very nice man, a captain in the American army, but he was completely alcoholic, a drunk, because his friends had been killed. He was a lawyer working for the Americans. He said, "Rene, the only way you can get to the United States is not from Germany, but through Europe and then to Canada. Then the quota will open, and you will be able to go to the United States legally." That was the best advice that I have ever received. I went to Canada, and when the quota was available, I came to the U.S. in 1951.

JS: How did you physically escape from Czechoslovakia and get to Germany?

RC: Well, I took my briefcase, a toothbrush, and a Luger (chuckles), and went over the border. My brother made arrangements to go with me, but he had an accident with his hand, an explosion. He was a chemist. He made arrangements for me to take a train, and then someone took me to the border in a car, and I kept going. When I came to Seifenbach, I gave some candy to the little kids. When they said, "Danke Schön," I knew I was in Germany. It was simple, but some of my friends were caught, and some were killed. But it was a risk I had to take. If I had stayed, I would have had to go to work in the uranium mines in Jakimov. So, from Holland, I came to Canada, and stayed in Vancouver.

I went to the United States, and got a job teaching at Cornell University. They hired me as a specialist in Czech language in 1952. So, I stayed at Cornell teaching but I didn't like it very much. Secondly, I guess it was the "Gestapo Syndrome" again, but in some respects it was banal to me. There were awfully good people there. The professors were fine, but I wanted to go to California. Then I went to New York City where I did some work at the United Nations, but had some other difficulties. I could never keep

myself in an institution of higher learning. It was very difficult for me. I had dyslexia, so when I tried to write, I made mistakes.

My family had quite a large amount of gold deposited in Prague. Before the war, it went to Switzerland, the Bank for International Settlement in Basel, but we didn't know these things. They took the Czech gold, including our family gold, and sent it to Germany, to the Reichsbank. When the United States Army came after the war in 1945, they discovered the gold and brought it to the United States and deposited it in the Federal Reserve Bank in New York.

JS: As the Nazis grew stronger, a lot of people left Europe, especially Jewish people. Did any of your friends, or your family, think about leaving Czechoslovakia before Hitler invaded?

RC: My father and grandfather had many contacts in Switzerland. As a matter of fact, dad was one of the founders of the Czech National Bank, the central bank. So, there were connections with the Swiss. But, we were not allowed to go there. When Germany occupied Czechoslovakia, that was the end of it. Everybody was on his own. Everybody has his own stories. If you put it together, it was a mish-mash. There is no logic to war. There is no logic to occupation. There is no logic to escape, only to stay alive—if you can do it.

My program has been to come to the United States. I remember we had several books on Lincoln and the writers Duran translated. I studied a little bit the American constitution, the Bill of Rights, and it seemed to me to be the nation with the most advanced social, legal, and economic system. I consider the United States the miracle of the world, and I wished to come over here. So, what was I

going to do? When I was in Canada, I worked for the Hudson Bay Company, but that was nothing. I worked for a pulp and paper company, hard labor, and that was nothing. When I came to the United States, I was working for a construction company as a cement finisher. I was driving trucks—I did everything.

It was by chance that I got to Cornell. I went to visit my cousin who studied there. I was going to enlist in the Air Force and go to Korea. Some of my hobbies were canoeing and gliding, and so in the Air Force I would

have learned how to operate air planes. I met some people there, and instead of that, they talked me into staying at Cornell to teach the Czech language and social sciences because there was a need for it. I asked, "Why is that?" They said, "Well, number one, you have a doctorate from Czechoslovakia, and you understand the Czech language. Would you be able to do that?" So, I said OK. I

stayed at Ithaca, and liked it very much. But then, I couldn't stand it. (chuckles) The "Gestapo Syndrome" always intervenes, which is mentally crazy, I think. Some people have a general way of working with political stress. My childhood was very happy, and had a lot of knowledge from listening under the Bösendorfer piano and studying. But I didn't have a plan of what to do in the United States. Should I stay in a business? Academia was difficult. The professors were excellent, but unfortunately they didn't understand that idealism and reality are quite separate. When you add the "Gestapo Syndrome," I could not communicate with those people.

My idea was to come to California. I went to Berkeley in 1956, and got involved as a consultant for the California Department of Justice, Reciprocal Rights of Inheritance. I

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was able to save the state quite a bit of money. Instead of sending the money to Eastern Europe, it would stay here, and escheat after four years. It would be used to build universities, like our university here, and Berkeley, and so forth. It was very rewarding work for me. I had the knowledge to explain to the judges the difference between the Soviet system and American system, but it was not easy in many ways.

JS: After you came to California in 1955, what did you do for work?

RC: Well, I wanted to do some intellectual work. I was working in law, and had a chance to get to Boalt Hall and met some interesting professors. But again, it was very difficult, because I was not diplomatic when it came to keeping my mouth shut and serving. (chuckles) That is the only way you can get through education without having your head chopped off.

When I came to California, I did everything possible to get an appointment, but I couldn't get it. It was that simple. People that I knew from the past, they were on a different side, a different space than I was. They wouldn't help. For example, Josef Korbel ended up in Denver. I had all the information available for him. He wrote a history of Czechoslovakia, but never even mentioned my father's name. Never mentioned that my father helped him get out of Czechoslovakia through France to England, and that he got a political job with the Beneš government in exile. Through Jan Masaryk, Korbel got a job with the Yugoslavian ambassador, which was through his connection with Clementes, who was a communist. Korbel was utilitarian, a very smart fellow. Of course, I never met Madeline Albright personally, but she must have adored him. He was able to make people happy, as a talent.

Later on, I was working on my Chytil gold case. I wanted to get our family gold back—

for the principle if nothing else. If you don't have a document which says that you are the owner of these things, it is very hard to operate in court, especially when the State Department or the American government had classified all the information, and kept it with the Tripartite Gold Commission and would not disclose the information to the public.

In December of 1981, some news appeared in the papers that the United States was going to send the Czech gold back to the communists. When my brother read the news, he said, "Well, that's interesting, because if it's the gold that the Nazis stole, the Czech treasure, that's not public gold, it consists of private gold.

For instance, the Sokol Organization was a physical organization for Hellenistic athletics established before World War I. They had their private gold deposited in the Czech National Bank, along with other private individuals, dental gold and industrial gold. Apparently, it was sent to Switzerland in 1938 before the Nazi occupation, to the Bank for International Settlements in Basel. The BIS was collecting interest from Germany for the reparations from the First World War. They were very well interlocked with the Deutsche Reichsbank, and had asked BIS to send all the Czech gold to Germany with all the documents. So, they sent it to the German Reichsbank, including our gold, which at that time amounted to 1,500 kilograms, worth \$14,250,000.00, and was commingled in 18.4 metric tons of Czech gold. Then, during the end of World War II, the American Army found the gold, and commingled all the private and public Czech gold, and labeled it as monetary restitution.

First, it consisted of, as described as the Tripartite Commission's Restitution gold, as the public or national reserves of gold. But it included private gold, so when my brother heard about sending this gold back to

Czechoslovakia, he immediately said, "Rene, there is private gold, not only ours, but also other individuals, like the Sokol Organization. Czechoslovakia is now a communist country, and it is not their gold. They are not supposed to have it."

The president at that time was Reagan, and we tried to communicate with Deaver, his assistant, but it was impossible to get to him and explain to not sign the bill. It went through the Congress, and Congress had decided to send the gold back to



Dr. Chytil with his family. (Courtesy of Dr. Chytil)

Czechoslovakia.

Based on the agreement with the United States Government, the government of communist Czechoslovakia gave about 81.5 million dollars in cash to compensate various claims by American nationals and American firms for property that was confiscated by the communists after World War II. However, those Czechs who became U.S. nationalized at that time were not American citizens, and could not qualify for any compensation. This is the so-called doctrine of espousal. Under this doctrine they say that the United States cannot espouse a claim on behalf of an American citizen if that person was not an American national from the time of the taking to the time of the claim. Many of the Czechs who came here as immigrants couldn't qualify because they were Czech nationals when the property was confiscated....

I had been very much aware of it since I did

extensive work on reciprocal rights of inheritance during the 1950s through the 1970s. I realized that the Americans were not really aware of what was going on. It is not right to take private property and make it public if the owners are asking for compensation.

My brother knew about the Czech gold, about our gold, because before 1938 he went with our father to the National Bank in

Prague and took inventory. It was in various cages, and he testified that he saw the gold and held it with his hands. He said, "Rene, you are a lawyer, let's go to the court." So, I filed a complaint for conversion against the

United States. Many people had been laughing that we were crazy doing this. I said, "Well, we have a constitution, don't we?" So, we went to court.

Zdenek testified that he saw the gold, and the court considered it for two or three years, but then dismissed the case without prejudice, stating that we didn't satisfy the documentation under the Freedom of Information Act for the declassification of these documents which the state department, the Tripartite Commission, had. So, we went to the claims commission in Washington, but the case died on appeal because we didn't have the money to go through with it. I have been trying to get the declassification since 1982. Finally, nothing happened, so I filed another case. When my brother died, he said, "Well, Rene, you go ahead and try to find out what's going on." In 1999, I was able to file the case again suing Madame Albright, Secretary of State,

which was very strange. That's what went from the district court here in Los Angeles to the Ninth Circuit in Pasadena. We didn't lose the case except that the court made the decision that this was a non-justiciable civil question, a political question, and therefore the court didn't want to do anything with this case. The Congress said they couldn't introduce any private bill on that. So, it's still sort of hangs in the air. It's a question of principle on one hand, and also I don't see the reason why we should give up our claim.

JS: In 1989, the communist government of Czechoslovakia fell, and Vaclav Havel...

RC: Havel, well, this is another story. My dad had a law firm in Lucerna Palace, which belonged to the Havel brothers. One of the brothers was the father of Vaclav Havel. I knew Havel when he was eight years of age and came with his dad to memorial services for my father after he died in a concentration camp. I talked with Havel very briefly when I was in Prague in 1995. He was strange. My brother Zdenek knew Havel... but he was impossible to talk to. In my opinion, they gave him too much credit for nothing. Other people who were working either died or weren't given any credit. Of course, Secretary of State Albright, who claimed to be of Czech descent, got acquainted with Havel and made a big hero out of him during the Clinton Administration. But, the Czech government did not at all compensate the Czechs who left the country, or return the property that was confiscated by the communist regime.

JS: Your villa was confiscated by the communists?

RC: Strangely enough, the fellow who got the villa was in charge of the military hospital. His name was Colonel Ludek Ciganek.

He was supposed to give my brother-in-law, the husband of my sister, some kind of a pump for a problem he had with a tumor, but Ciganek gave it to somebody else. My brother-in-law actually died because this fellow gave the pump to somebody else. Because my mother and sister could not return, the communists just took the villa and everything in it.

With respect to Havel, he was young. But his dad had known my father very well. My dad had a newspaper called the *Democratic Center*, published in the Lucerna, which Havel owned. Strangely enough, nothing came out of it, and I do believe that every-

thing has to do with what I call a political vendetta. Dad was a consultant to Masaryk and Beneš, and he also came in dispute with the first communist premier, Clement Gottwald. Gottwald made a vendetta because dad made his life in parliament quite miserable. As a matter of fact, before the Munich agreement my father went to Beneš and suggested that he

arrest all the Nazis and all the communists... Because of this vendetta, my father's name has been completely erased from Czech history.

What was very surprising to me was that when Josef Korbek, father of Madeline Albright, after receiving a grant here in America to write a history of Czechoslovakia, he never mentioned my father, although my father had employed him and made sure that he and his family would get out of Czechoslovakia through France to England, and that Josef Korbek would get a job with the Czech government in exile. But of course, in September of 1939, my dad was taken by the Gestapo with other political hostages, and sent to Buchenwald, Dachau, and the process of Nazification in Czechoslovakia took place.

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All the leading patriots had been exterminated in Nazi concentration camps, and the communists had also infiltrated the movement. It was a very difficult situation.

When the war was over in 1945, and I learned that my dad was exterminated in Terezin, I tried to talk with Jan Masaryk, whom I knew very well. He said, "Well, we cannot do too much. It seems that everything is gone." I saw the writing on the wall. In 1946, 1947, and 1948, the Cold War had developed under Stalin, who was very smart in terms of being a politician. Unfortunately, Roosevelt had trusted him, and so did Beneš. When Beneš went to see Stalin, he was going to be convincing enough to make a democrat out of him—impossible.

JS: Did you make any attempt, after the communist government fell in 1989/1990, to regain your property from the democratic Czech government?

RC: The family had some holdings. My grandfather's factory was nationalized immediately after the war for no reason at all, and then the construction company was taken by the communists in 1948. So, when I went to Czechoslovakia in 1994, I made requests trying to get it back. They said, "It has been privatized, and you cannot get it back." Everything that was nationalized has been privatized. As an heir, I was never notified. Somebody else got the money, and strangely enough, it was the large corporations in America that were advising the Czechoslovak government under Havel on how to privatize nationalized property. The same people who had been doing this job had been called on in the Enron case. The state department didn't do anything...

JS: They didn't make any attempt to contact you or any of the other people whose property was privatized?

RC: I wrote a letter to Clinton, but he sent it to the state department and nothing came out

of it. It was in an article about Enron, and all these big companies like First National in Boston, and the Swiss, were advising the Czech government about how to privatize property that was confiscated by the communists. Privatization was public theft. Nobody got a thing.

The courts do not actually want to get involved in this because they call it a political question. This is a big problem. For example, here we have an article, *Morgan Agrees to Enron Settlement*, and we have here several, Credit Suisse, Barkley's, Merrill-Lynch, Dominion Bank, Royal Bank of Canada—all these banks have been advising how to do privatization after the communists were displaced...

I went to the Czech Constitution Court concerning my request. They told me two things. Number one, you are not admitted to practice law in Czechoslovakia. Number two, you are an American citizen, so you have no rights in Czechoslovakian courts. There is a law which says that only those persons who are Czech nationals could get some form of recognition for restitution. But, those persons who were former Czech nationals but became, even for one day, American citizens, they don't have rights because they lost the continuation. This is the "continuity doctrine" under international law...(which) says if you become for one day, one hour, one year, five years, a foreign national, citizen, you have no right for restitution...What is very strange is because the state department is using the doctrine of espousal. Actually, they agree with the Czechs, that if you become an American citizen, you cannot get the property back.

JS: What type of work did your brother Zdenek do?

RC: Well, he was trained as a chemical engineer, to run a textile mill, especially the coloring department. He also made designs of cloth—that was his training. When the com-

munists took over in 1948...he couldn't find a job, but eventually found work in a metallurgical institute...When I was in America, a question of security came up, and they threw Zdenek out of his government job, so he was unemployed...

He was interested in the theatre and the movies, and because of his ability of understanding of the designs and structures, he started to make games for people to play, and was successful in selling some of them. His knowledge of game theory and game concept finally allowed him to get a job with the Department of Psychology of Learning at the Institute of Learning in Prague, which is above the university. Although he was under surveillance because he had a brother in America, when the Dubcek regime came to power in 1968 he was allowed to visit the United States. When the Soviets occupied Czechoslovakia, he did not return. He requested political asylum in this country, and got a job at the University of California, Berkeley, in the department of psychology where he was designing psychological testing games. He became quite effective, but about 1972, five hoodlums beat him up, broke his jaw and he lost his teeth. So, he couldn't do his research, and became disabled.

JS: Your brother was born in 1920, so when the Germans came in, he was nineteen. What happened to your brother during the war?

RC: Well, he was a specialist and was running my grandfather's factory, but it was in a district different than Prague, with a different kind of Gestapo arrangement. So, he was able to stay there, and since he was important to production, he did not have too many difficulties. Then the Nazis decided to take over the factory and make an ammunition plant out of it. Fortunately, my grandfather turned things around so that about three hundred employees, textile specialists, were able to stay in the country and not be sent to Germany.

JS: What happened to your grandfather?

RC: My grandfather, Edmund Kirsch, stayed in Czechoslovakia, survived the war, and lived into his 90s. After the communists took Žamberk, which was a large spread of real estate—a very nice establishment with a villa and so forth, we moved the grandparents to our place in Prague where they stayed with us for another ten years while I was in the United States. The last time I saw him was in 1948, and since then I did not see my grandmother either. My mother survived, and fortunately in 1982, I was able to get her... to the United States. I brought the whole family from Czechoslovakia to the United States in 1982/83. It was a little bit of a miracle I think. ...

JS: Did you teach any Czech to your children?

RC: No, because I didn't think we would ever be able to return to Czechoslovakia. The situation was not too pleasant...While they were here visiting, the communists took the villa in Prague. They took everything we had there.

JS: So they had been living in the villa until 1982?

RC: Yes, because my mother was in a concentration camp during World War II, and she was able to talk to the communists quite well. She knew their mentality, and said, "Look, I survived the concentration camp, and you never lived there." They didn't want to do harm to her, but they were doing everything "legally" to move her out of the house. Finally, when she came for a visit to Los Angeles, they succeeded, and the fellow who took the house was an MD, a big communist official in the military.

JS: Your grandfather, Edmund Kirsch, was arrested after the war?

RC: He was a very courageous man. He was arrested for two reasons. Number one, he was a capitalist. Then, the communists wanted to exterminate the Chytil family. There was a vendetta to destroy us by Gottwald, the first premier. Edmund was accused of being a collaborator, but he never was. Under the decrees which Beneš signed, that was a mistake, so they were not able to hold him because he was older, over sixty years. They didn't allow him to go back to the factory to run it, and of course, all the production went down. It was a political question again. This was the wave of nationalization of industry which was created to allow the communist state to take all the property belonging to the Czechs, and control them.

JS: Your sister, Beatrice, is younger than you are?

RC: Yes, she is four years younger. She was called to the Gestapo when she was about eleven or twelve years of age, and had a bad encounter with them. She was there during an air raid, and the Gestapo became completely upset, stamped on her feet, and she still cannot walk too well because of this. She doesn't talk too much about it either. She was exposed to quite a brutal attack, and after the communists took over, her husband was killed because he didn't join the party. His father was a general who fought in Russia against the Bolsheviks with the Czechoslovak army. Our whole family didn't fit in. It is still hard to believe that today they don't know anything about my dad, that he was a founder of Czechoslovakia. They practically put his name out of history.

JS: After the war, what did she do?

RC: She went to school and took some kind of home economics. She had been singing pretty well, in opera, and was quite talented...she had a good voice. She was using the piano in our music room, and I used to work in father's study which was right near the music room, reading and preparing cases.

She was singing, "la-la-la-la-la," and it was killing me. I would like to have turned my ears off! She was very good, as a matter of fact, and had good training, but when the communists came they would not allow her to sing in the theater. They said, "No singing." It was always something.

She was of a "capitalist, de-classed" element background, and could not work the normal time in Czechoslovakia. She had to do what is called a house job. They would give her a job to do at home. It was very hard, although her husband was an engineer and an architect... Still, she was not allowed to work normally—no singing, no real job. It was pretty bad...

JS: They were real bastards, weren't they? I don't know if they use that word in Czechoslovak.

RC: Yes (laughs)—sičácy.

JS: Sičácy—I like that.

Renatus Chytil still seeks justice for his family despite being over eighty years of age and in failing health. He actively pursues the restoration of his family's "nationalized" assets, and perhaps even more significantly, the reinstatement of his father's rightful place in Czech history. Dr. Chytil currently resides in Orange County, California.

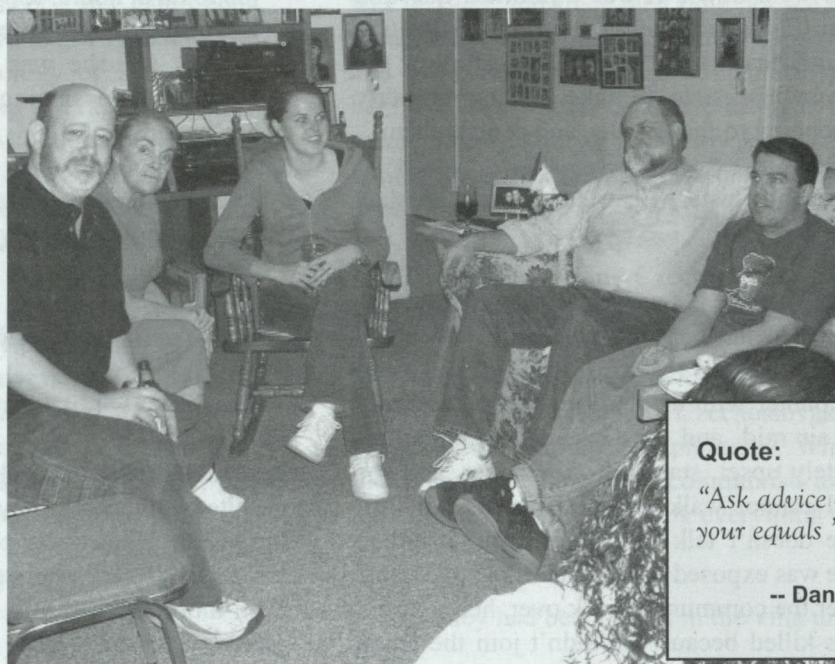
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Quote:

"Ask advice only of
your equals"

-- Danish Proverb

Fall 2005 Welebaethan advisory meeting.



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Shutkin in Bayreuth in 1952 after reuniting with her mother. (Photograph courtesy of Ingrid Shutkin)

Ingrid Shutkin: An Oral History of a German Refugee

By Maria Hernandez-Figueroa

Maria Hernandez-Figueroa's interview with Ingrid Shutkin illuminates the trials and tribulations faced by German expellees following the second World War. Shutkin's compelling tale illustrates the atrocities of war which many Germans suffered. Prior to this historians have largely neglected the topic of Germans living in Russian territory, a subject which Shutkin's story demonstrates is a crucial part in understanding the post-World War II climate in Europe.



Maria Hernandez-Figueroa was born in Degollado, Jalisco in Mexico. Her family came to California in the late 1970s and early 1980s. She arrived in 1985. Maria received her Bachelor's Degree in history from California State University, Fullerton in January 2006. Her goal is to earn a Ph.D in history and to teach in a university. The areas of study which intrigue her most are oral history, and the history of immigration and politics. In the future she hopes to integrate her interest in law and public policy with her study of history and obtain a law degree as well.

There are a lot of stories to every situation. And lots of people have different experiences that need to be told. It doesn't need to be just one-sided. There are many facets in life.

-- Ingrid Shutkin

The years between World War I (WWI) and World War II (WWII) or 1919 until 1939, set the environment for totalitarian systems to develop in Europe. Nationalism increased in countries such as Italy, Spain, and Germany. In Germany, a young man by the name of Adolf Hitler formed and led the Nationalists Socialist Workers Party or Nazi Party to power during the 1930s. By 1933, Hitler rose to the seat of Chancellor and by 1939 marched into Poland so beginning the Second World War.¹ Hitler appealed to German citizens by promising jobs and improvement of the German economy. He blamed groups of people such as socialists, homosexuals, and Jews, using them as scapegoats and targeting them for removal from the "pure-blooded" German population. Ultimately, the Nazi war machine massacred those who did not fit Hitler's ideal of German national identity and aimed for world domination.

Germany's main allies included Italy and Japan. France, Russia, England, and the United States joined against them and eventually defeated them by 1945. Since then many scholars have researched, studied, and written about the many aspects of this conflict. There are scholarly works that study the battles, the Holocaust, the economic situations in various countries, the diplomacy, military matters, and countless more subjects. Nevertheless, secondary sources have not extensively addressed the topic of German expellees driven from Eastern Europe at the close of the war, in particular as this relates to the experiences of women and children who fled west after 1944 when the Red Russian army entered East Prussia. A full understanding of the dynamics and destructive character of war proves hard to obtain if

scholars ignore or loose this perspective of history. Recently only a few books have been published that deal with this.²

Ingrid Shutkin represents one of these refugees. Born on 27 May 1931 in Tilsit, East Prussia, today known as Sovetsk, Kaliningrad, along the Soviet border, Ingrid considers herself a German. She grew up in her town seeing the atrocities around her and then the reality of war forced her to flee her home. While fleeing she witnessed the rape of her family members and the death of hundreds of civilians.³ Shutkin's interview reveals the complexities and effects of total war on civilian populations. It questions whether the casualties and victims of war are worth the fighting. Her story places a human face on the statistical reports and the famous battles. While the chronology of her accounts corresponds with various scholarly works, they also challenge the notion that most Germans followed and approved of Hitler. It shows the perfidious aspect of human nature by exposing that soldiers on both sides of the conflict committed injustices under the guise of war or patriotic duty. Her oral history exposes the experiences of German women at the close of the war in particular the rape of German women by Soviet soldiers. It also shows the dangers of allowing the few people in power the right to socially construct the concept of race. Had the Third Reich had known that Ingrid was part Jewish, she might not have lived to tell the story from a German's perspective. But, since people in power constructed race and that construction did not apply completely to her, Ingrid escaped her fate in the hands of the Germans but ultimately suffered in the hands of the Russians.

Ingrid Shutkin came from a hard working and relatively successful family. Her paternal grandfather was a *Yunker* or a wealthy landed elite. He bought an estate with full of forests and a title in Tilsit in 1882. Her grandfather was also Jewish. Her maternal grandmother came from Poland and

¹ Alex Buchner, *Ostfront 1944: The German Defensive Battles on the Russian Front* (Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 1995), 9.

² Such works include *German Boy: A Refugees Story* by Wolfgang W.E. Samuel, *The War of our Childhood: Memories of World War II* also by Samuel, *Wolfskinder* by Ruth Kibelka (in German), and *A Woman in Berlin: Six Weeks in the Conquered City* by an anonymous writer.

her maternal grandfather came from Lithuania. Shutkin's family resembled her hometown of Tilsit with respect to the diverse origins of its members. She remembers that prior to WWII, she enjoyed a happy childhood and she referred to Tilsit "a little U.S" for its relative peaceful ethnic and religious relations. She grew up surrounded by religious groups such as Lutherans, Catholics, Baptists, Dutch Reform, Mennonites, and Apostolic. Her friends originated from surrounding countries like Poland.⁴

Ingrid remembers the Nazi influence on her daily life as a young child in the 1930s. In fact, the Nazi party first made its presence felt in East Prussia in 1924, seven years before Ingrid's birth. The party began its political work as a *Vaterlandischer Schutzbund* or a "Patriotic Protection Association."⁵ Although its initial presence in East Prussia proved weak, by 1939 it imposed its ideologies on various sectors of the community including education. In this case, Ingrid Shutkin's oral history serves to illustrate how complex the situation proved to be for a German community that did not necessarily agree with Nazi propaganda. While Ingrid's family did not approve of Hitler and his policies, they had to accept the curriculum of her school, which followed an extremely pro-Hitler agenda. In school, she learned that Hitler:

Was the Fuhrer... They told us just how wonderful he was and all he was doing for the country. And how every thing had fallen down and all of a sudden there were jobs and he was building the freeways and he was building these houses for people. You know it was, people should have many children.⁶

³ Ingrid Ruth Shutkin, Interview by Maria Figueroa, Tape Recording, 20 October 2005, Fullerton, California.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Richard Bessel, *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism: The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany 1925-1934* (London: Yale University Press, 1984), 13-6.

⁶ Shutkin, 20 October 2005.

Shutkin also had
to join the
Hitler youth group,
Junge-Maedels.

Because peace and multicultural tolerance shaped Ingrid's childhood, her life like that of many civilians changed dramatically after the start of the war. In this case, her memories confirm the build up to and the impact of the Holocaust. She remembers classmates disappeared. Her family never spoke of the fact that they had Jewish ancestry. Most of her Jewish family members disappeared from her life. She remembers one aunt in particular who stopped her yearly visits to Tilsit. She remembers that:

In 1942 or so, my father went to Riga and when he came back, there was whispering and great crying. And what I heard from little snippets of conversation, they were gone. Most likely they were shot. I couldn't figure these things. I was a little girl. What did I know?⁷

Shutkin also had to join the Hitler youth group, *Junge-Maedels*. Belonging to this group introduced Ingrid to wounded soldiers since the *Junge-Maedels*' activities included volunteer work at the local veteran's hospital. Hitler and the Nazi party changed and influenced her life. The realities and atrocities of war forced Ingrid to mature at a rapid pace. The war's end only signaled the beginning of Ingrid's suffering.

A few months preceding the war's end, the Russian Red Army officially began an offensive attack on East Prussia on January of 1945. The Soviets captured Tilsit on 19 January and continued to the western region. Russia targeted East Prussia because they regarded it as the center of German militarism. Militarily, the Russians had advantage over the Germans. The ratio of Russian soldiers to German soldiers was 2.1:1; the ratio of Russian artillery to that of the Germans was 3.5:1; likewise in tanks and assault guns the ratio was 5.1:1; and in aircrafts, the Russians had the advantage as well, the ratio being 4:1. By 25

⁷ Ibid.

April, on the 105th day of battle, East Prussia fell to the Red Soviet Army.⁸

Accounts like these view war through a statistical frame. History told in this fashion lacks the human story and many questions remain. For example, what happened to the civilians in East Prussia at the time? How were they kept safe? Did their safety matter within the context of war? In this case, Ingrid's oral history offers a glimpse into the horrors that people caught in the middle of the battle faced.



Shutkin with her children while visiting Germany in 1961.
(Photograph courtesy of Ingrid Shutkin)

Ingrid Shutkin's family evacuated their home in Tilsit in 1944 out of fear of the invading Red Russian Army. Her mother left before Ingrid and took her sister to West Germany. Rumors spread that the Russian Army committed atrocities against the German civilians but Ingrid's grandmother believed that it was all Nazi propaganda. She decided to stay with one of her daughters at her ranch and kept Ingrid in the interest of her education. Her father escaped the German draft and fled to Denmark. In late 1944, German soldiers told the Shutkins that they had to leave. They escaped by boat. She recalls that:

Women and children had to go on the bottom and the adults were on top... kids my age we were on top and we were told to be very, very quiet because the Russian snipers were already on the river bank and we could hear gun fire.⁹

⁸ T.N. Dupuy and Paul Martell, *Great Battles on the Eastern Front: The Soviet-German War, 1941-1945* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1982), 192-5.

⁹ Shutkin, 20 October 2005.

By December of 1944 Ingrid, her grandmother and her aunt found themselves on a farm in Frauenberg next to the Vistula Lagoon. They did not know that they were in the Russian line of fire. Ingrid's testimony shows that the Russian Army began the attack on East Prussia before January of 1945. On 26 December 1944, the Red

Army caught up with the Shutkins at Frauenberg. The farmer's wife, her two children, his sister, his mother, Ingrid, her aunt, and her grandmother were in the house at Frauenberg. The Red Soviet soldiers raped all of them but her. She vividly recalls a young girl just one year older than her, "I was thirteen and that girl was fourteen and

she and her mother were lying in the snow. They were raped multiple times and they set the house on fire."¹⁰ The White Russian Army who was battling the Red Russian army rescued her family that night.

Eventually Ingrid and her family escaped to Gdansk. The German Army led them onto a ship. Again, Ingrid witnessed many civilian deaths. From Gdansk, her family boarded a train to Berlin. They rode alongside wounded German soldiers. She recalls that:

We were in one of the last trains that went up here...Every once in a while we had to stop. There were a lot of shooting...I don't remember eating. We never bathed you know. You couldn't even change your underwear. I didn't change my underwear from Christmas day because I didn't have anything. And you couldn't wash your underwear because it wouldn't dry.¹¹

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

While in West Germany, Ingrid witnessed the devastation that came with war. Her family formed part of a great number of refugees. Three major phases of migration took place. Ingrid's journey constituted the first phase or the Soviet phase that included local Germans, mostly women and children who feared the advancing Red Russian Army. The second wave came about immediately after the war and included Germans of countries such as Poland and Czechoslovakia. These countries took intolerant actions and expelled their German populations. The third phase occurred after the Potsdam Accords legalized the expulsion of Germans. Article XII of the accords legalized the expulsion or removal of Germans out of certain territories of the defeated state.¹²

Living conditions for people fleeing proved rather hard. For one thing, more than 10.5 million refugees registered in the four occupation zones of West Germany. The surplus of women to men between the ages of twenty to forty-five stood 170 females to 100 males.¹³ Of the women approximately 300,000 who worked on family farms prior to their evacuation, lived on public assistance. On top of that, population that already resided in the zones rested at thirty-eight million. All of these people had to share resources such as housing, which already stood at a shortage.¹⁴ From these facts, one can conclude that life was not easy for those who the war uprooted as well as for those who received them. Ingrid recalls the psychological strain on the refugees and the people who had to take them in:

Also, the German people were very resentful towards the refugees because our dialect was different. We used different words for different things and you could always tell because of our dialect that we were refugees. And

they were very, very resentful because we were put in their homes. You know if someone had three bedrooms, they had to give one to the refugees and they resented that.¹⁵

After traveling through the destroyed and devastated areas of West Germany, Ingrid, her aunt, and her grandmother ended up in the Soviet-occupied zone. One of the places that she stayed was Annaberg in the *Erzgebirge* or the Ore Mountains. In Annaberg, food scarcity forced her to scavenge for food at the risk of her life. One time she stole four potatoes from a potato field that Soviet soldiers guarded. They shot at her but she managed to escape.¹⁶ In August of 1945, she lived in Streila where she attended Communist-influenced school. She experienced oppression in the sense that Germans:

We were not supposed to say we were driven away from our home. We were told we had left. We left the area. We left voluntarily. We didn't. And the victorious Russians had freed them. Yes we couldn't say anything.¹⁷

Since housing was also scarce, Ingrid's family moved into a room inside a ferry boat on the Elbe River. There she again witnessed the horrors of war when she saw dead and mutilated human bodies floating down the river every day. It takes an oral history such as Ingrid's to envision the difficult situations that many women with hungry children found themselves in. Her story also reveals how war separated children from their mothers for years.

In 1948, Ingrid embarked on a journey to Bayreuth after finding the whereabouts of her mother. Her aunt and grandmother paid a human smuggler to get out of the Communist sphere of influence in 1948, four years after the separation from her mother. Ingrid came to the United States in 1952 and married an American G.I..¹⁸

¹² G.C. Paikert, *The German Exodus: A Selective Study on the Post-World War II Expulsion of German Populations and its Effects* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 7-43.

¹³ P.J. Bouman, G. Beijer, and J.J. Oudegeest, *The Refugee Problem in Western Germany* translated by H.A. Marx, LL.M (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950), 5-13.

¹⁴ Friedrich Edding, *The Refugees as a Burden, A Stimulus, and a Challenge to the West German Economy* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1951), 20-5.

¹⁵ Ingrid Ruth Shutkin, Interview by Maria Figueroa, Tape Recording, 25 October 2005, Fullerton, California.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Shutkin, 20 October 2005.

¹⁸ Shutkin, 20 October 2005.

Ingrid Shutkin's interview adds to the existing secondary sources regarding WWII. Her insight in particular in the area concerning German women and the suffering that they underwent in the hands of the Red Russians, offers a frequently ignored viewpoint. Her reflections explore how total war affects civilians through the separation of families. Ingrid's experiences made her a well rounded woman who can sympathize with other people's emotions. She feels sorry for women who live sheltered lives because to them many trivial things turn into tragedies. She is a pacifist in consequence of her experience. She claims that:

I always say my grandson will never, ever go to war because I gave... Who suffers? Like in my case. And all those women and children that froze to death in East Prussia? That died raped to death in Königsberg? That were trampled over by the tanks as they were trying to flee?... It is all the civilians that get hurt. All those thousands and thousands of civilians that get hurt forever you know. Someone loses a leg, it doesn't grow back. The war is long over. People forget about it and the man still jumps only on one leg. You know it's an insanity and we are not civilized to do wars.¹⁹

These types of insights and conclusions are not typical in most secondary works regarding the Germans and WWII. Shutkin's interview serves as a reminder that not all Germans supported Hitler and his policies and that war finds victims from all sections of society.

¹⁹ Shutkin, 20 October 2005.

Book Review

The Bad City in the Good War

By Rachael Amaro



Rachael Amaro is a "super" senior, currently hoping to earn her B.A. in History this spring. She has been actively involved at Cal State Fullerton since her first semester as a freshman. Rachael is a current member of Phi Alpha Theta, the Student California Teachers Association, and Golden Key International Honor Society. Her goal is to one day become a junior or high school history teacher and work in her hometown of Upland, CA.

Historian Roger W. Lotchin extensively investigates the key roles played by major California cities during WWII in *The Bad City in the Good War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego*, published at Bloomington's Indiana University Press in 2003. His work reflects a deep-rooted interest in the subject of California urbanization and its impact on the so-called "Good War." His expertise on urbanization, California and western history, as well as 1940s America, motivated him to write several articles and books related to those subjects prior to 2003. He currently holds positions as President of the Urban History Association and history professor at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. In *Bad City in the Good War*, urban cities throughout the U.S. maintained a reputation as "bad" places to live or work due problems such as high instances of crime, troubled inner-city youth, and polluted living conditions. However, during World War Two (WWII) many of these same "bad" cities became crucial to obtaining victory overseas. Lotchin also notes that a majority of urban and WW II historians focus on certain groups while ignoring others. Additionally, numerous American citizens and metropolises joined in an effort to win the war, but none on the immense scale of California. Lotchin's unique observations of the impact women and minorities in California during the war provide an innovative view to the state's crucial role in WW II.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Californians' view of this particular war drastically transformed, along with the importance of their major cities. Lotchin stated, "The military sent the Pearl Harbor wounded to San Francisco," and that Yellow Cab Company drivers flocked to the scene as reinforcement hospital transportation (27). San Diego, a major Navy port, also found itself bombarded with wounded and deceased soldiers throughout the duration of the war (19). In fact, the state's most highly urbanized centers, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San

Diego, received a multitude of injured servicemen.

Lotchin indicates that the general population of the state increased nearly 250 percent between 1940 and 1950 (249). Moreover, each city attracted the attention of numerous military and government agencies in search of places to house and support ships, planes, ammunition, supplies, and troops. According to Lotchin, "By 1943...there were 866 subcontractors in the [Los Angeles] County airplane industry alone..." (32). Of course, this high demand for war-ready supplies required greater numbers of workers to construct and maintain the required facilities. Each of the four metropolises witnessed tremendous inhabitant growth from 10,000 to over 100,000 people during the "Good War."

Even though this explosion of California's urban population greatly improved productivity in its defense industry, the author further contends that it added to transportation and housing problems. Other historians also note the severity of these issues, such as Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orst in their volume *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California*. Rice, Bullough, and Orst found that because of the increased war production and rations, there existed a significant reduction in housing construction. Lotchin corroborates this when he describes the potential hardships faced by the thousands of workers and servicemen arriving in the cities with nowhere to sleep. Transportation difficulties endured by civilians and soldiers included overcrowded buses, trains, and streetcars as well as the military confiscation of most airplanes and boats. However, the public soon discovered carpooling alleviated some of the pressures while mass transit systems adjusted their timetables to accommodate high traffic periods (194-5). Lotchin reveals in *Bad City in the Good War* that the government, churches, families, and businesses altered buildings and homes in order to lodge military personnel with no place to live (55-7).

A great deal of Lotchin's evidence involves the history of minorities and women, both living and working in 1940s urban California. Internment of Japanese Americans came under both attack and praise, depending on the persons involved, "If some people were inclined toward Japanese bashing, others, including newspapermen, were inclined to defend their rights publicly" (31). Regarding African Americans, the historian maintained that they gained more privileges in the realm of leadership than equality in general (130-1). A letter sent by a citizen, James Thompson, to the editors of *The Pittsburgh Courier* addressed the need to end segregation in America while diverse troops battled overseas. Thompson suggested this concept of a Double V Campaign, a "victory abroad and at home," which attempted to inspire civil rights activists to combat racist discrimination. Unfortunately, the idea struck government officials as a subversive action toward the war effort and even attempted to prosecute those in support of the idea.

Moreover, Mexican Americans and other non-Anglo Californians arrived in droves to assist the growing war effort only to find intolerance and non-acceptance of their cultures in the four major cities. Lotchin further argues, "Each group advanced toward the V at home [and] contributed magnificently to the V abroad" though the few gains earned by minorities did not promptly incite a search for full civil rights or equality because, at the time, working for victory as a united front mattered more; as he stated (140). African American train porter C. L. Dellums faced this battle directly while working for a Pullman coach operating in Oakland. He recognized that the discriminatory practices faced by minority workers and their importance in supporting the war effort created a unique bargaining point for civil rights.

*Objectivity also
diminished while he
described the
"foolish relocation of
Japanese Americans..."*

Eventually, his threat to lead a march of over 100,000 marginalized laborers on Washington D. C. forced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to create the Fair Employment Practices Commission or face the consequences of leading a divided nation during WWII.

Lotchin asserted that women entered into a variety of both paid and volunteer jobs that also significantly impacted "their Double V" of winning the war and breaking down gender barriers at home (103). Yet, female citizens primarily joined the workforce and participated in public spheres of society, to fulfill their American "duty." Planning community activities, chauffeuring wounded soldiers to hospitals, baby-sitting for one another, and similar responsibilities fell on the shoulders of women who, "happily" accepted them as necessary to keep the country strong. No matter what type of employment mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and the like took on, many of these

ladies never expected to remain employed once the men came home. Actually, he referenced an interview in which a woman revealed that, "many women did not think it was fair of them to take the jobs of men who were fighting the Nazis or the Japanese fascists" (85). Unlike other accounts on the topic of gender in WWII, this volume brought about a unique and in-depth view to the contributions of the female population during this period of crisis.

In spite of this development, Lotchin's personal thoughts overpower a few passages. His use of the word "magnificently" in describing the contributions of both minorities and women denoted a sense of opinion over fact (103,140). Objectivity also diminished while he described the "foolish relocation of Japanese Americans..." (55). A later section detailing the internment

included numerous assumptions made by the professor about how the whole event "might have been avoided" (111). Ironically, he cited several inconsistencies and suppositions put forth by others, such as the generally accepted ideas of California's hysteria, the impact of the Zoot Suit Riots, and comparisons of WWII California with the Gold Rush era (28, 136-7, 241-2). Although his brief instances of biased writing created a tone of inconsistency, he continued to display intriguing evidence supporting his central thesis.

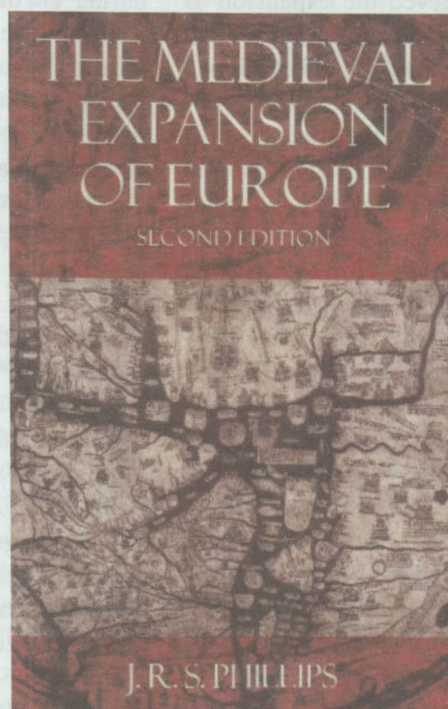
Focusing specifically on San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego, the author convincingly supports his claims with statistics, other historians' publications and interviews, plus newspaper articles. Tables at the end of *The Bad City in the Good War* support statements related to population growth and change. Albeit the personal interviews came from other researchers, they still powerfully expressed the "Good War's" impact on California's cities and its people. His utilization of periodicals and photographs from the era supplement these interviews while at the same time clearly depicting popular views of the war and its events. He also catalogs various theses and dissertations as part of his selected bibliography, completing an extensive collection of primary and secondary sources. Using such a wide-range of resources added substance and greatly enhanced the writer's thesis.

Those most interested in his work include fellow historians as well as anyone with a fascination about the history of California in WWII. Lotchin's words conveyed a high quality of professionalism without a pretentious subtext; such as "War turned out to be one of the chief ways of overcoming the disintegrating tendencies of the metropolis by enhancing its sense of community," which made the manuscript both informative and fascinating (33). Overall, the historian's expertise on the topic brought about an interesting examination of the impact of the war on these four cities in California.

Book Review

The Medieval Expansion of Europe

By Heather Carter



Heather Carter is a native of Southern California who graduated from UCLA with a B.A. in history in 2002. She is currently finishing her M.A. at CSUF with plans to graduate in the Summer of 2006, after which she will be returning to UCLA for her Ph.D. Her ultimate plans are to teach at the college or university level, indulge in her own research, and travel the world with her wonderful husband Terry. Heather's main area of focus is medieval Europe, particularly late medieval England and France, with emphases in aristocratic politics, society, and gender history.

Historians traditionally considered the expansion of Europe, customarily taken to mean the movement of Europeans beyond their conventional boundaries for purposes of colonization, as an early modern phenomenon that began in the fifteenth century. Commencing in 1415 with the Portuguese capture of Ceuta on the Moroccan side of the Straits of Gibraltar, and hallmarked by Columbus's voyage in 1492, scholars believed the expansion of Europe to be a self-contained movement which broke completely from the insular preoccupations of the middle ages (213, 238). A combination of contemporary factors unique to the fifteenth century, particularly the Renaissance "which inspired scholars and explorers to seek new intellectual and geographical horizons," made this expansion across the sea possible (213). However, in his synthesis *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, J. R. S. Phillips argues against this established paradigm of European expansion. According to Phillips, the expansion not only began in the Middle Ages, but this medieval phase of it should be considered as equally important as its fifteenth-century counterpart. Furthermore, Phillips argues that not only did a very close relationship exist between these two phases, but that the fifteenth-century period of expansion completely depended upon its medieval forbearer (vii).

Phillips opens his work by outlining three primary objectives. First, he seeks to establish the extent and nature of Western Europe's relations with Asia, Africa, and America between 1000 and 1500 (vi). Phillips then gauges the extent to which medieval scholarly theory and popular conceptions absorbed new information obtained about the outer world (Ibid.). And thirdly, Phillips discusses the relationship that existed between the medieval expansion and the fifteenth-century expansion of Europe (Ibid.). He pursues these aims in thirteen chapters arranged both topically and geographically into five sections. Phillips supplements these chapters with eight maps, and although he does not utilize footnotes or end-

notes, he provides a bibliography arranged by chapter at the end of the book. The 1998 edition also contains a bibliographic essay discussing relevant works published since *The Medieval Expansion of Europe's* initial release in 1988.

Phillips begins his study by examining the limits of geographical knowledge during the Roman Empire, and the transformations that took place during the dark ages. Attempting to discover the sources of the medieval expansion of Europe, he locates its origins in the developments of the eleventh century that included a new internal stability and new institutions (18). Phillips asserts, "It is essential to emphasize that the expansion of Europe into other continents during the medieval period was preceded, and to some extent made possible, by a similar expansion within Europe itself" (21). Although designating the First Crusade as the beginning of medieval Europe's expansion, Phillips describes the crusades as a "dead end" because most of the surviving crusaders and their followers returned home (33, 46). More important than the crusades, the Mongolian conquests in Asia aided the growth of international trade significantly (50, 76). The fictitious Christian King Prester John, who allegedly promised aid against the Muslims, further spurred European interest in the East (56).

European curiosity, however, did not limit itself to Asia - it also extended to the west coast of Africa due to the ongoing quest for Christians and gold (152). The Atlantic islands, including the Canaries and most likely Madeira and the Azores, comprised the most important discoveries linked to this region (153). Furthermore, according to Phillips, "the major outcome of medieval European contacts with Africa and its ocean margins was a growing interest in the waters of the Atlantic which was to have totally unforeseen consequences both for Europe and for the world at large" (Ibid.). However, despite these contacts with the outer world, the modification of preconceived notions of earlier generations was a slow

process (177). Alongside basic principles of geography there existed belief in monstrous races and a terrestrial paradise (178). Phillips contends that the fictitious work *Mandeville's Travels* demonstrates the scope of fourteenth-century European knowledge about their world and the strange manner in which reputable information and theories combined with fantasy. *Mandaville's Travels* therefore provides a fair representation of what Europe's contemporary literate population knew about their world and what the intrepid amongst them hoped to find during their travels (199). Phillips concludes that the voyages of the fifteenth-century explorers, such as Columbus and Vasco da Gama, were in fact the continuation, or "new phase," in a history of European expansion long established since the Middle Ages (238).

A major theme of *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* is continuity. For instance, Phillips places the 1415 capture of Ceuta, already mentioned for launching the fifteenth-century expansion, in a tradition of military expeditions undertaken by various European powers against the North African coast since the early eleventh century (224). Likewise, the new shipping technology which was essential for the success of the fifteenth-century expeditions actually stemmed from the experimentation in shipping design which took place in the Mediterranean and Atlantic from 1250 until 1400 (219). Even the navigational methods and instruments, including the lead, traverse, compass, board, and portolan map, had been used since at least the thirteenth century; and the astrolabe actually dated back to antiquity (220-1). Thus, the early modern "age of exploration" not only directly links to its earlier predecessor, it depends upon it.

Scholars have given Phillips' *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* a somewhat lukewarm reception. A negative review from Archibald R. Lewis criticizes Phillips for his geographical view of Europe's expansion as "much too nar-

row" (Archibald R. Lewis, "Review of *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*," *Speculum* 65, no. 2 (Apr. 1990): 483-5). According to Lewis, Phillips' work lacked the maritime, governmental, and economic elements essential to understanding Europe's expansion (Ibid.). William D. Phillips, Jr., of the University of Minnesota, mildly criticizes Phillips for being more comfortable with intellectual history than economic history, and suggests that this is what caused him to emphasize Asia as the main objective and preoccupation of medieval Europeans (William D. Phillips, Jr., "Review of *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*," *The American Historical Review* 95, no. 3 (June 1990): 798-9). However, he concedes that Phillips "has produced a sound survey that amply demonstrates that European expansion had deep and complex medieval roots that sustained what grew later" (Ibid.). D. O. Morgan, in his review for *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies and African Studies, University of London*, "quibbles" with Philip's failure to recognize that Marco Polo did not mention the Great Wall of China because it did not exist in Yüan times. Nonetheless, he calls *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* "an extremely able work of synthesis and a book with a clear and persuasive thesis of its own" (D. O. Morgan, "Review of *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 52, no. 2 (1989): 413-4). These critics' rather subdued responses may be due to a degree of professional disdain for a synthetic work not founded on any original research. Phillips nevertheless is clear with his thesis and successfully proves his point. This work is well written and easily accessible to undergraduate and graduate students alike.

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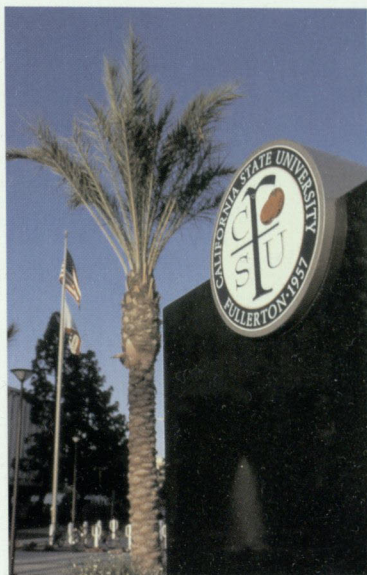


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Welebaethan Faculty Advisor: Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, Ph.D.
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Funding provided by: Associated Students Inc. IRA funded 2006



Additional funding provided by: History Department, William Haddad, Ph.D.



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