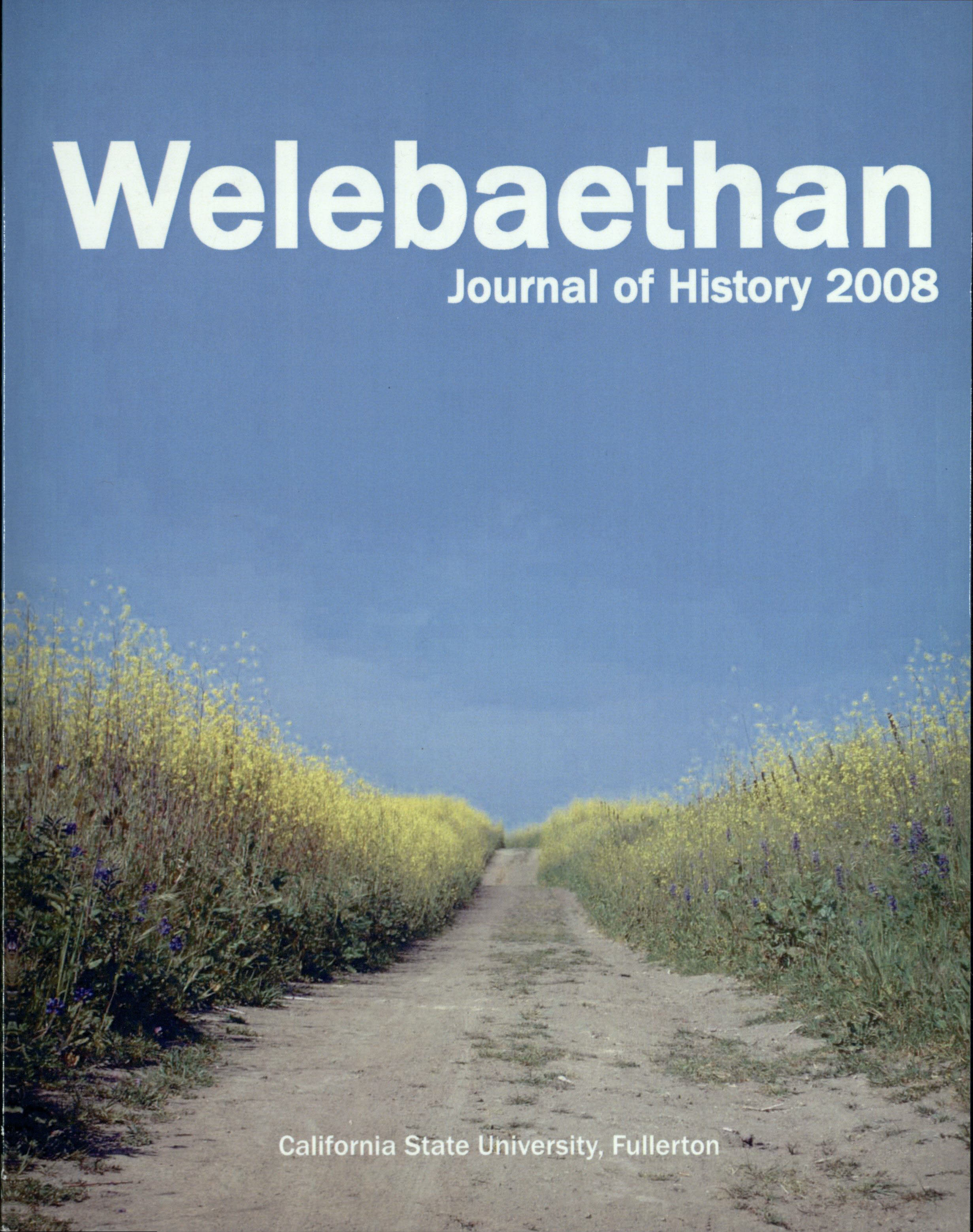
Welebaethan

Journal of History 2008



California State University, Fullerton

WELEBAETHAN

JOURNAL OF HISTORY 2008

A TRADITION OF EXCELLENCE SINCE 1973

Theta-Pi Chapter
Phi Alpha Theta
History Students Association
California State University, Fullerton
Associated Students, Inc.

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In Dedication to Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, PhD

Photo by Stone Ishimaru

It is with great pleasure that the editing team dedicates the 2008 *Welebaethan* to **Dr. Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg**. Though she has served as the journal's faculty advisor since 1999, this is the first year that we recognize her mentorship and excellence.

We appreciate and applaud Dr. Wendy for the guidance, encouragement, professionalism, and support she exudes in and outside the classroom. Dr. Wendy began her career at California State University, Fullerton, in 1996, loves to teach, and usually balances four sections each semester while remaining equally active in other professional academic organizations. Currently, she is president of the Federation of Genealogical Societies (FGS) and a member of its Board of Directors for many years. FGS is an umbrella organization for societies that helps with management and education for over six hundred groups and well over one million individuals. Additionally, Dr. Wendy serves on the national Records Preservation and Access committee. She also acted as president of the California State Genealogical Alliance for several terms during the 1980s and 1990s.

As president of the Southwest Oral History Association (SOHA) from 2003 to 2004, Dr. Wendy planned and organized the SOHA regional conference at El Pueblo in downtown Los Angeles in April 2002 and served as National Conference Chair of the FGS Conference held in Ontario, California, four months later. At the 2007 SOHA conference held at CSUF, she served as program co-chair and gave two presentations, but she has presented or moderated panels at all but two SOHA conferences since 1994. Because of her service and contributions to local, state, and national community organizations, in 2006 Wendy received the Harry P. Jeffrey "Community Service" Award from the CSUF History Department, and in April 2008 SOHA awarded Wendy its Service Award for outstanding contributions to the organization.

Later this year, showing no signs of slowing down, Dr. Wendy will lecture on the New Madrid earthquakes of 1811-2 and also provide an oral history workshop at the National Genealogical Society (NGS) Conference in Kansas City, Missouri. Also this year, at the FGS Conference in Philadelphia, she will deliver a discourse on courthouse records and present another oral history workshop.

Her passions include oral history, genealogy, and, of course, teaching. An accomplished writer as well as speaker, Dr. Wendy regularly writes for the *APG Quarterly*, the *NGS Magazine*, and a column in the *FGS FORUM* quarterly. She co-edited (with Johni Cerny) and authored several chapters in *The Library: A Guide to the LDS Family History Library* in 1988, which won the coveted Reference Book of the Year Award from the American Library Association in 1989. Dr. Wendy also authored numerous genealogical research articles in a wide variety of genealogical publications.

Even with all these responsibilities, Dr. Wendy remains available and accessible to students with needs—and we all have them. If she is in her office, she is likely listening to a troubled student or offering her encouragement and wisdom. While she expects nothing less than the best from all of us, she is open to anyone with concerns or challenges. Her high standards for herself and others, combined with her compassion, push us all to seek higher goals with integrity and grace.

Letter from the Editor

This year's publication process felt like a marathon, and I am so grateful for the 2008 *Welebaethan* team's endurance, perseverance, dedication, and achievement. From start to finish we ran fast and hard, maintaining the tradition of excellence. We raised our standards, and by following a triple-blind review process, we only expected and accepted the best from our authors and editors. The dedication of a few outstanding individuals made possible the completed product: a purely student-authored and edited scholarly production. This year the editorial board even shared editing secrets with competing schools at the Southwestern Social Science Association's 88th Annual Meeting in Las Vegas, Nevada.

First and foremost, I want to extend my undying gratitude to this year's Managing Editor, Tiffany Sakahara. She willingly devoted countless hours to proofing incalculable drafts of abstracts, bios, papers, and letters; organized editing processes and established timelines; and even baked the most delectable cookies for our sleep-deprived editors. Always available and able to help anyone and everyone with the immediate task-at-hand, she continuously rose to the occasion and proceeded to ask, "What else can I do to help?" Her meticulous editing skills combined with her witty and enthusiastic charm encouraged us all to seek excellence in this year's publication.

A giant thanks to Assistant Managing Editor Eddie Barrios. He helped facilitate editors' travel to the conference, spent the necessary hours outside class helping to review pre-final edits, brought his invaluable, prior *Welebaethan* experiences to the table, and taught us about disaster preparedness—how to publish a journal and limit catastrophes.

Thank you to our graduate assistant, Thomas A. Stein, who, with his prior experience as Editor-in-Chief, offered numerous suggestions and warnings regarding potential pitfalls that occur over the course of publication preparation. With all his wisdom, Tom also acted as master of footnotes and is the main reason our citations are Chicago-perfect. Thanks Tom!

I reserve a very special thank you for Dr. Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, our courageous faculty advisor who, perhaps more than anyone, demonstrates such a deep passion for the *Welebaethan* as a student-run scholarly journal. Her belief in the process and the product pushed us to seek the highest standards in ourselves as writers and editors. Dr. Wendy's dedication to the journal and to the students is incommensurable and deeply appreciated.

In addition I would like to thank Blake McWhorter and Carolyn Smuts-Hass for their willingness to devote extra hours to this project. Thank you to our layout expert and designer, Justin Bernabe, without whom we would not have a printed creation, and also to RuthAnn McGarry for our beautiful editor and author photos. A special thanks to all the students, faculty, and alumni on the Review Board, and our host and hostess for the review sessions, Dr. Seymour Scheinberg and Dr. Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg. Additionally, the 2008 team thanks Dr. Gordon Bakken, Dr. Jochen Burgtorf, and Dr. William Haddad for securing funding for printing and publication.

At the beginning of the year, my advisors—the former Chief, Thomas A. Stein, and faculty advisor Dr. Wendy—warned me that the only requirement of an Editor-in-Chief is the willingness to pursue perfection. After all, an award-winning journal like the *Welebaethan* expects nothing less. Because flawlessness for any human undertaking is nearly impossible, my goal, and the aspirations of the 2008 team, was to uphold the journal's standard of excellence. With the combined efforts of an outstanding team of meticulous editors and cooperative authors, we not only crossed the finish line, but I believe we obtained our objective. I would like to personally thank all those who contributed in making this year's publication a perfect one—thank you.

Nicole Rhoton

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2008 *Welebaethan* Award Winning Papers

Each year the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta recognizes the authors of the best papers in the following categories: Best Overall, United States History, European History, Asian History, and Western History. After an Awards Committee selects winners from the final edited versions of all papers printed in this edition of the *Welebaethan*, the Theta-Pi Chapter awards prize money to the recipients. The 2008 prize-winning papers are:

Lawrence B. de Graaf Prize for Best Overall Paper

By the Book: Alchemy and the Laboratory Manual from Al-Rāzī to Libavius, 920-1597
Gail Marlow Taylor

Best United States History Paper

William Apess and the Mashpee Indian Revolt: 1833 and Present-day Mashpee-Wampanoag Tribal Identity
Taran Schindler

Ric Miller Prize for Best European History Paper

Amicitia, Patronage, and the Paterfamilias: The Effect of Roman Customs on Foreign Policy
Ryan Greene

Best Asian History Paper

Reoccurrence: Conforming Aspects of Sima Qian's Portrayal of Qin Shihuang and Han Wu-di
Richard Beck

William B. Langsdorf Prize for Best Western/Local History Paper

California's Press and the Pacific, 1898-1899
Robert Miller

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When a group of history students and faculty began publishing this annual journal, they named it in honor of **Shirley Weleba, PhD** the first full-time faculty member to pass away. Dr. Weleba arrived at California State University, Fullerton, in 1970 as the first staff member to specialize in African history. From her name and an expression she used, the department chose *Welebaethan* as the journal's title.

By the Book: Alchemy and the Laboratory Manual from Al-Rāzī to Libavius, 920-1597

by Gail Marlow Taylor

Book in hand, the alchemist stirs the crucible. *The Bald-Headed Alchemist* after David Teniers II. Chemical Heritage Foundation Collections, painting photographed by Will Brown.

Over a thousand years ago, Persian physician and chemist Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī wrote a laboratory manual called *Kitāb al-Asrār* or *Book of Secrets*. **Gail Marlow Taylor** analyzes the structure and methodology of this alchemic handbook. She compares it to medieval European texts and demonstrates that current laboratory procedural manuals contain roots that stretch back to the tenth century. Today, laboratories analyze virtually everything from food to clothes using a systematic organization of equipment, materials, and methods first seen in *Kitāb al-Asrār*.

Alchemy, the most ancient form of chemistry, links the book with the laboratory. In the picture *The Alchemist*, David Teniers portrays a master consulting his manual as assistants tend the furnaces (fig. 1). A massive volume lies open on the table, while a scattered stack of books lies unheeded on the floor. Books may invoke the authority of the ancients or convey academic legitimacy, but the most important book in the laboratory simply provides unequivocal instructions. Over a thousand years ago, the Persian physician and chemist Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī (ca. 865-923)[1] wrote the first laboratory manual preserved in its entirety. He called it the *Kitāb al-Asrār* or *Book of Secrets*. Al-Rāzī was not the first alchemist to have a laboratory. The story of alchemy traces its beginnings to ancient Egypt, India, and China. Because al-Rāzī wrote a manual, however, his laboratory is accessible, and his influence is tangible.

Al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Asrār*, written in ca. 920 CE, begins a continuum of laboratory manuals leading to *Alchemia* written by Andreas Libavius in 1597, which accounts for their similar structure. This analysis examines those similarities by showing exactly what it means to say al-Rāzī's manual was systematic and then establishes that al-Rāzī himself was a well-known and respected authority into the seventeenth century. The third area of evidence involves the distribution of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* and its influence on medieval European alchemical texts, while the concluding argument compares its approach to excerpts from some of these texts, including the 1597 *Alchemia*. The many variables in this complex body of literature do not lend themselves to simple conclusions of cause and effect. Al-Rāzī wrote a laboratory manual, and ever since then, books have been in the laboratory in one form or another.

Fig. 1. Reviewing theory or simply looking up the next step? The master refers to his handbook. *The Alchemist* by David Teniers, ca. 1645. Alchemy Web site, available at http://www.levity.com/alchemy/teniers1.html.

The natural philosophers of tenth-century Persia did not hesitate to debate the feasibility of *al-kīmiyā*[2] or alchemy, the science of changing the state of metals under laboratory conditions. The arguments centered on practice, not theory. Observation of mixed ores in the mines supported Aristotle's postulate that the four bodies—earth, air, fire, and water—have a common substrate whose properties change when subjected to conditions found within the earth.[3] The crux of the debate concerned whether these conditions could be duplicated in the laboratory.[4] If the right substances were

[1] Abū Raihān Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Bīrūnī (973-1048), "Al-Biruni als Quelle für das Leben und die Schriften al-Rāzīs," trans. and ed. Julius Ruska, *Isis* 5 (1923): 32.

[2] *Kīmiyā* can be translated as either *chemistry* or *alchemy*. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 3rd ed., s. v. *kīmiyā*.

[3] Aristotle (384-322 BCE), *Meteorology*, vol. 1, *Great Books of the Western World*, ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins (Chicago: William Benton, 1952), 445, 482.

[4] Avicenna (980-1037 CE), "On the Formation of Minerals and Metals and the Impossibility of Alchemy," trans. and ed. E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville, in *A Sourcebook in Medieval Science*, ed. Edward Grant (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974),

mixed in correct proportions and subjected to controlled heat, might not the natural metamorphosis of metals be accelerated? The human fascination with this possibility constituted the first application of theoretical chemistry—the use of the workspace not to mix ingredients for a dye or perfume, but to recreate nature in the laboratory by transforming the substance of matter itself.

Although al-Rāzī defended alchemy in other works, his *Kitāb al-Asrār* yields no space to theory.[5] The result is a book both concise and systematic, giving it a modern resonance that contrasts with theoretical medieval texts, like the *De Mineralibus* of Albertus Magnus (ca.1193-1280); or allegorical texts, such as the *Compound of Alchemy* by George Ripley (ca.1415-1490).[6] In fact, the structure of al-Rāzī's tenth-century book closely resembles that of *Alchemia*, a chemistry text written in Germany in 1597 by Andreas Libavius. During the seven hundred years separating these two works, other practical alchemical texts shared elements of this structure including *The New Pearl of Great Price* (ca. 1330) by Petrus Bonus and the thirteenth-century *Summa Perfectionis* of Pseudo-Geber.[7] This analysis of the organization and procedures of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* and comparison to medieval European texts traces the structure of the laboratory manual up to the publication of Libavius's *Alchemia*.

Alchemy, the most ancient form of chemistry, links the book with the laboratory

The first historian to analyze al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Asrār* in detail as a groundbreaking chemical work was Henry E. Stapleton in 1927 in his book *Chemistry in Iraq and Persia in the Tenth Century A.D.*[8] When historian Julius Ruska published his German translation *Al-Rāzī's Buch: Geheimnis der Geheimnisse* from Arabic manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, he gave al-Rāzī credit for bringing "alchemy to a strictly scientific format for the first time."[9] Consequently, mid-twentieth-century writers such as E. J. Holmyard, author of *Alchemy* in 1957, and Robert P. Multhauf, who wrote *The Origins of Chemistry* in 1966,[10]

569-70. Earlier Islamic scholars questioned alchemy, but Avicenna's emphatic refutation of it was the basis for continuing debate in medieval Europe.

[5] Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Asrār*, in *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, Band 6, trans. and ed. Julius Ruska (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1937), 9, 83.

[6] Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), *Albertus Magnus Book of Minerals*, trans. Dorothy Wyckoff (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), xiii; see also George Ripley (ca.1415-90), *George Ripley's Compound of Alchemy (1591)*, ed. Stanton J. Linden (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001), vii-viii.

[7] Petrus Bonus, *The New Pearl of Great Price: A Treatise concerning the Treasure and most Precious Stone of the Philosophers*, ed. Arthur Edward Waite (London: James Elliott, 1894; reprint, London: Vincent Stuart, 1963), viii. Written in ca. 1330; see also Geber, *The "Summa Perfectionis" of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study*, trans. and ed. William R. Newman (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991). According to Newman, Paul of Taranto probably wrote the *Summa Perfectionis* in the late thirteenth century.

[8] Henry E. Stapleton, R. F. Azo, and M. Hidayat Husain, "Chemistry in Iraq and Persia in the Tenth Century A.D.," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 8 (1927): 317.

[9] "Dann aber bleibt auf alle Fälle für Rāzī das Verdienst, die Alchemie zum ersten Mal in eine streng wissenschaftliche Form gebracht zu haben." Julius Ruska, trans. and ed., *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, Band 6 (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1937), 13. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are the author's.

[10] E. John Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1957; reprint, New York: Dover,

took note of al-Rāzī's systematic methodology and his classification of chemical substances. "Holmyard states, "Razi, in fact brought about a revolution in alchemy by reversing the relative importance of experiment and speculation."[11] In 1975, Owen Hannaway brought needed attention to laboratory science and its texts in *The Chemists and the Word,* in which he characterizes the monumental *Achemia* as the initiation of a didactic separation of chemistry from alchemy.[12] More recently, William Newman and Lawrence Principe in *Alchemy Tried in the Fire* (2002) have emphasized the continuity of alchemy and chemistry, but, like Hannaway, they focus on seventeenth-century laboratory texts.[13] The antecedents of modern laboratory manuals, however, extend much further back. It is time to take a fresh look at the *Kitāb al-Asrār.*

Kitāb al-Asrār, written in ca. 920, yields no space to theory

The Practical Laboratory Manual

What does modern chemistry historian Richard Morris mean in *The Last Sorcerers* when he notes that the *Kitāb al-Asrār* is "a comprehensive and practical laboratory manual?"[14] The modern laboratory, inextricably integrated into today's economy, is an expensive space that uses specialized equipment for repetitive testing. Whether pursuing medical diagnosis, seismic material testing, or stem-cell research, mistakes can be costly and randomness is unacceptable. The modern manual addresses equipment, materials, safety, quality, and testing processes, in conformance with a structural framework defined by the institution and often subject to regulatory oversight. *Kitāb al-Asrār* is suggestive of a modern manual because it provides exactly what is needed in a manner free from theory, speculation, and digressions. When al-Rāzī wrote the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, he aimed to extract the essentials from his prior works and compile "one compact concise book on this subject."[15] He produced a practical manual with a systematic structure, interrelated procedures, and specific instructions.

Kitāb al-Asrār follows an overall organizational plan with an introduction, required materials, equipment, and procedures. The user sees at once how to select the proper materials, instruments, ovens, and containers without having to look at each procedure, interpret allegory, or wade through pages of theory. The book contains no conclusion, consistent with modern manuals, which usually begin formally with a statement of purpose, but end abruptly with the last procedure.[16] Al-Rāzī, however, clearly labeled the last chapter, which, in the days of manuscripts at least, indicated to the reader he had the complete document at hand.[17] With this assurance, the necessary materials, and a few good ovens, the user continued to

1990), 88; see also Robert P. Multhauf, *The Origins of Chemistry* (London: Oldbourne, 1966), 130.

[11] Holmyard, *Alchemy*, 88-9.

[12] Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 143.

[13] William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire: Starkey, Boyle, and the Fate of Helmontian Chemistry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 37-8.

[14] Richard Morris, *The Last Sorcerers: The Path from Alchemy to the Periodic Table* (Washington, DC: Joseph Henry Press, 2003), 8.

[15] "[Ich] habe ihm ein kurzegefaßtes [*sic*], feines Buch über diesen Gegenstand zugeeignet." Al-Rāzī, *Al-Rāzī's Buch*, 83.

[16] For example, the *Chemistry Assay Procedure Manual*, a laboratory manual currently in use in a modern medical diagnostic laboratory, simply ends with the procedure for a xylose tolerance test. A chemistry textbook might have a conclusion, but a procedure manual would not. "Xylose Tolerance Test," procedure 760.0900 in *Chemistry Assay Procedure Manual*, vol. 2, Mission Hospital, Mission Viejo, CA.

[17] "[U]nd das ist das lezte Kapitel in diesem unserem Buch. " Al-Rāzī, *Al-Rāzī's Buch*, 220.

the main body of the book, which consists of procedures.

The arrangement of the procedures in the *Kitāb al-Asrār* follows a preconceived plan. Al-Rāzī grouped procedures by type of process (sublimation, calcination, softening) and major substances (quicksilver, sulfur, metals, stones), then arranged the procedures sequentially in the order needed, cross-referencing them when necessary. For example, the instructions for calcination of tin require the addition of the sublimated quicksilver already prepared in a prior procedure. The last step of the tin procedure requires "crushing water," apparently a strong solvent, and refers the user to the chapter on dissolving, where the information for making that solvent is found.[18] Al-Rāzī usually provided the procedures in the order to be performed, but in a laboratory manual with a number of procedures sharing some of the same intermediate processes, cross-references avoid wasteful repetition. Cross-referencing also anticipates the user's need for more information, especially when mentioning reagents such as "crushing water" for the first time. These internal citations show that al-Rāzī designed the manual as an integrated whole and was familiar enough with the processes to anticipate what the person performing them needed to know.

al-Rāzī designed the manual as an integrated whole

Not only are the procedures arranged logically in respect to one another, but within each procedure is specific information required to perform it. The procedure for the sublimation of quicksilver specifies the required materials, the quantities, their preparation, containers, ovens, timing, and tests for the desired endpoint. Details such as instructions to allow the hot container to cool before collecting the residue on the sides protect the worker as well as facilitate a larger yield of the final product. For any laboratory procedure to be repeatable—and to avoid waste—the practitioner should not have to guess the amounts, the timing, or whether the process is complete. Alchemic procedures in other texts are often vague, but al-Rāzī put together a manual that anticipates the user's need for specific information.

Demonstrating the practical and systematic nature of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* is far from controversial, but it raises two questions: does this text introduce a new approach to laboratory science, and, if so, does it matter? Henry E. Stapleton and Julius Ruska, the historians who closely analyzed al-Rāzī's work in the 1920s and 30s, found at least some of al-Rāzī's chemistry stems from a tenth-century body of alchemical texts written under the name of the eighth-century alchemist Jabir. Even still, Stapleton and Ruska believe al-Rāzī's work exhibited a new style.[19] According to Ruska, "the gulf between the endless variety of forms of the Jabir manuscripts and the realistic matter-of-fact style of Rāzī's work is so great, that one can hardly notice any further relationship other than a common foundation."[20] Modern historians, as previously noted, have not challenged this claim. Yet if Ruska is correct in characterizing al-Rāzī's book as something entirely new, it suggests that the concept of a

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[18] "[T]ränke es mit dem *zermalmenden Wasser*. Wir werden dieses erwähnen bei den scharfen Wässern in den Kapiteln des Lösens." The instructions referred to are located in that chapter on page 182. Al-Rāzī, *Al-Rāzī's Buch*, 123, 182.

[19] Stapleton, Azo, and Husain, *Chemistry in Iraq*, 343; and Ruska, *Al-Rāzī's Buch* 12.

[20] "Der Abstand zwischen der unendlich vielgestaltigen Darstellung der Ǧābir-Schriften und der nüchtern sachlichen Form von Rāzī's Arbeiten ist so groß, daß man über die Feststellung einer gemeinsamen Basis hinaus kaum noch weitere Beziehungen wahrscheinlich machen kann." Ruska, *Al-Rāzī's Buch*, 12-3.

laboratory manual, so intimately linked with the function of the laboratory, began in the tenth century.

The overall arrangement of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* into introduction, materials, equipment, and procedures sounds obvious, even intuitive. Yet there were alternatives. During the Middle Ages in Europe, a variety of alchemical texts proliferated with a multitude of styles. Over the centuries, however, the simple functional approach never entirely disappeared. Al-Rāzī designed the laboratory manual to last, supported by the enduring name recognition of its author.

Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī: Also Known as Rhazes

Laboratory manuals are hardly bestseller material, but al-Rāzī possessed definite name recognition that helped sustain the *Kitāb al-Asrār*. Al-Rāzī was best known in Europe not as an alchemist, but as the author of authoritative medical books. One list of his works names eighty-nine on medicine, twenty-one on alchemy, and seventy-four on astronomy, philosophy, and other sciences.[21] Although most of his works were lost, a few became exceedingly well-known under his Europeanized name Rhazes.[22] The prominence of his medical works, from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries in the universities of Europe, reinforced his credibility among physicians and the public, as well as alchemists.

Physicians became familiar with al-Rāzī in medical school where two of his works

Fig. 2. 1529 Latin edition of Rhazes' medical text *Continens* in Vienna. Islamic Ethics: Topics in Islamic Medicine, available at http://www.islamset.com/ethics/topics/glimpse.html.

became standard texts: the ninth volume of the *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī*, called *Nonus Almansoris*, and the twenty-fifth volume *al-Hāwī*, known as *Continens*, a compilation of Greek and Hindu medical texts accompanied by his own commentary.[23] *Continens* was "the most valuable of the nine volumes" in the University of Paris medical library in 1395.[24] Medical historian Donald Campbell lists Latin publications of *Continens* in 1486, 1500, 1506, 1509, and 1542.[25] The *Nonus Almansoris*, translated into

[21] Al-Bīrūnī (973-1048), "Al-Biruni als Quelle," 34-48.

[22] Donald Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and its Influence on the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1926; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973), 66-8.

[23] George Sarton, *From Rabbi ben Ezra to Roger Bacon*, vol. 2, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1931; reprint, 1953), 609.

[24] Edward Theodore Withington, *Medical History from the Earliest Times: A Popular History of the Healing Art* (London: Scientific Press, 1894), 146.

[25] Campbell, *Arabian Medicine*, 69.

Latin in 1481 and many times thereafter, was included in the medical curriculum of the new University of Tübingen in 1481, the medical school in Vienna in 1520 (fig. 2), and still required at the University of Frankfurt (Oder) after 1588.[26] Medical schools in Holland continued to use al-Rāzī's medical books during the seventeenth century.[27] Alchemy was not a university subject in the Middle Ages, but al-Rāzī's prestige as a learned physician may have increased his credibility across his areas of expertise, especially since many alchemists were physicians and clerics.

Fig. 3. In this 1612 carving at the City hall of Lemgo, Germany, Rhazes, holds a book. Lemgo: Neues von den 10 "Weisen" am Apothekenerker, available at http://www.lemgo.net/415.html.

References to al-Rāzī in popular culture show he required no introduction to the public. *The Romance of the Rose*, a thirteenth-century poem by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun and enjoyed in both France and England for three hundred years, names him as a medical authority: "And we have not seen any of the physicians themselves escape from her [Death], not Hippocrates or Galen, no matter how good physicians they were. Rhases, Constantine, and Avicenna have left her their skins."[28] The English poet Geoffrey Chaucer (ca.1340-1400) attested to the learning of the physician in *The Canterbury Tales*, when he wrote, "Wel knew he th'olde Esculapius, And Deiscorides and eek Rufus, Old Ypocras, and Haly, and Galien; Serapion, Razes, and Avicen…"[29] Al-Rāzī joins Galen and Hippocrates again in an early seventeenth-century stone frieze of ten renowned medical authorities (fig. 3) commissioned to celebrate the first pharmacy in the German county of Lippe. These examples demonstrate that the public associated al-Rāzī with historical figures of medicine. Both poems were popular works, full of humor and human interest, and written to entertain, not educate. The authors expected their public to understand the reference without an explanation.

[T]he concept of a laboratory manual…began in the tenth century

Al-Rāzī was familiar to alchemists as well, and many mention his name to give authority to their works, either in connection with specific procedures, or as one of a list of known authorities. Abufalah, an eleventh-century alchemist from Sicily whose procedures are reminiscent of the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, starts one process with: "A distinguished combinatory operation, tested by Rusis…."[30] Similarly, the *Libellus de Alchemia*, ascribed to Albertus Magnus (ca. 1193-1280), begins a procedure, "A better way to sublime

[26] Stapleton, Azo, and Husain, *Chemistry in Iraq*, 609; and Campbell, *Arabian Medicine* 201-2.

[27] Multhauf, *Origins of Chemistry*, 130.

[28] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Charles Dahlberg, 3rd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 1, 271.

[29] Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1340-1400), *Troilus and Cressida and the Canterbury Tales*, vol. 22 *Great Books of the Western World*, ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins (Chicago: William Benton, 1952), 166.

[30] Abufalah, *The Book of Em haMelekh*, in *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book*, trans. and ed. Raphael Patai (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 110.

Fig. 4. Rhazes presides over the alchemical arts with Hermes, Arnold of Villanova, and Geber (not shown). Thomas Norton, *Ordinall of Alchemy in Theaticum Chemicum Britannicum,* ed. Elias Ash¬mole and Allen G. Debus (London: n.p., 1652; reprint New York: Johnson Reprint, 1967), 45.

mercury is given by Rhases…."[31] "Rhasis, in his *Seventy Precepts*, affirms that mercury is the root of all things," states Petrus Bonus in *The New Pearl of Great Price*, written in ca. 1330.[32] Al-Rāzī is quoted as a giver of sound advice in the *Speculum Alchymiae: The True Glass of Alchemy*, attributed to Roger Bacon (ca. 1220-1292) and in Nicolas Flamel's fifteenth-century quest, *Écrits Alchemiques.*[33] Thomas Norton (ca.1433-ca. 1513), in *The Ordinall of Alchemy*, portrays al-Rāzī in an illustration (fig. 4) and includes him in a list of named authorities, as do other alchemists.[34] The validity of their citations is not relevant here. The authors had no way of knowing whether al-Rāzī wrote all the texts ascribed to him. Nevertheless, throughout the Middle Ages, alchemists who wrote books recognized al-Rāzī as an authority in their chosen field.

From the first Latin translations of his books in the twelfth century until the seventeenth century, al-Rāzī's fame was divided between the worlds of alchemy and medicine, a trend historians have maintained ever since. In his tenth-century compilation entitled *The Fihrist*, al-Nadīm places al-Rāzī's medical works in one section and his alchemical works in another, as does science historian George Sarton in 1927 in his *Introduction to the History of Science.*[35] Medical historian Donald Campbell looks at his medical works; science historian E. J. Holmyard analyzes his systematic chemistry.[36] Yet when one surveys al-Rāzī's body of work as a whole, the clear, organized methodology of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* is no longer an anomaly among alchemic texts, but the natural outcome of an analytic mind. For example, chapters from *Continens* listed in *The Fihrist* include divisions on "the potentialities of drugs and nutriments," "compounded drugs," and

[31] Albertus Magnus, "A Description of Alchemical Operations, Procedures, and Materials," in *A Sourcebook in Medieval Science*, trans. Sister Virginia Heines, ed. Edward Grant (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 599.

[32] Bonus, *New Pearl*, 229. This edition cites al-Rāzī at least thirteen times by the author's count, on pages 6, 80, 109, 112-3, 115, 229, 259 (twice), 279, 362, 365, 375, 382. The book was written originally in ca. 1330 as *Pretiosa Margarita Novella.*

[33] Roger Bacon (ca. 1220-92), *Speculum Alchymie: The True Glass of Alchemy*, in *Collectanea Chymica: A Collection of ten several treatises in chymistry, concerning the liquor alkahest, the mercury of philosophers and other curiosities worthy the perusal* (London: Pelican, 1684; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1963), 130; see also Nicolas Flamel (1330-1418), *Écrits Alchemiques*, ed. Didier Kahn (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993), 39, 43.

[34] Thomas Norton, *Ordinall of Alchemy* in *Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum*, eds. Elias Ashmole and Allen G. Debus (London: n.p., 1652; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967), 8.

[35] Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, *The Fihrist: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture* vol. 2, trans. and ed. Bayard Dodge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 703-9, 863; see also George Sarton, *From Homer to Omar Khayyam* vol. 1, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1927; reprint, 1953), 609.

[36] Campbell, *Arabian Medicine*, 65-72; and Holmyard, *Alchemy*, 86-92.

"weights and measures."[37] Possibly this area of al-Rāzī's work influenced European physicians whose writings incorporated both alchemy and laboratory pharmaceuticals, such as Paracelsus (1493-1541) and Andreas Libavius (ca. 1555-1616).[38]

Beyond exploring what it means to say that the *Kitāb al-Asrār* was a straightforward laboratory manual and showing that its author was widely recognized as a credible authority by both physicians and alchemists lies the question of whether the *Kitāb al-Asrār* itself was widely read enough to justify the broad claim that it influenced later laboratory texts and perhaps even the concept of the laboratory itself. So far, this study explored what it means to say that the *Kitāb al-Asrār* was a straightforward laboratory manual and showed that its author was widely recognized as a credible authority by both physicians and alchemists. However, this raises the question of whether the *Kitāb al-Asrār* itself was widely read enough to justify the broad claim that it influenced later laboratory texts, perhaps even the concept of the laboratory itself.

Medical schools in Holland continued to use al-Rāzī's medical books into the seventeenth century

The *Kitāb al-Asrār*: A Well-Known Secret

Al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Asrār* or *Book of Secrets* had three major avenues of influence that expanded its accessibility to European alchemists. First, the text itself was copied and translated multiple times. Second, its style and concepts were distributed in *De Aluminibus et Salibus*, a popular twelfth-century text attributed to al-Rāzī. Third, William Newman, professor of history at the University of Indiana, traced the impact of Latin translations of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* on the thirteenth-century text *Summa Perfectionis*, "arguably the most influential alchemical text of the middle ages."[39] Through these direct and indirect routes, the contents, style, and structure of al-Rāzī's book reached a wide audience.

Julius Ruska (1867-1949), director of the Research Center for the History of Natural Sciences in Berlin,[40] based his German translation of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* primarily on an Arabic manuscript dated 1561, which he discovered in the University of Göttingen library in 1921. In the translation, he also referred to less-complete Arabic manuscripts in Leipzig (1710), the Escorial (Spain), and one in Lucknow (India) that historian H. E. Stapleton discovered. [41]

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37 Al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 704.

38 Paracelsus, *Hermetic Chemistry*, vol. 1, *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Aureolus Philippus Theophrastus Bombast, of Hohenheim, called Paracelsus the Great,* trans. and ed. Arthur Edward Waite (London: James Elliott, 1894; reprint, Boulder, CO: Shambhala, 1976), i; see also Bruce T. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 8.

39 Newman and Principe, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire*, 43.

40 Julius Ruska: Orientalist und Nuturwissenschaftler, Kurzbiographie von Dr. med. Helmut Ruska, http://julius.ruska.de.

41 Ruska, *Al-Rāzī's Buch*, 14-24. In a letter dated Dec. 1936, Stapleton also refers to three copies of al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Sirr al-asrār* in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta. This title, which means *The Book of the Secret of Secrets*, refers to an abbreviated supplement to the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, and the two names can be a source of confusion. Both Ruska's translation and this paper are concerned with the longer work, the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, which is better known and more widely distributed. For Stapleton's letter, see H. E. Stapleton, "Further Notes on the Arabic Alchemical Manuscripts in the Libraries of India," *Isis* 26 (1936): 128. There are three manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-Sirr al-asrār* in Iran, Tashkent (Uzbekistan), and (thought to be 17th or 18th century) at the National Library of

Ruska also refers to two Latin translations: the *Liber Ebu bacchar et Raisy* and the *Liber Secretorum de voce Bubacaris* housed in the Paris National Library in a collection of manuscripts from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.[42] British archivist Dorothea Singer cites copies of the *Liber Secretorum* at Oxford in the fourteenth century and at Cambridge in the fifteenth century.[43] Historian Raphael Patai, noting the popularity of al-Rāzī's work among Jewish alchemists, describes a partial Hebrew translation in "a Yemenite Judeo-Arabic manuscript" now in Jerusalem, as well as in Book Thirteen of the Gaster Manuscript, as a "a major seventeenth-century Hebrew alchemical manuscript."[44] That the *Kitāb al-Asrār* was copied, recopied, translated, and archived in so many places at different times and in at least three languages shows that it had a wide appeal in a variety of cultures and was accessible enough to influence the work of medieval alchemists.

[T]he contents, style, and structure of al-Rāzī's book reached a wide audience

Adaptations, while less direct than manuscripts, are still important contributors to the spread of ideas. Two of the most widely-read alchemical texts in the Middle Ages owe much to the *Kitāb al-Asrār*: the twelfth-century chemical treatise *De Aluminibus et Salibus*, attributed to al-Rāzī, and the longer, more theoretical thirteenth-century *Summa Perfectionis*, attributed to Geber. These texts are examples of pseudepigraphia, the practice, not uncommon among medieval alchemic writers, of attributing text to an author with an established reputation. Ruska surmises that a Spanish Alchemist wrote the original *De Aluminibus et Salibus* in the eleventh or twelfth century, and notes that the Dominican encyclopedist Vincent de Beauvais (ca. 1190-ca. 1264) and Franciscan scholar Roger Bacon (ca. 1214-92) cite it in their own works.[45] Its translation by Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187) made it accessible to the earliest European alchemists. Historian Robert Steele, who published the Latin text in 1927, states: "It purports to be, and no doubt is in substance, the work of...al-Rāzī."[46] Both he and Robert Multhauf describe the influence of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* on the *De Aluminibus et Salibus,* which shares its concise matter-of-fact style.[47] The fact that the *De Aluminibus et Salibus* bore al-Rāzī's name, included content similar to the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, and was influential in the thirteenth century give this work, at the very least, a strong role in spreading al-Rāzī's reputation and style. If adapted from the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, it would

Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland. See the Web site of the National Library of Medicine, at http://www.nlm.gov/hmd/arabic/alchemy45.html.

[42] Julius Ruska, "Übersetzung und Bearbeitungen von al-Rāzīs Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse," *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin* 3 (Berlin, 1935), 159, 162. The translator and exact date for the Latin translation are unknown according to historian Moritz Steinschneider. Moritz Steinschneider, *Die Europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- und Verlaganstalt, 1956), 48.

[43] Dorothea Waley Singer, *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland Dating from before the XVI Century*, vol. 1 (Brussels: Maurice Lamartin, 1928), 107.

[44] Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 420-2, 583.

[45] Julius Ruska, "Pseudepigraphe Rasis-Schriften," *Osiris* 7 (1939): 40. The dates and descriptions for Bacon and de Beauvais are from: Holmyard, *Alchemy* 113, 118-9. Newman and Principe characterize *De Aluminibus et Salibus* as "written by a much later follower [of al-Rāzī]." Newman and Principe, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire*, 39.

[46] Robert Steele, "Practical Chemistry in the Twelfth Century: Rasis *de aluminibus et salibus*," trans. Gerard of Cremona, *Isis* 12 (1929): 10.

[47] Ibid., 13; and Multhauf, *Origins of Chemistry*, 160-1.

stand as the earliest example of this work's influence through its adaptations. However, an even stronger example exists.

Historian William R. Newman recently documented a direct line of descent from the *Kitāb al-Asrār* to the *Summa Perfectionis* of Pseudo-Geber, a very influential late thirteenth-century text. The author of the *Summa* originally attributed it to the eighth-century Islamic alchemist Jabir, westernized "Geber," but unlike the case with the *De Aluminibus et Salibus*, scholars failed to find an Arabic text and suspected it originated in Europe.[48] In a 1935 article, Ruska, after a textual comparison, suggested the *Summa Perfectionis* and the *Liber Secretorum de voce Bubacaris*—the previously mentioned Latin version of the *Kitāb al-Asrār*—were products of one author, but that only a "patient investigation of the sources" would prove or disprove it.[49] Half a century later, Newman took Ruska's challenge and identified this hypothetical single author with Paul of Taranto, a teacher and alchemist of the late thirteenth-century.[50] Newman documented his work in *The "Summa Perfectionis" of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Translation and Study*; his chart traces the *Summa's* evolution from the

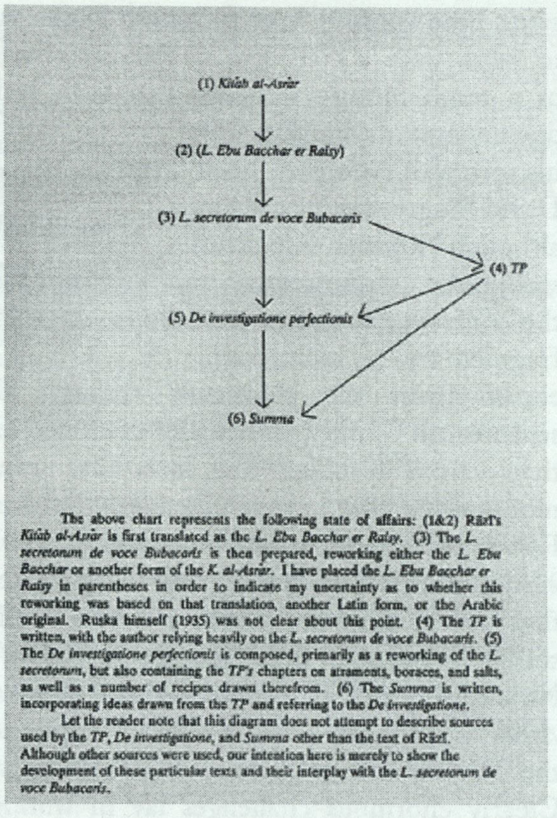

Fig. 5. Newman's chart shows the relationship of the Kitāb al-Asrār (ca. 920) to the *Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber* from the late thirteenth century. William R. Newman, ed., *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 65.

Kitāb al-Asrār (fig. 5).[51] *The Summa Perfectionis* enormously influenced major fourteenth-century alchemical works, including *Rosarium,* attributed to Arnauld of Villanova; *Libellus de Alchemia,* attributed to Albertus Magnus; *The New Pearl of Great Price* by Petrus Bonus; and *The Testamentum,* attributed to Ramon Lull[52]—distinguished connections indeed for the *Kitāb al-Asrār.*

The studies of the *De Aluminibus et Salibus* and *Summa Perfectionis* showcase some of the difficulties of medieval manuscripts, and at the

[48] Paul Kraus extensively studied Jabir's work, points out that as early as 1893 chemistry historian Marcellin Berthelot was convinced of the *Summa's* European origin: "But, on the other hand, he [Berthelot] proclaimed with great emphasis that the *Summa Perfectionis magisterii,* upon which the whole European development of experimental alchemy was based, were spurious writings which originated in the 14th century." Paul Kraus, "Julius Ruska," *Osiris* 5 (1938): 16.

[49] "Auf einem anderen Weg als dem der geduldigen Quellenforschung wird sie nicht gefunden werden können." Ruska, "Übersetzung und Bearbeitungen," 87.

[50] William R. Newman, trans. and ed., *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 26.

[51] Ibid., 65.

[52] Ibid., 58, 193-4, 199.

same time confirm how fortunate Ruska was to work with a complete Arabic manuscript of a tenth-century alchemic text with well-documented authorship.[53] In his review of Newman's book, David Pingree points out that although Newman "identified sixty-three manuscripts of the *Summa*, complete and fragmentary," representing copies from the thirteenth through the seventeenth century, he actually examined less than a third of them.[54] This must have been a monumental task indeed. Chemistry historian Robert Multhauf compared some of the *Summa* versions himself, concluding that "It seems clear that further scholarly reference to this treatise should be based on this [Newman's] version."[55] Newman himself points out that the *Kitāb al-Asrār* was not the only source that influenced the *Summa* and its alchemical descendents.[56] Clearly enormous challenges lay in working with texts before the days of fixed titles, copyrights, and footnotes, which can only be met with meticulous analysis and comparison of the texts themselves.

[T]he literature does not show straightforward laboratory procedures… prior to *al-Rāzī*

The *Kitāb al-Asrār* was widely distributed and translated in its own right, bearing witness to the interest in this practical and almost simple manual of procedures. Moreover, its link with two later texts, *De Aluminibus et Salibus*, influential in the thirteenth century, and *Summa Perfectionis*, whose influence blossomed in the fourteenth century and beyond, confirm that the contents of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* appealed to alchemic writers who copied, translated, reworked, and, knowingly or unknowingly, incorporated parts of it into their writings.

A New Industry Standard

Comparing the *Kitāb al-Asrār* to other alchemical texts demonstrates not only alternative approaches, but what it might mean to say that one text influences another. While far from a meticulous text analysis, a simple comparison of style illustrates the similarities and differences between the practical procedural approach of the *Kitāb al-Asrār* and the styles of other alchemical texts.

Abufalah, an eleventh-century Islamic alchemist in Sicily, wrote a practical alchemic text that, according to historian Raphael Patai, was partially incorporated into the thirteenth-century work, *Gate of Heaven,* by Gershon ben Shlomo of Arles.[57] A procedure to convert copper into silver reads: "Take of good green arsenic one weight, and grind it well with strong and good vinegar many times, and sublimate it until all of it becomes white…."[58] Similarly in style, a procedure from al-Rāzī's book directs: "Take whichever of the two you will [sulfur or arsenic], then grind it with wine vinegar which contains a fourth of qali salt, and roast it one night over a gentle fire for sulfur or a medium fire for arsenic…"[59] Today, such "recipe" instruction

[53] Of the Arabic texts, science historian Sarton points out, "Those bearing al-Rāzī's name have not yet been seriously challenged." Sarton, *Rabbi ben Ezra*, 2, 31.

[54] David Pingree, review of *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study*, by William R. Newman, *Isis* 84 (1993): 790.

[55] Robert P. Multhauf, review of *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study*, by William R. Newman, *Speculum* 69 (1994): 540.

[56] Newman, *Summa Perfectionis*, 65.

[57] Patai, *Jewish Alchemists*, 98.

[58] Ibid., 109.

[59] "Nimm von welchem der beiden du willst [G34] [*sic*], dann pulvere es mit Weinessig, worin ein Viertel Qalisalz [*sic*], und röste es eine Nacht in gelindem Feuer, wenn es Schwefel ist, und wenn

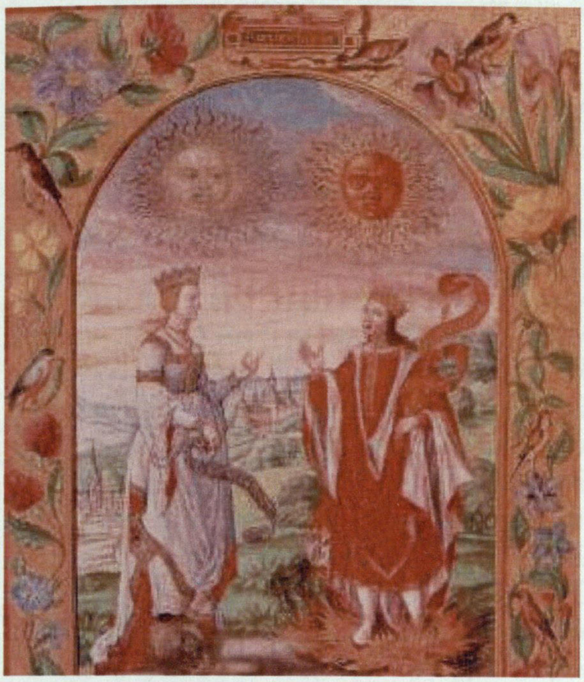

Fig. 6. The red king meets the white queen in this illuminated alchemical manuscript from the *Splendor Solis* (1532-35). Web site, available at http://www.levity.com/alchemy/images/ss18.jpg.

seems unremarkable, except the literature does not show straightforward laboratory procedures like this prior to al-Rāzī. The late thirteenth-century text, *Summa Perfectionis*, begins an explanation of the sublimation[60] of mercury by stating: "But now we will determine the entire goal of quicksilver's sublimation. The complete totality of that is the cleansing of its earthiness and removal of its wateriness."[61] Similarly, the *Kitāb al-Asrār* states: "Concerning the sublimation of quicksilver, there are two methods. One takes place in order to remove its moisture (wateriness), and the other serves to generate its dryness, so that it will become completely dry."[62] These texts are very clear in explaining the goal of the procedure to follow. However, many alchemical texts take a very different approach.

Continuing with the preparation of mercury as an example, Paracelsus (1493-1541), uses a descriptive, non-quantitative style:

> The mortification of Mercury, in order that it may be sublimated, is brought about by vitriol and salt. When it is mixed with these two and then sublimated it becomes as hard as crystal and as white as snow. In order that Mercury may be reduced to a precipitate, nothing more need be done than calcine it in the best aqua fortis; then let the granulated aqua fortis be extracted from it five times, more or less, until the precipitate acquires a beautiful red colour.[63]

The *Compound of Alchemy,* written by George Ripley in 1470-71, provides a good example of an alchemical poem that incorporates religious symbolism into the purification process:

> But when these to Sublymacyon continually
> Be laboryd so, wyth hete both moyst and temperate,
> That all is Whyte and purely made spirituall;
> Than Hevyn uppon Erth must be reiterate,
> Unto the Sowle wyth the Body be

es Zarnich ist, an einem mittleren Feuer." Al-Rāzī, *Al-Rāzī's Buch*, 120.

[60] Sublimation, which was used as a purification process, consisted of heating a substance to a vapor and then cooling it to recondense it back into a solid. Holmyard, *Alchemy*, 46, 56. It is only one of the alchemic processes, but it furnishes a common thread for purposes of illustration.

[61] Newman, *Summa Perfectionis* 691.

[62] "Was die Hochtreibung des Quecksilbers anlangt, so gibt es davon zwei Arten. Die eine findet statt zur Wegnahme seiner Nässe (Wässerigkeit), die andere dient zur Erzeugung seiner Trockenheit, damit es ganz trocken wird. " Al-Rāzī, *Al-Rāzī's Buch,* 102.

[63] Paracelsus, *Hermetic Chemistry*, 142.

> reincorporate:
> That Erth becom all that afore was Hevyn,
> Whych wyll be done in Sublymacyons sevyn.[64]

In *The New Pearl of Great Price* (ca. 1330), Petrus Bonus even gives al-Rāzī credit for an allegorical procedure: "The red slave, says Rhasis, has wedded a white spouse."[65] In alchemical literature, red represents sulfur, a masculine element, sometimes portrayed as a red king, which imparts its properties to mercury, the white queen (fig. 6).[66] The *Kitāb al-Asrār*, on the other hand, is all business:

> You take one ratl of quicksilver that has been solidified by covering it with sulfur (for redness) and an equal amount of vitriol, and half as much yellow sulfur as vitriol, grind it with the best wine vinegar a good hour, add an amount of roasted salt equal to the vitriol on it and, after its moisture is driven away, let it rise seven times.[67]

That is the voice of a laboratory manual.

In 1597 and again in 1606, German physician Andreas Libavius published a different kind of laboratory text, *Alchemia*, a scholarly work in academic Latin that combined theory, alchemy, and medicine.[68] He lists al-Rāzī and Paracelsus in his long list of sources, although he often takes issue with Paracelsus.[69] *Alchemia* contrasts with the *Kitāb al-Asrār* in many ways. It is long, pedagogic, and its encyclopedic procedures include transmuting metals, brewing honey-wine, and distilling a medicinal oil from forty frogs.[70] The two books share a fundamental structure. In his book *Chemists and the Word* about the beginnings of didactic chemistry, Owen Hannaway characterizes the structure of the chemistry textbook that began in the seventeenth century: "But all have a common form of organization: the definition of the art, a description of its instruments, a discussion of operations, followed by preparations – that is, the basic structure of *Alchemia*."[71] He is absolutely right, however, this structure dates back to 920 CE. It is the structure of the *Kitāb al-Asrār*.

Chemistry historians, including H. E. Stapleton, Julius Ruska, and Robert Multhauf have analyzed and praised al-Rāzī's chemical knowledge, classifications, and his organization of processes such as distillation, sublimation,

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[64] Holmyard, *Alchemy*, 187; and George Ripley, *The Compound of Alchemy* in *Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum*, ed. Elias Ashmole and Allen G. Debus (London: n.p.,1652; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967), 172.

[65] Bonus, *New Pearl*, 259.

[66] John Read, *Prelude to Chemistry: An Outline of Alchemy, Its Literature and Relationships* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1936; reprint, Cambridge, MI, M. I. T. Press, 1966), 92, 102. Compare Thomas Norton's *Ordinall of Alchemy*: "Then is the White Woman Married to the Ruddy Man." Norton, *Theatricum Chemicum*, 90.

[67] "Du nimmst vom Quecksilber, das durch Aufstreuen von Schwefel (zur Röte) verfestigt ist, ein Ratl [*sic*], und vom Vitriol ebensoviel, und vom gelben Schwefel so viel wie die Hälfte des Vitriols, pulverst es mit bestem Weinessig eine gute Stunde, wirfst dann ebensoviel geröstetes Salz als Vitriol daruf und läßt es, nachdem seine Nässe weggenommen ist, siebenmal aufsteigen. " Al-Rāzī, *Al-Rāzī's Buch*, 107. When used as a unit of solid weight a *ratl* is equal to 360 grams. Ruska, *Al-Rāzī's Buch*, 63-4.

[68] Hannaway, *Chemists and the Word*, 81.

[69] Example of this: Andreas Libavius, *Die Alchemie des Andreas Libavius: Ein Lehrbuch der Chemie aus dem Jahre 1597: Zum ersten Mal in deutscher Übersetzung mit einem Bild- und Kommentarteil*, trans. and ed. Gmelin-Institut für anorganische Chemie und Grenzgebiete in der Max Planck-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften in Verbindung mit der Gesellschaft Deutscher Chemiker (Weinheim: Verlag Chemie, 1964), 260, 380.

[70] Ibid., 426.

[71] Hannaway, *Chemists and the Word* , 155.

and calcination. What seems taken for granted is the functionality so natural in today's laboratory manuals: the book the chemist props open on the laboratory bench or holds in one hand.

Conclusion

Hands-on alchemy was a book-based endeavor. Al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Asrār*, the *Book of Secrets*, introduced a systematic structure that endured through the centuries of alchemy into the seventeenth century. Patterns and pieces of this structure can be traced from the eleventh-century alchemical text of Abufalah, through the fourteenth-century *New Pearl of Great Price* by Petrus Bonus, to Libavius' *Alchemia* at the dawn of the seventeenth century. Although the *Kitāb al-Asrār* has often been praised by historians for its logical classifications and organization, it had a wider scope of influence in the formation of a genre of laboratory writing and the sphere of the laboratory itself than is generally recognized.

[A]lchemy asks the historian to look beyond the immediate goals and theories of science

After *Alchemia*, chemistry writers continued to borrow freely from each other. In 1610, just four years after *Alchemia's* second edition, Jean Beguin published *Tyrocinium Chymicum*, the seminal French chemical text, which had numerous editions and translations, and, according to historian William Brock, "plagiarized a good deal from Libavius' *Alchemia*."[72] It would be interesting to follow up on how laboratory manuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries evolved in conjunction with changes in society, the professionalization of chemistry, and the development of specialties. Another area for exploration might look at al-Rāzī's larger body of work, comparing his medical, philosophical, and alchemic works to arrive at a holistic view of the chemical concepts of his time, and see how such areas as pharmacy and metallurgy, which we see now under the umbrella of chemistry, were or were not connected. Furthermore, a closer view of the medieval alchemical texts connected with the *Kitāb al-Asrār* would help track this book's influence more definitively through the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.

Finally, it seems remarkable that this book from so long ago has any connection with the sophisticated computerized laboratories of today. Nevertheless, alchemy asks the historian to look beyond the immediate goals and theories of science, which are, with apologies to Kurt Vonnegut, stuck in time,[73] and see that the book supports the very reason for the laboratory's existence—to deliver reproducible results. On leafing through the laboratory procedures from a modern medical diagnostic laboratory, one sees repeated on every page the headings: "Reagents," "Equipment," "Procedures."[74] In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn pointed out that when the boundaries of research shift and the efforts of previous investigations are abandoned, "part of that achievement always proves to be permanent." The lasting achievement of the transmutation of metals may be the concept of the laboratory itself, embodied in a book.[75]

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72 William H. Brock, *The Chemical Tree: A History of Chemistry* (New York: W. W. Norton: 1992), 47.

73 Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse Five* or *The Children's Crusade: A Duty-Dance with Death* (New York: Dell, 1969). The story begins: "Listen: Billy Pilgrim has become unstuck in time."

74 *Chemistry Assay Procedure Manual*, Clinical Laboratory, Mission Hospital, Mission Viejo, CA, 2007.

75 Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 25.

Reoccurrence: Conforming Aspects of Sima Qian's Portrayal of Qin Shihuang and Han Wu-di

by Richard Beck

Emperor Wu-di. *The Inside Story of the 25 Emperors of the Han Dynasty* (Beijing: Beijing Shi Qingshaonion Yin Xiang, 2006), frontispiece.

Grand historian Sima Qian's historical representation of Qin Shihuang's (First Emperor) and Han Wu-di's (Emperor Wu) reigns illustrate many similarities. Overcoming a paucity of primary source material, **Richard Beck** portrays Sima's comparisons of the two emperors as a vehicle to obliquely elucidate on the excesses of Emperor Wu using the First Emperor as a circuitous method to describe his own sovereign, Han Wu-di, and to set forth Sima's perception of history's cyclical quality.

In his *Shiji*, Sima Qian set forth the first exhaustive history of ancient China, completed about 100 BCE. Within this all-encompassing account, Sima Qian's historical representation demonstrated many parallels between Qin Shihuang's (259-210 BCE) and Han Wu-di's (156-87 BCE) reigns. Writing under the rule of Han Wu-di, Sima used the First Emperor as an indirect example to describe his own sovereign and to set forth his perception of history's cyclical quality, as he could not openly deprecate the Han ruler's centralized government, vigorous funding of military expeditions against the Xiongnu, and his quest for spiritual legitimacy. Sima applied this method of comparison not only to obliquely instruct his readers on the excesses of Emperor Wu, but also to insinuate the possibility that the Han dynasty faced danger of collapse.[1]

Taking up this circuitous route in likening Qin Shihuang to Han Wu-di, Sima likely emulated the circumspection of his esteemed predecessor, Confucius. In his final remarks in the treatise on the Xiongnu in *Shiji 110*, Sima, also referred to as the grand historian, considered Confucius' handling of the rule of Dukes Ding and Ai. "Because…he was writing about his own times, he did not express his judgments frankly, but used subtle and guarded language."[2] To what extent did Sima inflate the similarities of Qin Shihuang, the legendary "tyrant" of antiquity, to fit the likeness of Han Wu-di? Due to the burning of texts and historical sources under the reign of Qin Shihuang in 213 BCE, much of Sima's work on the Qin Empire relied solely upon the *Qinji*, the royal annals of the house of Qin. This initially led historians to regard Sima's analysis of the Qin as factual. Yet archeological findings have called into question the accuracy of the grand historian's conclusions.[3] As a discussion of Qin archeology lies beyond the scope of this paper, it becomes necessary to consider instead Sima's understanding of history and discern the methods by which he used China's past to offer impressions of his own time.

[A]n understanding of celestial events impacted Sima's comprehension of history

After recognizing Sima's views on the cyclic nature of history, the consonance of Qin Shihuang's and Han Wu-di's reigns will be illustrated, focusing primarily on their methods of government, military fortifications and excursions against the Xiongnu, and the expansion of the legal code to provide convict labor. Because so many similarities exist between both emperors in terms of state structures, many modern historians of ancient China, such as Homer Dubs, concur with Sima's comparison of the emperors based upon their own investigations. For this reason, it remains important to acknowledge the most telling aspect of Sima's implications—that both rulers searched for spiritual power in their attempt to reestablish the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices. Beyond perceiving Han Wu-di as similar in deportment to the First Emperor, Sima also saw his ruler as acting in accordance with a historical pattern, bringing to fulfillment the repetition of the rise and fall of empires. Sima's historical perspective is vital to an analysis of his parallel portrayal of the two emperors; hence, the principles that guided his historical approach deserve examination.

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[1] Qin Shihuang titled himself First Emperor during his rule. Han Wu-di is commonly referred to as Emperor Wu.

[2] Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, trans. Burton Watson (Hong Kong: Columbia University Press, 1993), 162.

[3] Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 485.

Like many historians, Sima struggled to uncover a governing principle of history. He seldom reached a definite conclusion in his final remarks, perhaps hoping the completed body of his work might itself provide some decisive resolution. Scholar of ancient China Grant Hardy notes Sima's tendency to espouse a cyclical understanding of history. Hardy points to Sima's remarks on Emperor Gaozu at the close of *Shiji 8* to underscore the grand historian's viewpoint.[4] Attempting to explain the changeover of power, Sima noted, "[T]he way of the Three Dynasties of old is like a cycle which, when it ends, must begin over again."[5] Sima did not arrange his work to emphasize the rise and fall of dynasties according to a predestined pattern; yet perhaps he sought to set forth a history of the world, in order to allow such a design to surface.

The First Emperor. Arthur Cotterell, *The First Emperor of China* (London: Macmillan, 1981), 137.

Because the *Shiji* proffers an approach so foreign to Western readers, historian Joseph Allen finds Chinese history, specifically the *Shiji*, lacking the kind of Western template seen in the Homeric epics.[6] Allen explains that the *Shiji* contains no ordered arrangement—no plot to unify the "story." He relates Burton Watson's observation that Chinese historians find in the *Shiji* a work built upon a "grand plan."[7] Regardless, Allen concludes that "plot cannot be the 'grand plan.'"[8] Thus, without an oral tradition set forth, such as in the *Iliad*, those in search of Sima's inspiration must look elsewhere.

Historian Nicola Di Cosmo offers a plausible origin for Chinese historiography: "At the time of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the figure of the astronomer had not yet been separated from that of the historian; Ssu-ma Ch'ien himself was both."[9] Di Cosmo maintains that Sima's inquiry into historical change reflected an attempt to grasp an underlying principle or guiding "law," as proposed by the sentence, "t'ung ku chin chih pien."[10] Sima embraced the theory of *li*, or a unified pattern, to conduct his historical inquiry. This concept, derived from ancient China's legacy of divination, characterized the impetus of change in terms of both a historical

[4] Grant Hardy, *Worlds of Bronze and Bamboo: Sima Qian's Conquest of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 128.

[5] Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, trans. Burton Watson (Hong Kong: Columbia University Press, 1993), 86.

[6] Joseph Roe Allen III, "An Introductory Study of Narrative Structure in the Shi ji," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 3 (January 1981): 33.

[7] Ibid., 36.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 265. Di Cosmo uses the Wade-Giles transliteration of Sima Qian's name.

[10] Ibid., 263.

Sima Qian. *The Inside Story of the 25 Emperors of the Han Dynasty* (Beijing: Beijing Shi Qingshaonion Yin Xiang, 2006), 44.

and celestial nature.[11] Because many terms in ancient Chinese history and astronomy bear similar—in some cases identical—meanings, Di Cosmo concludes that an understanding of celestial events impacted Sima's comprehension of history.[12] Di Cosmo's reminder of the close association between the fields of astronomy and history in Sima's age stresses the importance of the grand historian's perspective on history's cyclical nature. In Sima's view, the events governing China's ruling houses, like the firmament above, turn in great circles and "must begin over again."[13]

[11] Ibid., 264-5.

[12] Ibid., 265.

[13] Ibid.

Shedding further light on Sima's notion of a cyclical history is the Doctrine of the Five Powers. First promulgated by Zou Yan in the fourth century BCE, the doctrine placed the five elements of ancient China—earth, wood, metal, fire, and water—into a succession that repeated in a cyclical fashion. Each new dynasty adopted the appropriate color, month to celebrate New Year's Day, and musical note based upon their positions in the cycle in relation to the previous ruling house's location in the sequence. For this reason, the progression of the powers is referred to as *xiangke*, or "mutual conquest."[14] In his discussion on Wang Mang's vie for dominion, Homer Dubs also pointed out that intellectuals of the time felt the cycle of the five powers could issue portents of coming change. Dubs commented that the five powers, "like natural laws today, was [*sic*] thought to enable the prediction of future events."[15] Sima, no stranger to Zou's theories, included the philosopher's biography in *Shiji 74*. In finding correlations between Qin Shihuang and Han Wu-di, it remains possible that Sima perceived such omens as a transition to a new power and a new dynasty. Therefore, influenced by both the periodic rhythms of the stars and the Doctrine of the Five Powers, Sima espoused a viewpoint not uncommon in the ancient world: that of historical repetition.

In observing consonance between the rules of both Qin Shihuang and Han Wu-di, perhaps Sima sensed the cycle of history beginning anew. Of course, he could not suggest the end of the Han dynasty in overt terms, and thus insinuated such a changeover in ruling families by observing similarities in their methods

[14] Anthony C. Yu, "History, Fiction and the Reading of Chinese Narrative," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 10 (July 1988): 12.

[15] Homer H. Dubs, "Introduction to Chapter XCIX," in *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, Ban Gu Han Shu 99, vol. 3. (New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1969), 106.

of government and their temperaments. Historians may never know to what degree Sima's interpretation exaggerated aspects of Qin Shihuang's reign to further indict Emperor Wu. Yet Dubs, the scholar who translated the *Han Shu*—Ban Gu's history of the Han Empire—found stark similarities in both rulers. Concerning Han Wu-di, Dubs records, "In many ways, in his conquests, in his tours of empire, in his ascent of Mt. Tai, and in his severe government, he seems deliberately to have imitated the First Emperor of the Ch'in [Qin] dynasty."[16] Thus, Sima only needed to rely on careful editing to elicit Emperor Wu's similarities to Qin Shihuang.

Due to the many parallels of both emperors' reigns, Sima simply delivered a descriptive history of the First Emperor of Qin's actions, perhaps to some degree augmenting the significance of consonant issues, in order to betoken his similarities to Emperor Wu. In terms of methods of leadership, military expenditures, and severe legal codes, Sima's interpretation of the Qin Empire seemed to highlight the First Emperor's authoritative bearing, to cast Han Wu-di in a disparaging light. Looking first to both emperors' heightened centralized control, then to military and legal issues, the correspondence of Sima's portrayal of Qin Shihuang against the backdrop of Han Wu-di's administration grew evident. As mentioned, Sima could not directly accuse his emperor of misconduct; therefore, the perspectives of Dubs' interpretation of Ban Gu better illustrated the semblances between the two rulers.

In *Shiji 6: The Basic Annals of the First Emperor of the Qin*, Sima described the debate on the governance of the newly-conquered land. He related that against most of his advisors' views, Qin Shihuang took the advice of Li Si to bring the various feudal states under direct control. Quoting Li Si, Sima wrote, "[Feudal kings] can be easily controlled, and the world will be without dissention. This is the correct method for insuring peace. To establish feudal rulers would not be expedient."[17] Sima then described the empire's division into thirty-six provinces, placed under the direct rule of a governor. Qin Shihuang thus formed a centralized bureaucracy out of the ashes of the old feudal system.

Dubs noted that, miroring the action of the First Emperor, Han Wu-di increased his own dictatorial powers by doing away with the appointment of chancellors to rule in his stead. Previously, high ministers appointed by the emperor made administrative decisions, needing only ratification by the emperor to make them binding. In the case of a disagreement, high officials sometimes convened with the emperor in order to discuss an issue. Yet in 131 BCE, Emperor Wu took direct control of the government, and employed confusing laws to punish his lieutenant chancellors before they garnered too much influence at court.[18] After this time, Dubs explained, "the ministers became the agents of the throne, instead of actually controlling the government."[19]

By describing Qin Shihuang's similar move to place dictatorial power in his own hands in *Shiji 6*, Sima cautiously inferred that changes in governmental procedure that increased the emperor's direct control of the state denoted the actions of a tyrant. He narrated the conversation of two ministers, Master Hou and

[16] Homer H. Dubs, "The Victory of Han Confucianism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 58 (September 1938): 442-3.

[17] Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin Dynasty*, trans. Burton Watson (Hong Kong: Columbia University Press, 1993), 44.

[18] Dubs, "Introduction to Chapter VI," in *Former Han Dynasty*, 2:8-9.

[19] Ibid., 10.

Terra-cotta warriors. *A Wonder of the World Treasures of the Nation: Terra-Cotta Army of Emperor Qin Shihuang* (Hong Kong: Shaanxi Travel Publishing, ca. 1980), 23.

Master Lu, planning to conspire against the First Emperor; they complained of Han Wu-di's shortcomings as much as they deprecate their own emperor. Sima quoted the conspirators: "Although seventy men have been appointed as academicians, they are mere figureheads and are never consulted. The chancellor and other major officials are all handed decisions that have already been made, and they simply second the emperor's opinion."[20]

Both emperors shared another significant similarity in their expensive military excursions against the Xiongnu. As the Xiongnu presented an important issue in Sima Qian's day, the grand historian clearly felt obliged to dedicate an entire treatise to their history: *Shiji 110: The Account of the Xiongnu*. Thus, Sima cannot be blamed for exerting editorial license, yet he probably appreciated the opportunity to include the actions of both emperors in a single chapter. Di Cosmo noted the concern with which members of the Han court observed the escalation of the wars against the Xiongnu: "[T]hese wars were seen, by a portion of the Han intelligentsia, to which Ssu-ma Ch'ien belonged, with great anxiety, as documented both in *Shih chi* chapter 30 and *Han shu* chapter 24."[21] Akin to his handling the escalation of centralized power by both emperors, Sima merely voiced his disquiet by describing the activities and expenditures of both rulers, allowing the parallels to manifest of their own accord.

In *Shiji 110*, Sima briefly yet resolutely depicted the invasion and fortification of the northern border under Qin Shihuang. The grand historian reported that, under the command of Meng Tian, one hundred thousand troops seized control of the region south of the Yellow River.[22] Sima illustrated the extent of entrenchment ordered by the First Emperor, counting no less than forty-four walled cities garrisoned by convict soldiers: "[T]he whole line of defenses stretched over 10,000 *li* from Lintao to Liaodong and even extended across the Yellow River and through Yangshan and Beijia."[23] Such an effort to bulwark the north from further incursion, reported during a time of expanding warfare against the Xiongnu, must have struck contemporary readers as disturbingly familiar. Additionally, Sima narrated the Han expeditions that followed the Mayi incident with similar resolve.

After the Mayi incident—a failed attempt by Han Wu-di to dupe and kill the S*hanyu* (the leader of the Xiongnu) at the city of Mayi—the Xiongnu renewed hostilities,

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[20] Sima Qian, *Qin Dynasty*, trans. Watson, 57.

[21] Di Cosmo, *Ancient China*, 286. *Shih chi* is the Wade-Giles transliteration of *Shiji*.

[22] Sima Qian, *Han Dynasty II*, trans. Watson, 133.

[23] Ibid., 133. A measurement of distance used in ancient China, the length of the *li* varied over time, roughly corresponding to about a third of a mile.

invading the fortifications at the borderlands.[24] In this passage in *Shiji 110*, Sima recounted the plunder of the Xiongnu hordes, the renovation of the line of defense, and repeated expeditions under General Wei Qing. Instead of describing the measure of fortifications built under the First Emperor, Sima simply noted the *expansion* of the bulwarks beyond their previously substantial scope. The grand historian wrote, "Thus the Han regained control of the area south of the bend of the Yellow River and began to build fortifications at Shuofang, repairing the old system of defenses that had been set up by Meng Tian during the Qin dynasty and strengthening the frontier along the Yellow River."[25] Sima implied that Han Wu-di surpassed Qin Shihuang's ambition in his effort to hold off the invaders, and further outstripped the First Emperor's militancy by launching expensive expeditions against the Xiongnu. In 127, 124, and 123 BCE, one of Emperor Wu's generals, Wei Qing, led assaults against the Xiongnu. The latter two excursions both involved one hundred thousand men, with the force amassed in 123 BCE consisting of as many cavalry.[26] As Di Cosmo observed, this enormous number of horses remains significant because raising the steeds caused a significant drain on the treasury.[27] Thus, Sima's description of both the fortifications on the border and Wei Qing's considerable incursions portend the grand historian's effort to portray Han Wu-di as more aggressive in his stance against the Xiongnu than Qin Shihuang.

In addition to both the centralization of power and military actions against the Xiongnu, both emperors instated an exhaustive code of laws. Throughout *Shiji 6*, Sima consistently returned to the punishments meted out under the brutal Legalist system installed by the First Emperor. From purging his court of scholars to forcing seven hundred thousand castrated and convict laborers to construct the Epang Palace and his tomb at Mt. Li, Sima portrayed Qin Shihuang as a ruler who exhibited callousness to all levels of society.[28] In one telling episode, Sima recounted the story of a graffito written on a meteor that slandered the First Emperor. Unable to identify the culprit, Qin Shihuang "had all the persons living in the vicinity of the stone seized and put to death, and had the stone burned and pulverized."[29] A more humorous anecdote involved a law intended to capture an evil deity, which demanded that "those who set out to sea should carry along equipment for seizing a giant fish."[30] Amidst a web of complicated laws and arbitrary punishments, Sima painted a picture of a people living and dying in fear of their emperor, regardless of their social position.

Sima paints a picture of a people living and dying in fear of their emperor

Dubs observed a similar pattern of fear among the high officials serving under Han Wu-di. He related a situation comparable to that of Sima's description of Qin rule, wherein a complex structure of legal codes ushered ministers and peasants into prisons en masse. Dubs pointed out that while Tu Chou served as Commandant of Justice, "each year there were more than a thousand cases concerning commandery officials, the larger cases involving several hundred accused."[31] Like Qin Shihuang, Han Wu-di's empire required exorbitant amounts

[24] Ibid., 148-9.
[25] Ibid., 150.
[26] Ibid., 151.
[27] Di Cosmo, *Ancient China*, 286.
[28] Sima Qian, *Qin Dynasty*, trans. Watson, 56.
[29] Ibid., 59.
[30] Ibid., 62.
[31] Dubs, "Chapter VI," in *Former Han Dynasty*, 2:12.

of both soldiers and laborers. Dubs cited this as a possible reason for the high number of trials. He reported that, in approximately 110 BCE, the emperor lacked workmen to build the T'ung-t'ien Terrace. One of his ministers reassessed the cases of prisoners, freeing those able to work, which numbered in the tens of thousands.[32] This comparable pattern of extensive litigation, imprisonment, and substantial work projects undertaken by convict laborers further betokens the similarity between the reigns of Qin Shihuang and Han Wu-di.

Given the parallels of centralizing administrative efforts, sizeable military fortifications and excursions, and installation of a workforce by means of Legalist procedures, Sima needed only to allow description and rigorous editing to demonstrate the parallels between Qin Shihuang and his own emperor. Yet, as previously noted, modern historians such as Dubs have also found conformities between the emperors. This fact prompts an investigation of both rulers' spiritual aspirations in order to unveil the strongest evidence of Sima's attempt to associate Han Wu-di to the First Emperor. As the annals concerning Emperor Wu remain missing, modern copies of the *Shiji* replace the absent chapter with passages from *Shiji 28: The Treatise on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices*.[33] Both emperors endeavored to perform the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, and Sima's analysis of their industry in *Shiji 28* suggests that Han Wu-di repeated Qin Shihuang's hubris in supernatural matters.

Han Wu-di repeated Qin Shihuang's hubris in supernatural matters

The legendary *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, notably performed by the fabled and venerated Emperors Yao and Shun, were dedicated to Heaven and Earth. Before even the end of the Shang dynasty, intellectuals had forgotten the proper implements and methods needed to complete the sacrifices. Sima also stated that emperors whom Heaven deemed worthy of conducting the sacrifices received omens, a kind of paranormal invitation to perform the rites. Again, in his estimation of the significance of the sacrifices, Sima considered them of integral importance to the cyclical quality of history: "When each dynasty attains the height of its glory, then the Feng and the Shan are celebrated, but when it reaches a period of decline, they are no longer performed."[34] Before Sima examined Qin Shihuang's and Han Wu-di's attempts to complete the sacrifices, he presented his thinly veiled sentiment on their impiety by impeaching the Duke of Huan, narrating his prior desire to perform the rituals.

Sima noted that the duke, after taking control of the states, announced his wish to conduct the sacrifices. His minister, Guan Zhong, in an attempt to dissuade the pretender, emphasized the confusion surrounding the rituals by informing his superior of the many different mountains upon which various leaders carried out the *shan* sacrifice. Resolute, the duke filled a paragraph with his martial accomplishments, naturally beginning with: "I have marched north to attack the mountain barbarians."[35] Guan managed to persuade the duke only by informing him that—instead of the coming of a phoenix, a unicorn, and abundant grains in invitation to make the sacrifice—he saw only "weeds and brambles, tares and darnel, while kites and owls appear in

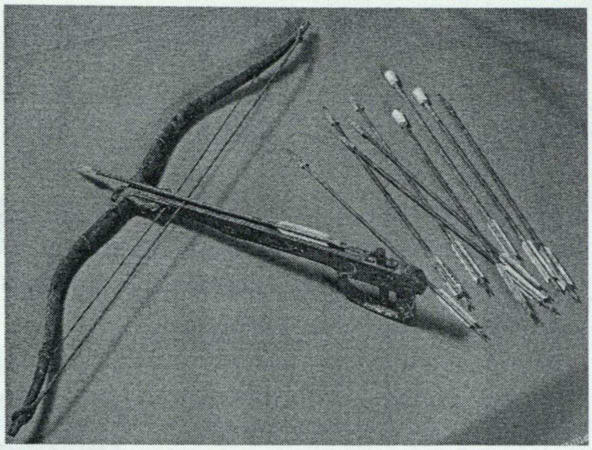
[32] Ibid.

[33] Hardy, *Worlds of Bronze and Bamboo*, 36.

[34] Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 14.

[35] Ibid., 20.

swarms."[36] The duke's minister took up the role of the consummately honest Confucian advisor, advising Duke Huan not to scan mountaintops for greatness, but to tend to his own fields, his own people. Upon hearing his minister's words, the Duke of Huan abandoned his wish to conduct the sacrifices.



Bronze cross-bow and barbed arrowheads. *A Wonder of the World Treasures of the Nation: Terra-Cotta Army of Emperor Qin Shihuang* (Hong Kong: Shaanxi Travel Publishing, ca. 1980), 101.

Why did Sima, an enthusiastic editor, include this conversation between a duke and his minister, which bears absolutely no historical consequence? He appears to be implicating Han Wu-di. Guan spoke of the loss of the rites and the lack of portents. Yet Duke Huan attempted to counter this with his military exploits, insisting, "None of the others [*sic*] lords dares to disobey me. How then am I different from the rulers of the Three Dynasties with their mandates of Heaven?"[37] Sima apparently responded to this aspiration to greatness through military vigor by quoting Confucius on the following page: "When someone asked him the meaning of the Great Sacrifice... Confucius replied, 'I do not know. If anyone knew the meaning of the Great Sacrifice, he would find it as easy to govern the empire as to look at the palm of his hand!"[38] Before even speaking a word of his emperor's attempts to make the sacrifice, Sima implied that rulers who followed in the footsteps of the Duke of Huan walked upon fatuous slopes.[39]

Without proper omens to inform him, Qin Shihuang later climbed Mount Tai to perform the sacrifices. Since the scholars he assembled to work out the details of the rites failed to reach any agreement, he dismissed them to climb the mountain alone. The grand historian expressed his doubt regarding the First Emperor's success in completing the sacrifice, and described the wind and rain that pummeled the emperor upon his return down the mountain. Sima noted that people later blamed the storm for preventing Qin Shihuang from performing the sacrifices. The *Shiji* also related that the Qin dynasty fell only twelve years after the First Emperor endeavored to conduct the sacrifices. Attacking the emperor for his impiety, Sima asked, "This is an example, is it not, of a ruler who, though he did not possess the virtue necessary to perform the sacrifices, yet proceeded to carry them out?"[40] Contrary to his direct accusation of Qin Shihuang's presumptuousness, however, Sima adopted a more cautious tone in narrating Han Wu-di's attempt to make the sacrifices.

Despite Sima's prudence, no portents preceded Han Wu-di's endeavor to conduct the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices. Like Qin Shihuang before, Sima recorded arguments among Emperor Wu's scholars that led to their removal. Sima noted that Han Wu-di employed the method of another ceremony, that of the Great Unity,

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 21.

[39] Another thread connects Han Wu-di to the Duke of Huan in *Shiji 28*, p. 39. Emperor Wu's spiritual advisor, Li Shao-Chun earned his ruler's trust by presenting a bronze vessel which presumably belonged to the Duke of Huan.

[40] Ibid., 27.

to perform the *feng* sacrifice without further comment.[41] In fact, Sima adopted a degree of decorum, relating that no storm buffeted the emperor, and a "thing like a light appeared in the sky at night."[42] Although he reported the emperor's success in performing the sacrifices, as he was obliged to do, Sima's narration of Emperor Wu's trek up Mount Tai reminds the reader of Qin Shihuang's journey. Unable to directly vilify his emperor, Sima relied on context and the actions of both the Duke of Huan and the First Emperor to stress his actual opinion. Regarding spiritual wisdom, Sima most likely respected the words of his father, Sima Tan: "If a man does not first put at rest his spirit and substance, but says instead, 'I can govern the world!', what reason can there be in his words?"[43] Sima thus called upon the image of Qin Shihuang sacrificing to Heaven and Earth without portents, to indirectly accuse Han Wu-di of hubris and irreverence.

Unable to directly vilify his emperor, Sima relies on context

Given the grand historian's understanding of a repetitive, cyclical history, we cannot simply conclude that the grand historian used Qin Shihuang as a prop to attack his own emperor in a roundabout fashion. During his research, Sima presumably developed a theory of resumption or recurrence, to which he directed the writing and editing of the pertinent periods and topics. Therefore, his ability to make a concealed assessment of his emperor by means of Qin Shihuang probably satisfied, to some degree, a Confucian desire to remain upright and truthful to posterity.

After considering Sima's view on history as a cyclical series of events, this article delved into the similarities of Qin Shihuang and Han Wu-di's reigns, most notably their efforts to centralize and increase their own power; the development of extensive military fortifications and excursions against the Xiongnu; and their use of a substantial legal code to provide a source of convict labor. Finally, Sima's portrayal of both emperors' attempts to perform the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices was recognized. Perhaps Sima heeded the council of a well-known Chinese idiom, "Yi gu yu jin," which reads, "Use the past to talk about the present." Sima's employment of Qin Shihuang to indirectly accuse Han Wu-di of oppressive tendencies during his rule certainly follows the essence of this axiom. Yet due to Sima's perception of history as a series of recurring events akin to celestial phenomenon, it also remains possible that he saw the parallels between the First Emperor and Emperor Wu as no more than the completion of another cycle of history.

[41] Ibid., 58.

[42] Ibid., 59-60.

[43] Sima Qian, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Grand Historian of China*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 48.

Death of the Middle Kingdom: Why China Lost the First Opium War (1839-1842)

by Michael Acker

Chinese Artwork from the cover design by Shelley Gruendler (1997). Peter Fay Ward, *Opium War, 1840-1842* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1975), frontispiece.

China's loss in the First Opium War or Anglo-Chinese War highlights the country's inherent weakness in the emerging industrial age: allowing Sino-centrism to inhibit innovation, most particularly in weapons technology. **Michael Acker** clearly traces the key factors contributing to gunpowder development, its decline due to increasingly rigid cultural principles dating from the native Ming through the foreign Qing (Manchu) dynasties, as well as to governmental corruption, an unarmed military, and the crippling effects of opium upon China's divided subject population. These factors allowed the British to defeat an antiquated Chinese military and call into question a proud cultural tradition.

By the seventeenth century, Western gunpowder technology surpassed that of China. When the First Opium War began,[1] China's existing gunpowder weapons lay in disrepair, the military lost the skills necessary to use them, and Chinese invention and advancement of new gunpowder weapons technology lagged far behind that of the British due to political and social refusal to accept Western military culture. Great Britain defeated China in the First Opium War in part because the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) failed to innovate and use gunpowder technology during their rule. The analysis of extant eyewitness accounts of participants in various wars leading up to the Opium War reveals the Qing dynasty's responsibility for the downfall of China's gunpowder weaponry and their subsequent loss of the "Middle Kingdom" mentality. These accounts expose that China first discovered gunpowder and used such weapons effectively until the late Ming dynasty, when gunpowder technology declined due to pressure from literati court factions on the emperor and his supporters at court. The records also reveal that Qing rulers refused to rely on gunpowder weapons during their military campaigns, and explain why Qing leaders philosophically rejected them. The examples of two crucial battles show how this led to an embarrassing defeat in the First Opium War.

The epic of gunpowder technology dates to early tenth-century China, where it was found in use for the first time on the battlefield. While the first discovery of gunpowder occurred in China at the beginning of the ninth century, the first recorded use of gunpowder as a propellant in a combustion chamber is by warring factions during the competition for power during the Five Dynasties period.[2] In addition to the combustion chamber, gunpowder weapons progressed into various delivery systems, the most effective being the trebuchet thrown grenade.[3]

Although witnesses recorded accounts of fire weapons in ninth and tenth century texts, two hundred years passed before a dependable account describes the use of handheld guns. Recorded in the *Yuan shi* is an account of the use of handheld guns by troops under the command of Li Ting, a Yuan dynasty commander.[4] These crude weapons scared more horses and soldiers than actually killed them. Thus, the "true gun"[5] first appeared during the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368)—Mongols who ruled the "ethnic Chinese,"[6] who viewed their northern captors as barbaric. They embraced gunpowder technology and became notorious for using it during siege warfare. The Mongols employed the first gunpowder-propelled bombard as early as 1288, because of their constant research and development of gunpowder weaponry.[7] Over time, these weapons improved as well as the recipe for the powder itself. As experience with the

[T]he 'true gun' first appeared during the Yuan dynasty

[1] Also known as the Anglo-Chinese War.

[2] Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part 7, *Military Technology: The Gunpowder Epic* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 7.

[3] Ibid., 8.

[4] Ibid., 294. Mongol prefects, or governors, administered the Yuan dynasty, part of the Mongol empire. There is one extant English translation of the Yuan history, which is a small excerpt of the long *Yuan shi* (The History of the Yuan dynasty); see Sun Weigui, *Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty (Yuan Zhao bi Shi)* (Aligarh, India: Department of History, Muslim University, 1957).

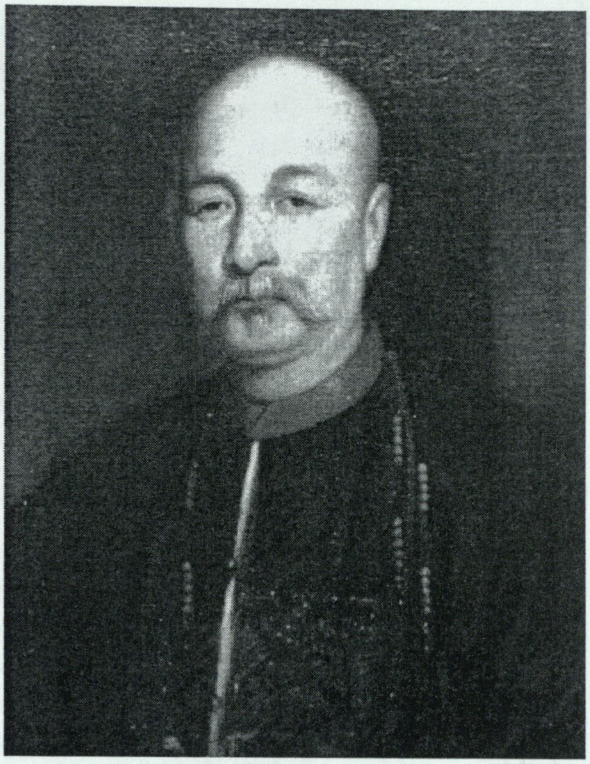
[5] Ibid., 10.

[6] The "ethnic Chinese," used to describe those of native Chinese heritage, are referred to as Han Chinese since it seems more politically and historically correct.

[7] Needham, *Science and Civilization*, 290.

mixture grew, changes to the formula naturally occurred and the mixture gradually became more powerful and better able to achieve an increasing amount of damage. As dynasties changed in China, so did the weapons to effect those changes.

One such metamorphosis of gunpowder weapons in China occurred during the early years of the Yuan-Ming transition, several years before Europe would see such weapons. The Yuan dynasty declined and lost the Mandate of Heaven, which led to provincial kings scrambling for power so that they could lead a strong enough force to topple the reigning Mongols. The Han, the Ming, and the Wu became the most powerful of these rebellious kingdoms. During this transitional period, kingdoms fought several battles, which resulted in the consolidation of their lands and armies. The main site of many of these battles occurred in the Yangtze River basin. Using this location led to the need to develop large river navies to supply the troops involved in the sieges of the cities of strategic importance along the river. Due to constant attacks against opponent supply lines, the navy's primary purpose of supply changed to defense, and the ships became outfitted with armaments. These armed ships soon made the transition from defense to offense and began to besiege the river walls of fortified cities.[8] The largest ships possessed masts that reached so high that, according to Edward Dreyer, "the sound of a man's voice could not carry from top to bottom."[9] The besiegers used these masts to employ "heavenly bridges," placing them between the mast and the city walls to invade with ease.[10] The ships also utilized trebuchets and cannons with enough power to cause considerable damage to the walls. In one example, Dreyer noted, these gunpowder weapons created a "gap of over thirty *zhang* [100m2]" in the target city's wall.[11] In contrast, European gunpowder weapons lagged far behind.



Commissioner Lin. Professor Joseph V. O'Brien's Homepage at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, available at http://web.jjay.cuny.edu/~jobrien/reference/lin.jpg.

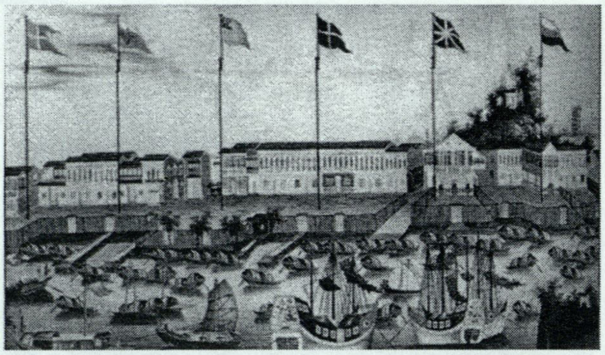
The culmination of this new tactical use of gunpowder weaponry occurred in the greatest of all battles between these aspiring emperors and their forces. One of the largest naval contests in history, the Battle of Lake Poyang, fought between the kingdoms of the Han and Ming, began in late summer 1363. The Han forces previously suffered a failed siege upon a river fortress to the south, while the Ming

[8] Edward L. Dreyer, "Poyang Campaign, 1363: Inland Naval Warfare in the Founding of the Ming Dynasty," in *Chinese Ways in Warfare*, eds. Frank A. Kierman and John King Fairbank (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 204.

[9] Ibid., 209.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., 211.



City of Canton. W. Travis Hanes and Frank Sanello, *Opium Wars: Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2002), 300.

likewise attempted a siege in the north. The forces met in the middle of Lake Poyang, the largest lake in China.[12] The Han, with much larger sized ships than the Ming, equipped their fleet for siege warfare.[13] In contrast, the Ming equipped their fleet solely for ship-to-ship warfare, resulting in a better-prepared and more maneuverable force than their opponent. The available sources are replete with descriptions of gunpowder weapons aboard the ships of both sides. In the *Taizu shilu* (faithful record of the highest leader) and the *Guo chao qun xiong shi lue* (a brief history of the feudal warlords of our country), there are at least eight different types of gunpowder weapons employed between the two forces. These weapons ranged from rockets and cannons to flaming bags of powder and grenades.[14] The edge in ship-to-ship gunpowder weaponry helped the Ming defeat the Han forces, later enabling the combined Ming forces to eject the weakened Mongol leaders from the country and establish the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). The accounts of this battle show a heavy use of gunpowder weapons in China during the mid-fourteenth century, and their effective use is evident as the weapons enabled a Ming force of one hundred thousand to defeat a Han force at least double that size.[15] Shortly after this point in China's long history, the "Middle Kingdom" ideology facilitated the loss of China's prominence in gunpowder weapons, allowing Europe to surpass it.

During this period, China's navy exceeded the strength, size, tactics, and technology of any other military force in the world. The extraordinary progression of state development in Europe would engender the belief that after such a glorious victory, the new dynasty would further develop gunpowder weapons and use them on a grander scale; however, this did not happen in the Middle Kingdom. In fact, a controversy began during the sixteenth century that eventually destroyed any chance of China competing with the rest of the world in the "military revolution."[16] This controversy exposed the weaknesses in Chinese scientific and political thought by revealing the idea that China's true place in the world lay in the East and not in the center.

The decline of gunpowder weapons in China began during the end of the Ming dynasty when a controversy spread through the upper echelons of scholars and provincial governors over the rising prevalence of prominent native scientists who praised the works of Western scholars of astronomy and mathematics. As devoted Catholics and products of Jesuit missionaries, these native scientists took issue with problematic discrepancies in the Chinese calendar and traditional Chinese astronomy.

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[12] *Geo-Data: World Geographical Encyclopedia*, 3rd ed. (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 2003), s.v. "China."

[13] Dreyer, "Poyang Campaign," 220-1.

[14] Ibid., 358 n. 36.

[15] Ibid., 357 n. 8, 214-30 passim.

[16] For a treatise on the "military revolution," see Michael Roberts, "Military Revolution, 1560-1660," in *Essays in Swedish History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1967); and Geoffrey Parker, *Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

The Jesuits proselytized in China for decades with few converts to show for their efforts, but several of their scholarly members found a place in society through the application of their scientific knowledge. They convinced a few prominent Ming authorities that contemporary Chinese astronomical knowledge suffered from insufficiencies and could not produce an accurate calendar. This resulted in their appointment to the high position of Imperial Astronomical Board.[17] In this influential position, the Jesuits convinced several Chinese students that the scholars of the West proved far superior to even ancient Chinese scholars, whom contemporaries heralded as legends. After a few published memorials to the throne (especially one written to the emperor from Li Zhizao that pleaded for complete acceptance of the Western calendar), traditionalists' xenophobia grew enough that they expelled all foreigners from the country.[18]

During this point, the future failures to innovate gunpowder technology became almost prophetic in nature. The traditionalists did not go back to the proverbial drawing board to correct or even adjust the problems pointed out in traditional Chinese science. Instead, they obstinately held to the old ways in favor of the preservation of cultural heritage. The traditionalists initially suffered defeat because they failed to predict a solar eclipse accurately. Upon their return, the emperor also reappointed the Jesuits to the Imperial Astronomical Board. Though the traditionalists experienced defeat in this example, a precedent of foolish decision-making by members of a fomenting anti-Western movement occurred from this point forward. This movement came to power in cycles, causing enough trouble to

The *Nemesis* attacking several Chinese junks. W. Travis Hanes and Frank Sanello, *Opium Wars: Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2002), 302.

have Jesuits periodically forced to move back to Macao or leave the country entirely,[19] only to lose that influence with the emperor's court when they continually failed to predict solar eclipses and lunar events.

Despite the failures of traditionalist scientists, anti-Western movement continued to grow. Though they eventually accepted the fact that the ancient Chinese methods were less accurate, they argued, "[I]t is better to have no good astronomy than to have Westerners in China."[20] Traditionalists took further steps to eliminate Western influence by memorializing to the emperor:

> [S]ince the throne Your Majesty holds is the throne inherited from Yao and Shun, and since the authority Your Majesty enjoys is the authority

[17] George H. C. Wong, "China's Opposition to Western Science during Late Ming and Early Qing," *Isis* 54, no. 1 (1963): 7.

[18] Ibid., 31.

[19] Macao was a large plot of land on a peninsula to the west of Kowloon that was appointed to the Portuguese for trade considerations in the 16th century. It was the closest European colony to the Jesuits located in the mainland and had a strong Catholic support system.

[20] Juan Yuan, *Chou jen chuan (Biographies of the Mathematicians, 1799), chüan* 44, 7b, cited in Wong, "China's Opposition," 34.

> handed down from Yao and Shun, then the astronomy promulgated by Your Majesty should be the astronomy of Yao and Shun.[21]

Memorials appealed to filial piety and played on the emperor's sense of tradition and devotion to his ancestors. Appeals eventually convinced the emperor and his court to cast off Western ways.

This rejection eventually spread from mathematics and astronomy to affect gunpowder weapons technology in the late Ming period. Ch'ang-chih Hsu noted the traditionalists' contention: "With regard to machines such as cannon, they will set on fire the gunners before annihilating the enemy; would this also be to one's advantage?"[22] Pro-Western scholars could easily have defeated this argument were it not for a more widely accepted conclusion that haunted the Qing during their future reign over the "Middle Kingdom." This dispute surfaces in the *Sheng-ch'ao p'o hsieh chi:*

> The highest goal of government and teaching is aimed at one's mind and not directed towards these things [machinery]. Accordingly, although the Hundred Schools occasionally touched upon [the subject] of human nature, yet their unorthodox teachings and confused scholarship forbade them to come within the walls of our Confucianism. How much worse are the barbarians who, with their petty skills, plan secretly to confuse our orthodox teachings, to take away from our Confucianists the importance of human nature, and to cause us to turn our heads to listen to their commands. Are these not bearers of extreme omens of misfortune who should be punished by the Imperial axes and halberds?[23]

This argument led influential scholars of the late Ming and early Qing to reject not only Western astronomy, mathematics, and gunpowder, but also mechanical and hydraulic advances to aid agriculture and other technologies and ideologies from the West.

Hsu further reveals the apparent arrogance of the traditionalist's arguments in their refusal to accept Western map-making techniques: "[F]or China should be in the center of the world, which we can prove by the single fact that we can see the North Star resting at the zenith of the heaven at midnight. How can China be treated like a small unimportant country, and placed slightly to the north as in this map?"[24] This Sino-centric ideology during the late Ming period influenced future Qing officials to reject the necessary advances in gunpowder weapons that enabled China to compete with Great Britain. Though the Qing government always kept a few select Westerners in official positions involved with matters of science,[25] traditionalists periodically presented memorials to the throne that accused the Westerners of conspiracy to organize a rebellion or some other sort of treachery.[26] These accusations led the emperor to distrust Western officials, which kept their influence relatively weak at court.

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Hsu Ch'ang-chih, comp., *Sheng-ch'uo p'o hsieh chi* (Collected Works on the Sacred Dynasty Exposing Heterodoxy) (1855) *Ming-shih,* chüan 4, 36a-b, cited in Wong, "China's Opposition," 43.

[23] Hsu, *Ming-shih, chüan* 5, *23a*-27b, cited in Wong, "China's Opposition," 42.

[24] Ibid., 44.

[25] Fu, *Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations, 1644-1820* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), 13, 58, 138, 352-3.

[26] Ibid., 35-6.

As the Ming dynasty declined, several plagues of illness engendered the belief in the people that the Ming lost the Mandate of Heaven, exceedingly important for a ruling dynasty to posses in order to stay in power.[27] One survivor's tale of the conquest of Peking describes the futility of the Ming emperor's efforts to affect commands that might possibly have rallied a sufficient defense force to the city. None of the emperor's magistrates carried out his orders and this led to rebellions in troop garrisons located at key defense points guarding the pass that led to the city.[28] This disobedience also resulted in a lack of ammunition to defend the city, causing the cannoneers to fire the cannons empty or not at all.[29] In contrast to the Ming, the attacking Qing military had plenty of ammunition and Lu Shangyou described their cannons as so powerful that "each firing of a cannon was sure to collapse a roof or topple some tiles—anything that got in the way was smashed."[30] The Qing, however, did not bring any cannons with them from Manchuria; they captured them from defeated Ming forces or obtained them from traitorous Ming generals.[31]

[T]he common Qing soldier only armed himself with a sword, spear, or bow

Despite the powerful siege technology under their employ, the common Qing soldier only armed himself with a sword, spear, or bow.[32] They scarcely carried muskets and continually depended on the bow as their distance weapon of choice. A witness confirmed that the practice continued to occur several years later when the militia fought to quell the rebellion of three influential feudal lords (1673-1681).[33] A diary written by Dzengšeo, a Qing soldier during this period, revealed that in 1680, the feudal rebels in the south attacked with muskets and used elephants to try to break the defensive line of the Qing force. Instead of the Qing army firing several volleys of musket balls, Dzengšeo recorded that the arrows shot at the charging pachyderms were so numerous that they looked like "the quills of a porcupine."[34] Careful examination of this diary reveals that the Qing forces had access to the same gunpowder weaponry as the rebels, but they chose not to use it. Dzengšeo recorded the capture of several muskets from a weapons cache abandoned by retreating rebel forces. Nowhere does he record that the Qing forces used this weaponry in battle. In fact, they did not even use the captured muskets to hunt when the war ended.[35] Though the rebel forces eventually suffered defeat, the obvious disparity in firepower cost the Qing many more lives than if they used muskets effectively in battle. Dzengšeo's account is the first evidence of the Qing's failure to innovate, or even use, gunpowder weapons, which led to a discrepancy of their firepower in comparison to their enemies.

In addition to the Qing's failed adoption of muskets, the decline of the Chinese siege cannon began during the Sanfan revolt.

[27] Lu Shangyou, "Survivor of Beijing 'Settles His Thoughts,'" in Lynn A. Struve, ed. and trans., *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm: China in Tigers' Jaws* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 8-11.

[28] Ibid., 10-2.

[29] Ibid., 11-2.

[30] Ibid., 12.

[31] Hong Yang, *Weapons in Ancient China* (New York: Science Press, 1992), 297.

[32] Shi Kefa, "Horrid beyond Description: The Massacre at Yangzhou," in Struve, *Voices*, 28-48.

[33] Known as the Sanfan revolt, Sanfan war, or revolt of the three feudatories.

[34] Dzengšeo, *My Service in the Army* trans. Nicola Di Cosmo as *Diary of a Manchu Soldier in Seventeenth-Century China* (London: Routledge, 2006), 51. Includes notes and introduction, and cited herein as Di Cosmo, *Diary*.

[35] Kefa, "Horrid," in Struve, *Voices*, 5, 83.

During this revolt, the Kangxi emperor ordered Ferdinand Verbiest, the Western scientist who directed the Imperial Board of Astronomy, to "cast light but effective cannons, convenient for transportation."[36] Verbiest developed one so light that the army could carry it up the hills and through the thick forests that dominated the terrain they encountered during their campaigns against the southern rebels. He manufactured the cannons using a barrel of a much lighter cast than the Ming heavy cannons, and reinforced them with wood.[37] Though the emperor originally wanted these cannons to fire large caliber ordnance, a "light artillery" incapable of breaking down walls represented Verbiest's best offering.[38] Because of the cannon's lightweight and maneuverability, the emperor approved this "wooden cannon" design, resulting in the production of roughly five hundred of them.[39] This technological downgrade from the siege cannon used by the Qing during their conquest of the Ming, marked the beginning of the downfall of Chinese gunpowder technology, a result of poor decision making by Qing authorities who failed to appreciate the very weapons that enabled their conquest of China.

[A] growing addiction to opium exacerbated the situation

The Qing's lack of appreciation for gunpowder weapons contributed to the weakness found in China's forces during the First Opium War, but rampant governmental corruption and a growing addiction to opium exacerbated the situation. The people saw both problems as symptoms of Qing dynastic decline. The Qing dynasty, almost two hundred years old at the start of the First Opium War, fought very little during their reign except for an internal rebellion, sporadic border conflicts with Russia, and the re-conquest of Formosa from the Dutch.[40] As a result, the general population focused on economic prosperity. Due to the lax conditions allowed by Qing officials, corruption spread throughout the kingdom from the highest official to the lowliest peasant. Unlike the corruption that existed before the fall of several other Chinese dynasties, this corruption was more serious because of the organizational structure of the Qing. The consequence of corruption on their organizational structure is prevalent in the British accounts of the war, which cast China's soldiers as untrained and undisciplined cowards who ran at the first sign of British forces. Hence, it is important to understand the dynastic situation in China at the start of the First Opium War in order to understand the cause of many peculiar events that occurred during its battles.

Because the Qing dynasty was the conquering power and Manchu officials often held the highest ranks in government positions, conflicts often occurred between Manchus and Han Chinese. In all accounts of the war, the Manchu soldiers fought harder to defend their fortifications than the Han. This is understandable because the Han thought of the Qing as outsiders, and referred to their rulers as "barbarians" from the north. For the Han, there was not much to lose or fear in a regime change to "barbarians" from the West. This attitude may explain why Manchu officials became so violent toward ethnic Chinese during the final months of the war. When the British attacked Chinkiang, Manchu officials first allowed people to leave the city, but then locked the gates and separated people in the inner fortified city from their families on the

36 Fu, *Chronicle*, 48.

37 Di Cosmo, *Diary*, 33.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

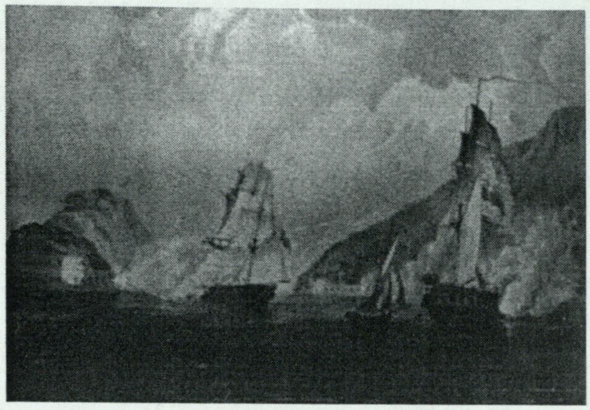
40 For a list of official edicts pertaining to these conflicts, see Lo-shu, *Chronicle*.

outside of the walls. They then patrolled the streets at night killing anyone they did not recognize, citing treason as the cause. They also refused to give the outside defensive battery any gunpowder, probably because only Han soldiers occupied it.[41]

The Manchu officials, usually only in charge of prefects or cities, reported to the governor general, who always held authority over two provinces. Though the emperor held supreme authority, the governor general enjoyed the most power in the empire, but only on a regional level. The Chinese employed no dynastic navy, and only maintained local fleets under the command of the provincial governor generals.[42] The Qing possessed a Board of War, but it primarily found itself more involved in overseeing the military entrance and placement exams because the Supreme Council historically oversaw military operations.[43] Thus, the position of governor general was the most desired because it held the most power. The position proved even more rewarding when the provinces it governed were wealthy, the wealthiest and most coveted being Kiangnan and Kiangsi.[44]

[C]orruption severely provoked a negative, rebellious attitude in the public

It is the "aspiring official" to whom most of the corruption and dynastic decline is attributed. These officials helped smuggle contraband items, monopolized the trade of other commodities, aided pirates, and confiscated then sold legitimate products from merchants for their own gain. One such case of internal



The *Andromache* and the *Imogene* take fire at Bogue Fort. W. Travis Hanes and Frank Sanello, *Opium Wars: Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2002), 303.

corruption emerges in a commissioner's diary, dated 7 April 1840. The authorities appointed to the anti-opium smuggling force raided a domestic ship carrying iron nails because spies claimed it carried opium. The authorities did not find any drugs, but confiscated and then sold the cargo of nails and kept the profits for themselves. In punishment for their crimes, the authorities involved received only a reduction in rank and a cut in pay.[45] This type of corruption severely provoked a negative, rebellious attitude in the public and further contributed to disaffection and disloyalty of Han Chinese when called upon in military capacities.

The system-wide corruption of official reports to Peking concerning military engagements also contributed to Qing dynastic decline. The emperor and his court required no verification of the accuracy of claims made by the reporter on the results of any skirmish or campaign. In consequence, it became common practice to embellish each ordeal as much as needed

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[41] Arthur Waley, *Opium War through Chinese Eyes* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1958), 201-3.

[42] Ibid., 65. An equivalent example in the United States is how the governor of each state holds command (under certain circumstances) of the National Guard assigned to that state.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., 43.

[45] Ibid., 105.

to obtain whatever promotion of rank or position the reporter desired. Any government official could challenge a report they believed a competing official falsified, but if he did, steps would have been taken to remove him from his position. In many cases, officials fabricated the entire result of a military engagement. This corruption greatly contributed to the Qing emperor's near complete lack of confidence in his provincial authorities. This corrupt system of reporting resulted in the promotion of inadequate leaders to positions of importance, generating low morale and disloyalty in the military. This contributes to the reasons why the Chinese military performed poorly in battle and retreated so quickly throughout the Opium War.[46]

An even greater problem lay at the heart of corruption

An even greater problem lay at the heart of corruption in the Qing dynasty: the plague of opium. The Chinese grew very little opium domestically; most of it arrived on ships hailing from the city of Calcutta in British India. The Qing government officially recognized the evils of opium smoking in an imperial edict memorialized in 1729 that banned the drug from the country. In the edict, Lan Ting-yuan describes how opium dens lured young men into smoking by entertaining them "with refreshment and fresh fruit as bait."[47] The first time, visitors entered without charge; thereafter they went "there daily even at the risk of bankruptcy."[48] Although the ban represented a noble effort by Qing officials, it did little to stop the import and sale of the drug. In 1820, almost a hundred years later, 850,000 lbs. of opium left Calcutta ports bound for China.[49] From that time on, demand increased almost four fold, requiring the import of 3,155,710 lbs. of the drug in 1839, the first year of the First Opium War.[50] That much opium could not enter the country without the presence of rampant corruption in governmental authorities.

The opium trade inflicted a disastrous economic impact on China. Prior to the opium epidemic in the early 1800s, Britain found itself on the wrong side of a massive trade imbalance with China due to the thirty million pounds of tea imported to England annually at a cost of £3,502,735.[51] The Chinese had no use for English goods, only importing about half the value of what they exported to them annually. The British rapidly compensated this trade imbalance with opium. On average, opium sold for six to seven hundred dollars a chest (170 lbs.).[52] The value of the 18,563 chests "imported" by China in 1839 is estimated at £7,675,213.[53] From these figures, scholars can see the severity of opium's economic impact on China but such numbers only refer to the trade between them and Britain. Several European countries traded at Canton, as well as the United States. One witness stated, "[O]f the foreign ships which have in their time conveyed and sold opium, there is not a single country that is not

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[46] Ibid., 71-2.

[47] Lo-shu, *Chronicle,* 162.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Peter Fay Ward, *Opium War, 1840-1842: Barbarians in the Celestial Empire in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century and the War by Which They Forced Her Gates Ajar* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 5, 43.

[50] Ibid., 375.

[51] John Yeats, *A Manual of Recent and Existing Commerce, from the Year 1789 to 1872* (London: Virtue, 1872), 134.

[52] H. H. Lindsay, *Remarks on Occurences in China since the Opium Seizure in March 1839 to the Latest Date* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1840), 97.

[53] Hunt Janin, *India-China Opium Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999), 39.

implicated."[54] Though no country traded on the same level as Britain, figures probably double if every country that traded opium is included. This means that silver by the ton left China at such a high rate, inflation rose exponentially. A contemporary Bengali newspaper presents an example of the massive amount of silver leaving China on any given day:

> The large sycee lumps are like small pigs of lead in form and in size nearly—but the brightness of the pure silver, of course, would prevent your mistaking one for the other. It is impossible to behold these symbols of wealth in such abundance as you do in these vessels and so carelessly scattered about as it appears to be (only appears, for it is in reality well looked after,) without being strongly impressed with a conviction of the magnitude add [*sic*] importance of the trade. The capital embarked in it, is indeed very large, involving nearly 20 millions of dollars.[55]

It is obvious that there existed the potential to make a great deal of money in the opium business, and "Mandarin officials" involved themselves in the trade just as much as any other participant.[56] When the emperor and his court finally recognized the British threat, the state found that it did not have the money necessary to modernize the military. This is why the opium trade is so important to understand: it crippled the Chinese economy and thus its government and military.

The last true effort to eradicate opium from China began early in 1839 when Emperor Qing Xuanzong sent Commissioner Lin Zexu from Peking to Canton armed with the necessary plenipotentiary power to stop the opium trade. The emperor awarded Lin the title of "special commissioner" as a result of an 1838 memorial he submitted detailing how to rid China of the opium problem. Lin suggested that specific herbs could aid an opium smoker in their quest to quit the habit.[57] As far as the source of the problem, he suggested that China charge five times the amount for tea and other commodities sold to the British to recuperate the loss of silver from the Chinese economy. Lin hated opium and all of the side effects the drug inflicted on his people and he convinced the emperor to utilize the death penalty on those who sold the drug. Lin knew that he needed to destroy the networks of conspiring government employees to slow opium traffic and he wasted little time in gathering information. Before Lin even arrived in Canton, he annotated a list of sixty names of known opium offenders.[58]

Lin worked immediately upon arrival in Canton and posted a notice that read, in part, "[L]et no one think that this is only a temporary drive [to stop opium] on the part of the government. In the past there have been such drives, but this time we are going on until the job is finished."[59] He then demanded the surrender of opium from all vessels in the harbor and took military measures to ensure it happened. Lin's determination surpassed that of any plenipotentiary before him, even willing to go to war to prove his convictions. Within a month, Lin confiscated 20,283 chests of opium valued at £2.5 million,[60] emptied it into a pit, mixed it with lime, and let it drift slowly into

[54] Lindsay, *Remarks on Occurences*, 85.

[55] John Slade, *Narrative of the Late Proceedings and Events in China* (China: Canton Register, 1839), 177.

[56] Ibid., 178.

[57] Waley, *Opium War*, 14. Lin named such herbs as *Atractylis ovata, Angelica polymorpha, Lignum aloes, Gastrodia elata,* and *Astible*.

[58] Ibid., 18-9.

[59] Ibid., 24.

[60] John Ouchterlony, *Chinese War* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844), 18.

British Ship	Guns	Chinese Ship/Force	Guns
Wellesley	74	Eleven War Junks	88 (8 x 11)
Conway	28	Jos-house garrison	6
Alligator	28	Beach garrison	8
Cruiser	18		
Algerine	18		
Ten gun-brigs	160 (16 x 10)		
Total	326	Total	102

Table 1. Number of cannons employed by forces involved in the battle of Chusan.

the sea via a river that flowed through the city of Chuenpi. All of Lin's actions happened in view of the public eye, and the British felt they could no longer take the public humiliation they believed so often occurred in their dealings with China. They called up several warships from India and began a military campaign to seek retribution.

Due to the superior technology of both their gunpowder weapons and their ships, Britain had absolute confidence of victory in China. The discrepancy between British and Chinese firepower is evident in every battle of the First Opium War. The British fought most of the battles with naval power because all of their targets consisted of river or sea ports. Not only did the Chinese find themselves outgunned by British technology, they also found themselves outnumbered in armaments, both on land and at sea. An example of this discrepancy is seen in accounts the first major battle fought on the island of Chusan, located off of the eastern coast of China about 350 miles north of Formosa (Taiwan). When the British arrived to attack the city of Tinghai, the major harbor on the island, the ships gathering created an ominous sight to the awaiting city. As one observer described it: "[T]he water [of the bay] was thickly covered by the men-of-war and transports, whose boats were pulling in every direction, employed in watering, and the various duties requisite in so numerous a fleet."[61] In contrast, the Chinese commanded eleven war-junks.[62]

To understand the events of this attack and the subsequent battles, it is important to understand the situation of the Chinese and British forces numerically, technologically, and capably. Table 1 shows the advantage in armaments of the British over the Chinese forces. The Chinese did have a manpower advantage but the superiority and number of British guns outnumbered the Chinese three to one. The armaments of most brigs consisted of fourteen twenty-four-pounder carronades, although some of the later vessels bore fourteen

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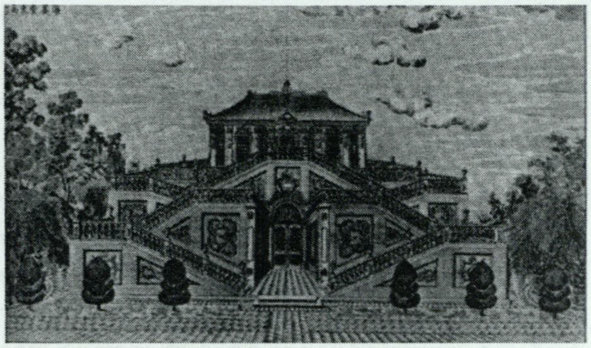
[61] John Elliot Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China from the Commencement of the War to Its Termination in 1842 with Sketches of the Manners and Customs of that Singular and Hitherto Almost Unknown Country*, vol. 1 (London: Colburn, 1843), 185.

[62] Lord Robert Jocelyn, *Six Months with the Chinese Expedition*, 2nd ed. (London: William Clowes, 1841), 48.

eighteen-pounder carronades with two six-pounders as chasers.[63] In comparison, war-junk—similar in size to a gun-brig—carried no more than eight guns.[64]

Technologically, the superior armament of the British navy was world-renowned at the time. They manufactured their cannons, called "muzzle-loaders," out of brass or iron in a single cast, which made them stronger than the old way of making bombards from strips of metal bound by metal rings.[65] The manufacturer of the cannons fortified the muzzle to allow it to bear the burdens of combat, resulting in cannons that rarely experienced any problems or caused harm to operators. By the First Opium War, the British foundries underwent changes that resulted in a more consistent production of cannons, more efficient in their powder usage, and more powerful than their predecessors. The culmination of this new technology is the carronade, invented by General Robert Melville, a Scotsman influenced by the findings of mathematician Benjamin Robins.[66] Robins, the first person to turn a scientific eye on gun making, tested different shot sizes in various circumstances to determine the most useful combinations. Melville took Robins' findings and created a cannon with a short barrel and bored it to fit an exponentially heavier shot. This way, Robins calculated that firing a much heavier powder wasted less powder. Because the shot weight on a carronade could reach over one hundred pounds, the carronade enjoyed success when employed in close range combat, which Robins proposed happened more often than not.[67]



Original form of the Summer Palace. W. Travis Hanes and Frank Sanello, *Opium Wars: Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2002), 305.

Chinese cannon outdated the British by at least one hundred years. The Qing-era Chinese regressed in gunpowder technology from the former dynasty. Their cannons were lighter, less powerful, and less accurate—which stemmed from the poor mountings and large windage.[68] One observer in the first Battle of Chusan gives the account that, due to the way the men situated the shore-battery cannons, they could not maneuver the cannons to allow them to properly aim.[69] The situation worsened for Chinese war-junks because many of the cannons overburdened their mounts. This description from a British merchant describes it best: "[T]wo of [the cannons], taking the whole width of the deck, were old brass field pieces, which, had they been fired, must either have sunk the junk, or gone, with the recoil, over the gangway in their rear."[70] In contrast, a group of drunken British sailors fired a shot

[63] David Miller, *World of Jack Aubrey: Twelve-Pounders, Frigates, Cutlasses, and Insignia of His Majesty's Royal Navy* (Philadelphia: Courage Books, 2003), 28.

[64] *The Chinese Repository* (Tokyo: Maruzen, n.d.; first published 1837 by Canton: Printed for the Proprietors), 5:173.

[65] Brian Lavery, *Ship of the Line*, vol. 2, *Design, Construction and Fittings* (London: Conway Maritime, 2003), 147.

[66] Lavery, *Ship of the Line*, vol. 1, *The Development of the Battlefleet*, 107.

[67] Ibid., 116.

[68] The gap between the cannons bore size and the shot size. A larger windage produced a weaker volley.

[69] Jocelyn, *Six Months*, 49.

[70] *Repository*, 5:173.

from a long eighteen-pounder that reached from Macao Roads to strike a war-junk anchored off the coast of Nine Islands, around four miles away.[71]

In addition to inferior technology, the Chinese lacked the knowledge of how to operate their cannons effectively. Cannoneers utilized two different types of shot in their cannons. They used the common round shot of varying size and weight to inflict the structural damage to a target. They used canister shot, often referred to as "grape shot," because of its highly effective ability to spray "metal" everywhere, as an anti-infantry weapon. The term "metal" is used loosely, as Sir Henry Mainwaring explains the contents of canister shot in his Seaman's Dictionary (1644): "[A]ny kind of old iron, stones, musket-bullets or the like which we put into cases to shoot out of our great ordnance. These are of great use and do much execution amongst men…upon the upper deck when we come near or lie board by board."[72] The British used this shot frequently against Chinese forces with deadly results, but there are very few instances of the Chinese doing so.

[T]he Chinese employed no standing navy

During the Battle of Chusan, the British began their bombardment of the shore fortifications using only round shot. The bombardment lasted nine minutes and when the smoke cleared, there lay a "mass of ruin."[73] Few war-junks remained and no British ship suffered severe damaged except for one that struck a rock. Upon survey of the town, every quarter suffered major damage and fires raged for two days before their extinguishing. Reconnaissance of the town revealed that the nine-pounder remained the heaviest shot employed by Chinese forces.

Contrasting the shipbuilding of both countries elucidates the naval advantage of the British over the Chinese. The second technological advantage the British enjoyed is that the ships that bore the new armaments also underwent some manufacturing changes. Less than thirty years prior to the First Opium War, the British established the School of Naval Architecture at Portsmouth in an attempt to innovate ship construction through the application of science.[74] This resulted in ships-of-the-line with a sleeker design that out-maneuvered and out-sailed almost any of their counterparts in America or France. The frigate joined the warships around the year 1740. Frigates originated in France; they "had sharp lines, high speed, and sailing qualities unsurpassed by other warships."[75] It had only one battery deck and one deck that housed the crew quarters. Frigates could fire their guns while facing the wind, which made them more effective in harsh conditions. Theoretically, frigates could defeat larger ships-of-the-line, but only under certain conditions.[76] The early frigates only carried armaments of nine-pounders, but they later received upgrades that allowed them to carry twelve and eighteen-pounders. The technology of shipbuilding advanced so much by the First Opium War that the British commonly outfitted their frigates with light guns or carronades, and a new class of frigates emerged, known as "super frigates," that could bear twenty-four to thirty-

[71] Ward, *Opium War,* 165.

[72] G. E. Manwaring, *Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring* (Navy Records Society, 1922), 2:121.

[73] Jocelyn, *Six Months*, 56.

[74] Lavery, *Development of the Battlefleet*, 149.

[75] Jan Glete, *Oxford Encyclopedia of Maritime History*, ed. John B. Hattendorf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), s.v. "Frigate."

[76] The conditions were bad weather or a ship-of-the-line being so burdened that it could not open its lower gun ports.

two-pound armaments.[77] Some of these super frigates participated in the First Opium War.

At the bottom of the navy's strength lay the corvette and the brig. Stronger and faster than a brig, a corvette never carried more than twenty-eight guns. The corvette functioned as either a scout ship or one that carried dispatches between ships in the fleet,[78] but emerged famously for its role in opium smuggling. In the early nineteenth century, shipbuilding firms redesigned corvettes for greater speed and the ability to sail against the wind. This allowed them to make the trip from Calcutta to Canton in just over three months. This new line of ships, hailed as "cutters," received a later designation of "opium cutters" because everyone knew their purpose.[79] British plenipotentiaries "drafted" these cutters to participate in the war, but they usually followed the navy so they could sell off their overstock of opium. As for the brig, it never carried more than sixteen guns and saw a more common use of shipping trade goods.[80]

In contrast to the British, the Chinese employed no standing navy, just regional groups of war-junks under the command of the governor general of the province in which they resided. The Chinese navy only owned merchant and war-junks—both of which received the same general construction—with the war-junk housing all of its poorly mounted cannons on deck. An observer in Canton gave this description about the absolute futility of a war-junk in battle against a British foe:

> The Chinese war ships (junks) are large unwieldy looking masses of timber, with mat sails, wooden anchors, rattan cables, a considerable sheer, flat upright stems, no stern posts, enormously high sterns ornamented with gold and paintings, considerably weakened too by a large hole in which the monstrous rudder can be hoisted up and housed in bad weather; immense quarter galleries, and look-out houses on the deck; generally drawing but little water, flat floored, painted red and black, with large goggle eyes in the bows; and, as Knickerbocker describes the Goede Vrouw, looming particularly large in a calm; such is the appearance of a celestial "first rate:"—few are over 250 to 350 tons, and the generality are armed with but two or four guns, which, as we have before observed, are on solid beds, and must therefore be useless, save in the smoothest water. We have occasionally, however, seen six guns in a large war-junk, on special service; and two which were stationed in front of the Praya Grande, at Macao, during the business of the late lord Napier, had each eight, of various sizes; two of which, taking the whole width of the deck, were old brass field pieces, which, had they been fired, must either have sunk the junk, or gone, with the recoil, over the gangway in their rear. The crew is composed of forty to sixty men, according it would seem, as they are designed to act against their own people or foreigners. Lances, pikes, and a few swords, but plenty of good stones, make up the armament.[81]

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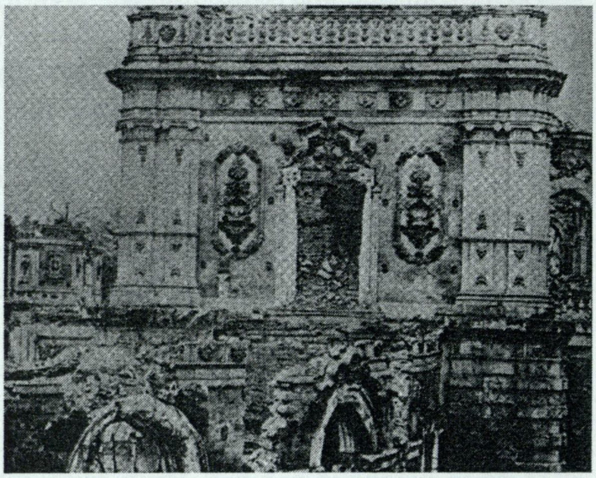
[77] Ibid.

[78] *Naval Encyclopædia Comprising a Dictionary of Nautical Words and Phrases; Biographical Notices, and Records of Naval Officers; Special Articles of Naval Art and Science* (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly, 1881), s.v. "Corvette."

[79] Ward, *Opium War*, 51.

[80] Ibid.

[81] *Repository*, 5:173.



Burnt ruins of the Summer Palace. *Ruins of the Yuan Ming Yuan* by Thomas Childe (c. 1875).W. Travis Hanes and Frank Sanello, *Opium Wars: Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2002), 305.

According to this account, it is no surprise that war-junks received solid defeats from British ships. During the Battle of Chusan, the fighting ships of the Chinese did not move. They lined the ships to guard the shore and remained stationary until the nine-minute volley of artillery fire ceased. Once the firing stopped, the remaining junks docked to help put out fires, thus they never a factored into the battle.

The British also possessed an advantage over Chinese forces in their field arms. During the first year of the First Opium War, the widely used flintlock went head-to-head with the new percussion musket to determine which weapons provided greater benefit. Spencer Walpole noted: "[O]ut of 2000 shots the flintlocks misfired 822 times, the percussion musket only nine times."[82] The percussion cap system worked by using mercury as a fulminating agent, instead guard the shore and remained of flint, to light the gunpowder in the chamber.[83] In addition to the percussion caps increased ignition rate, it also possessed a slight capability of igniting in the rain.[84] Thus, the British discarded the flintlock system and went with the more successful and versatile choice.

In comparison, the Chinese lagged as far behind in their field arms technology as in their cannon technology. They used two main types of hand-held gunpowder weapons. The first and more effective of the two was the gingal, a large rifle similar to a British elephant gun. The gingal fired iron scrap or half-pound to pound balls. According to several accounts, they greatly injured British infantry. The gingal's large size required mounting on a tripod, though some soldiers fired them from a resting position on their shoulders.[85] Some sources refered to another kind of gun as a gingal, but this gun shot a two-pound ball and resembled an artillery piece the British fired from their walls. One observer wrote: "[It] requires three men to work and carry it, and is a very serviceable weapon."[86]

The second of the two gunpowder field arms used was the matchlock rifle. The Chinese matchlock, a crude version of the rifle. used by the British a hundred years before the First Opium War, fired by touching a slow-burning piece of rope to a "touch hole" to ignite the powder charge inside the barrel. The Chinese used the more dangerous, earlier version of the weapon that required ignition by hand. The

[82] Spencer Walpole, *History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815* (London: Longmans, Green, 1890), 428 n. 3.

[83] Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (Great Britain), *Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, vol. 1. (London: C. Knight, 1851), s.v. "Caps, Percussion."

[84] Bingham, *Narrative*, 157.

[85] Ward, *Opium War*, 345.

[86] Granville G. Loch, *Closing Events of the Campaign in China: The Operations in the Yang-Tze-Kiang and Treaty of Nanking* (London: J. Murray, 1843), 114.

later version, which the British long abandoned, proved much safer due to a trigger mechanism that moved a lever holding the burning rope to the touchhole. This allowed the shooter to aim more accurately and prevented mishandling of the burning rope, which often caused the powder held in bags around the shooter's waist to explode. Because the Chinese used the trigger-less version, many eyewitnesses recount tragic consequences similar to this one:

> When they were wounded, [they fell] on their matchlocks, the lighted match of which speedily set fire to their thickly cotton-padded dresses. Thus many of them were literally burnt alive, and several were blown up by their own cartridge-boxes, which, containing twelve small wooden tubes filled with loose powder, were worn in front of their bodies.[87]

If the Chinese armed all of their forces with these weapons, their sheer numbers would have given the British a much more challenging opponent. But the very poorly armed Chinese forces possessed few gunpowder weapons, primarily arming themselves with bows or spears, and few men in Chusan remained standing to use any weapon after the initial bombardment from British naval artillery. Once the British advanced, the remaining Chinese forces witnessed an opportunity to use the gingals to inflict a blow to the British infantry. The British hated these guns, calling them "wretched wall-pieces," but because Chinese forces used a poor mixture of powder, they "did no damage to the force."[88] The British took the city with few casualties.

As far as the capabilities of each side in battle, Britain's troops received quality training and drilled in the most current military tactics of the time. A large part of this was due to the "military revolution" that occurred in the seventeenth-century. States applied new tactics in instruction and drilled as quickly as they could formulate ideas. Uniforms made their first appearance during the period, providing a unity in dress to match the uniformity of compliance constantly drilled into the military force.[89] Armed with the best rifles, and attacking in equally proportioned regiments, the British forces emerged as well-seasoned veterans by 1839, having conquered Africa and India within the previous few decades.

In contrast, the Chinese shunned the military revolution. They assigned their forces to "banners," similar to regiments, but the troops received poor equipment and no training on how to move simultaneously toward any objective. One British leader noted in his observations, "I imagine that no field exercise and evolutions have been compiled for the use of the Chinese army."[90] This explains the total disorganization of Chinese forces witnessed in numerous accounts of the war. Despite this, the descriptions of Chinese bravery are not few in number and one observed what the application of training could do:

> I feel persuaded that, if drilled under English officers, [the Chinese] would prove equal, if not superior, to the Sepoys; they have greater physical power, greater obstinacy, and, consequently, minds that retain impressions with greater tenacity, and would be slow to lose confidence after it was once built upon the foundation of their vanity.[91]

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87 Bingham, *Narrative*, 30.

88 Jocelyn, *Six Months*, 57.

89 Parker, *Military Revolution*, 72.

90 Keith Stewart Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China* (London: Bentley, 1842), 138.

91 Loch, *Closing Events,* 113.

There is one area of battle that the Chinese excelled in, which seems evidence that they received drilling in some aspects of combat. The same witness stated: "[W]hen they fire from walls or entrenched camps, the best marksmen are stationed in front, and supplied with matchlocks by people whose only duty it is to load them."[92] This allowed the Chinese marksmen to fire quicker than the British, despite the discrepancy in their gunpowder weapons.

No matter how well trained the Chinese forces, the confusion caused by the overwhelming bombardment by British ships allowed no time for the Chusan garrison to regroup and organize themselves into their banner forces. As mentioned, they made a solitary stand on a city wall against the invading British, but the combination of four British field artillery pieces with a general confusion amongst the Chinese resulting from the loss of too many of their leaders, and led the governor to commit suicide while the rest of the forces deserted.[93] The city of Tinghai fell in less than a day.

Several key seaports fell to the British

The accounts of the First Opium War are replete with examples of a quick Chinese defeat similar to the first Battle of Chusan. Though no battle is unimportant in a war, the Battles of Chusan and the Bogue involved major targets of the British force. Several key seaports fell to the British between these battles, but the Battle of the Bogue is unique because it involved the only port at which the Chinese allowed any country to trade. Within the accounts of this battle, consequences of military discrepancies between China and Britain became most evident—the largest being the menacing new steamer frigate. The Battle of the Bogue is also the first battle where the number of firearms China used actually equaled that of Britain.

The armored steamer debuted during the First Opium War and became the most dreaded warship of the British navy. Before its arrival, the two steamers located in China were wooden ships retrofitted with steam power and shipped trade goods as their main duty. The *Nemesis,* the first ironclad steamer frigate constructed became the model for later designs because of its success in the First Opium War. The British built the *Nemesis* entirely of iron, except for some minor fittings, and gave it a very shallow draught, to which the ship owed most of its success. Unlike the draught of the ships-of-the-line that ranged from sixteen to thirty feet, the *Nemesis'* was only six feet at full burden.[94] This allowed her to navigate rivers thought previously impenetrable. In fact, this is why the commission to build the *Nemesis* remained secret. When finished, she was sent to sea as a merchant steamer, although heavily armed; she was never commissioned under the articles of war, although commanded principally by officers belonging to the Royal Navy; and neither was she classed amongst the ships of the regular navy of the East India Company.[95]

A description of the peculiars of the commission order is as follows:

> Orders were therefore given for the immediate building of several stout iron steamers, to be constructed

[92] Ibid., 114.

[93] Jocelyn, *Six Months*, 58-9.

[94] W. D. Bernard and W. H. Hall, *Narrative of the Voyages and Services of the Nemesis from 1840 to 1843, and of the Combined Naval and Military Operations in China: Comprising a Complete Account of the Colony of Hong-Kong, and Remarks on the Character & Habits of the Chinese*, vol. 1 (London: Colburn, 1845), 7.

[95] Ibid., 5.

> with peculiar reference to their employment in river navigation. They were all to be adequately armed and manned, and no reasonable expense was to be spared in fitting them out in a manner best adapted to the particular object sought to be attained by them.[96]

The *Nemesis* boasted two of the first pivot mounted swivel cannons on her deck, along with five long six-pounders and ten "small iron swivels."[97] The two pivot-mounted cannons on deck fired thirty-two-pound shot, making the cannons tactically important because they could fire in any direction. In short, the *Nemesis* received maximum armaments and a secret commission, specifically for Opium War duty, to test the capabilities of her pivot guns and shallow draught in river-battle situations.

The Battle of the Bogue marked the beginning of the British march up the Canton River toward the city of Canton, the only port in China that foreigners, or "barbarians," received permission to conduct trade. There were three large islands involved in the battle: Taikoktow, Chuenpi, and Anunghoi, with a fort located on each of the large islands; heavily fortified in the front and barely fortified in the rear (Taikoktow possessed two forts nicknamed Big and Little Taikok).

Chinese traditionalists...began the crippling effect of Sino-centrism

The first day of the battle started with a split fleet simultaneously attacking the fort on Chuenpi Island and the Big Taikok Fort, both located in the southeast area of the Bocca Tigris, a strait in the Canton River delta. The second day of the battle, three of the seventy-four gun ships-of-the-line came up the river and joined in shelling the forts guarding the entrance to the way to Canton, but halted due to a cease fire agreement, ending the battle. On the first day, Chuenpi suffered capture within three hours due to the successful shelling of its guard tower by the *Nemesis* and the *Queen*. The Chinese armed the guard tower with nine cannons, but mounted them in such a way as to restrict their movement. Just like in the Battle of Chusan, the cannons' immobility prevented adjustments to properly aim at their targets. Mounted to shell targets further out to sea, they shot over their British attackers with no consequence.

Simultaneously, Big Taikok Fort took heavy shelling from two hundred yards out and suffered capture just as quickly because, like Chuenpi, the soldiers ran at the first sign of difficulty. The *Nemesis* then charged the bay north of Chuenpi and shot a junk in its magazine, causing it to explode.[98] This explosion scared the crews of the other junks and they abandoned their ships. In this event, one British steamer defeated fifteen war-junks. At the end of the day, six hundred Chinese lay dead compared to zero British casualties.

Besides the *Nemesis*, three other steamers participated in the "blitz on the Bogue."[99] The Chuenpi attacking fleet consisted of four steamers—the *Nemesis* (7 guns), *Queen* (7), *Enterprize*, and *Madagascar*, supported by the *Larne* (20), *Hyacinth* (18), and the *Calliope* (28). The total troops that attacked Chuenpi totaled 1,468.[100] The fleet that attacked Big Taikok

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid., 14.

[98] Ibid., 271.

[99] The battle received this nickname because the British commander decided to attack all of the forts at the same time, instead of one-by-one.

[100] Bernard and Hall, *Voyages and Services*, 258.

consisted of the *Druid* (42 guns), the *Samarang* (26), *Modeste* (18), and *Columbine* (16). In total, the attacking ships commanded nearly two hundred guns.

In contrast, the Chinese forces had just over two hundred guns and an estimated three thousand troops.[101] To overcome the discrepancy of firepower suffered at Chusan and elsewhere in the war, the Chinese employed Portuguese engineers to help them design and construct better cannons and ships. The Chinese thus successfully produced a thirty-six gun war -junk with gun ports in the lower deck.[102] They even copied the steamer's paddle wheel design, though they used manual labor to turn it.[103]

Though it would seem that the last upgrades to the Chinese military would level the playing field with the British, it failed to accomplish a victory. The Chinese suffered defeat easily, despite the fact that they possessed the same number of guns and more than double the number of soldiers. They quickly retreated every time they did not immediately succeed because of the tension between the ethnic Chinese and the Manchurian officers. British accounts of the Chinese show that they possessed more than enough capabilities to match the British in skill, but the discrepancy in technology proved too large an obstacle to overcome.

The honorable Sir Arthur Waley best describes the reasons why the Chinese lost to the British:

> Superiority of fire-power and command of the sea and of the major waterways were what made the English invincible. No generalship, however talented or experienced, could have made the course of events go differently. But the Manchu's were a conquering race and were reluctant to accept the fact that the weapons with which they had conquered China two hundred years ago were now out of date.[104]

Though the disparity in gunpowder weapons made a huge difference in the war, Fang Tung-shu, a contemporary Chinese philosopher, made an excellent point in that "the strength of the English lay not in their armaments but in the help they got from *Han-chien*."[105] In modern terms, *Han-chien* means to betray one's country for material gain. Han-chien existed in such great numbers because of the phenomenon of dynastic decline. The decline also contributed to the cowardice; lack of leadership, training, and preparedness; and ethnic rivalry rampant during the war. These issues, in a population ruled by foreigners, contributed to treason, which became so rampant that in one example, the commanding officer in one Chinese city wrote on an ivory board so that no one eavesdropped and leaked plans to the British.[106] The problem proved so bad that the Han-chien fought among the ranks of British attackers in numerous battles.

The Chinese traditionalists of the late Ming began the crippling effect of Sino-centricism that later shaped the policies of the future ruling dynasty. The irony in this phenomenon is that the Qing were Manchu's and not Han Chinese, but because of the assimilation effect first evident in the Yuan dynasty then reoccurring during the Qing Dynasty, the conquering power acquiesced to traditional Han societal influences. These influenced everything from education to administration. This phenomenon

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[101] Bingham, *Narrative,* 2:445.
[102] Bernard and Hall, *Voyages and Services*, 280.
[103] Ibid., 282.
[104] Waley, *Opium War,* 185.
[105] Ibid., 223.
[106] Ibid., 185.

is why the Sino-centric ideology of the Ming literati is visible in a "barbarian" ruling dynasty two hundred years later. Had the Qing officials acted like many local Manchu authorities (such as Chiakang) and rejected Han influence, they might have adopted Western military technology and gunpowder weapons more readily and perhaps check the British advance upon their sovereignty.

Rejection of Ming literati may still not have solved the problem, as the Qing mentality naturally inclined them to reject Western technology. The Qing started out with strong gunpowder siege weapons (even though they captured them from the Ming) but fell back on Verbiest's "wooden cannon" because of its mobility. These cannons worked against internal rebellions but they did not have enough power to cause significant damage to British ships or forces. In fact, all of these factors led to the Qing's failure to innovate and use gunpowder weapons. Opium added another problem to rampant governmental corruption in an already segregated Manchu system that caused divisions and factions in the people and led to a disloyal and unmotivated military force, poorly equipped to defend its nation. The examples of this in the Battle of Chusan and the Battle of the Bogue are obvious. Even when the Chinese forces decided to seek Western aid and upgrade their cannons and ships, they did not have the skills to use them. The untrained and unmotivated troops retreated at first sign of defeat and Britain forced its will upon the nation as a bitter consequence.

The Impact of Western Influences on Urban Chinese Women

by Kristyn Andrade

Popular Chinese magazines of the 1980s and 1990s urged women to be more fashion-conscious. Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 322.

Beginning between 1911 and 1918, Western ideals permeated China and brought about feminist ideologies that encouraged Chinese women to become active agents, pushing for political and social change in a male-dominated society. **Kristyn Andrade** examines the way urban Chinese women embraced media and literature brought by merchants, diplomats, and missionaries. Demanding reforms, these women adapted U.S. and British cultural views to gain a voice in courtship, marriage, and divorce decisions in a country ruled by strict Confucian traditions.

Before the turn of the nineteenth century, China's government operated as a relatively isolated nation. From 1850 to 1911, however, the country experienced imperialism, reform, and revolution as Western influences—specifically American and British diplomats, traders, and missionaries—ventured into China's urban cities, singling out Chinese women as their focus for "Westernization."[1] These ideals contrasted with those of Asian cultures, which concentrated on traditions based on the Confucian system of loyalties. Western missionaries in the late nineteenth century made such comparisons and highlighted Chinese women's oppression in terms of their lack of social and intellectual independence.[2] Thus, between 1911 and 1918, feminist reformism emerged in China as more women participated in politics and society, reflecting a Western influence.

Western ideologies penetrated Chinese social life and culture

Western ideologies penetrated Chinese social life and culture. Women utilized opportunities customary to American and British females to broaden their experiences in Chinese society. Their agency contrasted with the accepted norms of Chinese culture, which caused widespread reactions, and women possessed the greatest prospects for social change. During the decades of major Western exposure, Chinese officials opened coastal urban cities to foreign enterprises, bringing Western influence and a trend toward greater modernization in terms of individual appearance. Chinese intellectuals associated the term "modernity" with capitalism and consumerism.[3] Such cultural influences of the United States and Britain altered Chinese women's perspectives in regard to their role and identity in their country. They absorbed Western culture through magazines, newspapers, first-hand interaction, and film. As women's values and appearances molded to reflect the "picture" Western woman, social relations (in expressions of love and marriage) conflicted with Confucian values and Chinese cultural traditions. Modern women, more independent and individualistic, wanted "free-love" relationships, which meant an end to arranged marriage contracts, based more on parents' prospective economic gains.[4] Such desires altered the social structure and core of the "traditional" Confucian family.

Chinese women initially absorbed and reacted to Western influence in the early twentieth century prior to the 1949 establishment of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). They came into contact with Western-styled education systems on a large-scale through mission schools, studying abroad, and contact with Western feminist professors. These educational systems praised male and female equality in terms of suffrage, education, industry, and social needs. Beginning in the 1920s, female students such as Teng Ying-ch'ao—a revolutionary leader who attended Chihli First Women's Normal School in 1919 and also participated in the May Fourth Movement—wanted the freedom to choose their husbands.[5] They also

[1] Barbara Ramusack and Sharon Sievers, *Women in Asia: Restoring Women to History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 197.

[2] Jinhua Emma Teng, "The Construction of the 'Traditional Chinese Woman' in the Western Academy: A Critical Review," *Signs* 22, no. 1 (Fall 1996): 120.

[3] Louise Edwards, "Policing the Modern Woman in Republican China," *Modern China* 26, no. 2 (April 2000): 143.

[4] Ellen Efron Pimentel, "Just How Do I Love Thee? Marriage Relations in Urban China," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 62, no. 1 (February 2000): 33.

[5] Teng Ying-ch'ao, "Remembrances of the May Fourth Movement," in *Chinese Women through Chinese*

desired "modern" men, whose thoughts also reflected a Western influence.

Hsieh Ping-ying also represented such women. In the late 1920s, Hsieh returned home after serving in a propaganda team during the Northern Expedition and rejected her arranged marriage. She told her father how relationships start with friends, then move to love, and lastly companionship.[6] He responded, "Love begins after marriage, and not before…love exists only between husband and wife."[7] This reflected the emergent tension between "traditional" Chinese values and elements of Western political thoughts dealing with gender equality, specifically in regard to romantic relationships. Western novels of free love attracted young women and encouraged further contact with "modern" persons and commodities.

Chinese reform intellectuals and popular media persons defined the "modern" woman in urban cities in order to examine possible political and social unification. The modern woman of the 1920s and 30s appeared like the Hollywood actress: glamorous and fashionable.[8] She wore her hair bobbed and accessorized her feet with heels, and urban women adopted this style. Various films produced in the 1930s reflect such a look, and specifically identify her as the result of Western impact.[9] Chinese directors learned about American culture by looking at the available newspapers and photo magazines—often filled with drugs, sexuality, and suicide. In *Queen of Sports*, the country girl protagonist goes to the city and involves

By the 1930s and 1940s, urban women began protesting the government in the streets. Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 280.

herself in Western athletics. As a result, she becomes arrogant, wears makeup and fancy clothes, and fraternizes with young men, which reflects the West negatively.[10] Another film, *A Bible for Daughters*, set in 1934 Shanghai, depicts the antagonist with a successful "free-choice" marriage because of her Western control over her husband.[11] She decorates her home luxuriously and wears sexually appealing clothing. Both films highlight the Western concept of the "modern" woman that, at the time, permeated the hearts of urban Chinese females.

Independence for urban Chinese women increased during the 1930s and 40s, which furthered their aspiration for freedom and a voice over marriages. Self-sufficient women existed in the form of students, workers, and revolutionaries.[12] They sought private social

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Eyes, ed. Li Yu-ning (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, ca. 1992), 152.

6 Hsieh Ping-ying, "The Family Prison," in Yu-ning, *Chinese Women*, 160.

7 Ibid.

8 Edwards, "Policing the Modern Woman," 116.

9 Paul G. Pickowicz, "The Theme of Spiritual Pollution in Chinese Films in the 1930s," *Modern China* 17, no. 1 (January 1991): 40.

10 Tiyu Huanghou, perform, *Queen of Sports*, writ. and dir. Sun Yu, (Lianhua Film Studio, 1934), videocassette.

11 Nuer Jing, perform, *A Bible for Daughters*, writ. Xia Yan and dir. Zhang Shichuan, (Mingxing Film Studio), 1934, videocassette.

12 Edwards, "Policing the Modern Woman," 132.

Three Chinese models in Scandinavian furs pose for photos with a policeman. Norm Goldstein, ed. *China: From the Long March to Tiananmen Square* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), 251.

equality as well as political opportunities. Consequently, many women experienced shifts in ideology, as evident in their behavior and attraction to Western images prior to the establishment of the CCP. Ah Jung demonstrated how such women exercised courtship and marital changes before legalization of the 1950 Marriage Law. She broke away from arranged marriages and chose her husband based on love.[13] The two met and dated as university students, married without parental consent, and lived in Shanghai during their early years of marriage.

Western influences spread into the realm of divorce

Under the leadership of Mao Zedong, China isolated itself from non-Socialist/Communist countries; he even severed his relationship with Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union when philosophies clashed. After Mao's death, his successor, Deng Xioping, sought to expand the Chinese economy by encouraging Western investments and entrepreneurship. In doing so, the government overtly allowed Western influences to penetrate the country. Urban Chinese women once again (as during the years prior to the establishment of the CCP) utilized Western social normatives as legitimization for their social and political prerogatives.

In the 1980s and 90s, city cadres organized Marriage Introduction Bureaus as a place for young people to meet and start relationships.[14] Beijing and other cities provided sexual education material directed specifically toward women through hotlines and texts. Government leaders realized how "free-love" resulted in increased pre-marital sex during the courtship stage. Reformers also pointed out how women held more control in channeling men's sexual desires.[15] Such party implementations demonstrated the resurgence of Western attitudes in urban China.

Films and popular literature sent attractive messages of Western liberalism, in terms of free love and sexuality, to urban Chinese women from the 1980s to the present. Other Chinese films, however, depicted "Special Economic Zones" (eastern coastal areas opened to foreign investment and business) as places of Western intrusion.[16] Chinese films highlighted Shanghai as the symbol of overpowering and dominant Western pressure. Women exemplified such influences as they read Western fashion, film, and television magazines. In fact, in the 1980s and 90s, women idolized Chinese actresses who reflected the American image. In response, urban Chinese

[13] Ah Jung, "Problems Confronting an Ideal Couple," in Yu-ning, *Chinese Women*, 205.

[14] Beverly Hooper, "Are Young Women Going to Lose Out?" *Modern China* 10, no. 3 (July 1984): 331.

[15] Gary Sigley, "Keep It in the Family: Government, Marriage, and Sex in Contemporary China," in *Borders of Being: Citizenship, Fertility, and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*, eds. Margaret Jolley and Kalpana Ram (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, c2001), 137.

[16] Pickowicz, "Chinese Films," 61.

women utilized various Western hairstyles, wore makeup characteristic of American women, and accessorized with Western jewelry and clothing.[17]

As the idea of "love" resurfaced in popularity from Western literature and films, Chinese females implemented such ideas into their daily lives. A woman described, in a 1980 *Zhongguo qingnian* magazine entry, "I've been going out with two young men. They both write me long letters…I think I'm in love with both of them. What should I do?"[18] This account relates what the Chinese perceived as evidence of romantic feelings. This also demonstrates how women felt increased assertiveness in pushing relationships to the next level. Such actions directly opposed "traditional" parental arrangements and lack of women's opinions on mate selection. The film *Eat, Drink, Man, Woman* also reveals such ideas of women's increased aggressiveness. The father in the film worries about his unmarried daughters. He watches in disbelief as one daughter causally dates with little regard for abstinence;[19] her actions demonstrate the influence of Western culture.

During the post-Mao Era, women joined the workforce, enabling them to better support themselves. Many worked in franchises of Western corporations and industries, which greatly affected their perceptions of feminine roles, responsibilities, and expectations. Couples met at work, providing the "similar mind" desired by Hsieh Ping-ying in the 1940s and creating greater interdependence between spouses and parallel class standings.[20] A young woman from a 1982 *Zhongguo funu* magazine entry asked, "I'm in love with a young man in the same workshop. How do I let him know my feelings?…I am afraid he'll reject me."[21] Workplace relationships reflected women's increased individual confidence, changing their personal expectations on numerous issues.

Young models await competition in a beauty contest inspired by Western ideals. Jasper Becker, *Dragon Rising: An Inside Look at China Today* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 2006), 127.

In the twenty-first century, Chinese women expect greater sexual gratification from their partners. They no longer concern themselves with only pleasuring men, but instead expect from them their own emotional and sexual satisfaction[22] Popular journalistic literature, radio call-in shows, advice columns, gossip, and personal stories discuss issues related to women's sexual fulfillment and relations, making private concerns of public importance,

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[17] Hooper, "Young Women," 328.

[18] Ibid., 330.

[19] Ang Lee, dir., *Yin Shi Nan Nu* (Eat, Drink, Man, Woman), writ. James Schamus and Hui Ling (Central Motion Pictures Corporation, 1994), DVD.

[20] Xueguang Zhou and Phyllis Moen, "Job-Shift Patterns of Husbands and Wives in Urban China," in *Careers of Couples in Contemporary Societies: From Male Breadwinner to Dual Earner Families*, eds. Hans-Peter Blossfeld and Sonja Drobnic (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 347.

[21] Hooper, "Young Women," 330.

[22] Gail Hershatter, "State of the Field: Women in China's Long Twentieth Century," *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 4 (November 2004): 996.

as exercised in the West.[23] This led to an increasing number of unwed couples living together. The Chinese government refers to such cohabitation as trial marriages, which serve the purpose of testing the couple's "sexual and spiritual" compatibility.[24] Nonetheless, Western influences spread into the realm of divorce.

Divorce emerged as a greater problem in China after the 1990s. Women ended a majority of marriages, reflective of their increased independence.[25] "Divorce used to be a bad concept associated with a Western capitalist society, and we thought that people in a socialist society should lead happier lives," said Xu Anqi, a sociologist from Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences.[26] Chen Hong, an urban Chinese woman, even considered divorce an American concept until 2005.[27] Television series, such as Beijing's *Divorce, China Style* reflect the growing prominence of divorce in Chinese society as well as the negative impact of Western culture.[28] The show ran nightly for twenty-three episodes and identified the realities of falling out of love or husbands caught in adultery.

Western scholars point to the Communist Party and Mao Zedong as the instigators of marriage reform in twentieth century China. They believed that as women participated more in Communist revolutionary movements, their ideologies shifted toward greater social equity. During the periods most open to Western influence, Chinese women's sentiments regarding courtship, marriage, and divorce progressed from Confucian patrilineal relationships to "free-love" relationships reflective of the West. Concepts of fashion, beauty, dating, pre-marital sex, expectations of female sexual gratification, and divorce clash with traditional Chinese values and align instead with Western culture.

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[23] Ibid., 1,000.

[24] Sigley, "Government, Marriage, and Sex," 137.

[25] Hannah Beech, "Breaking up Is Easy to Do," *Time*, 6 November 2006, 52.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Yan Shen, China.org.cn.

Amicitia, Patronage, and the Paterfamilias: The Effect of Roman Customs on Foreign Policy

by Ryan Greene

Painting of the Roman Senate and Cicero, located in the Palazzo Madama in Rome, Italy. Untitled fresco by Cesar Maccari, 1889. Bridgeman Art Library Web site, available at http://www.bridgeman.co.uk/search/view_image2.asp?image_id=241044.

Strong networks of relationships and familial ties within the Roman Republic created a foundation for individuals striving to gain power and affluence. As the nation grew, fellow politicians and leaders adopted traditions and laws that permeated Rome's surrounding territories. Author **Ryan Greene** argues that family, friendship, and client-patron connections influenced these regions' control over foreign and domestic policies. With illuminating examples of ancient leaders, from Cicero's *Orations* and verses by Polybius and Plutarch, Ryan offers a rich perspective of how the dominant empire captured the world.

The creation of the Roman Republic is comparative to the architecture of other state structures because it relied upon a complex network of political ties cemented through alliances and marriages. In the absence of a strong bureaucratic government, powerful individuals in the Republic used connections with friends, relatives, and patrons to advance their careers and social standing. The state failed to provide adequate institutions for its members; thereby citizens without supportive and secure followings suffered and lost any opportunity to improve their status. As the Punic and Macedonian Wars resulted in more annexed land, these regions assimilated to the capital's conventions of conducting politics and creating personal relationships, which offered the easiest route for new additions to obtain recognition. Traditional customs and laws concerning family, friendship, and benefactor and client association affected how politicians conducted foreign relations with other countries, impacting the way new territories incorporated into the empire.

Politicians conducted foreign policy with a paternalistic air

The Roman concept of family revolved around the idea of *paterfamilias*, or the leading male within the household. Patresfamilias controlled other members of their kin unit, including children, women, slaves, animals, and even freedmen during various points in their lives.[1] The head of each household held *patria potestas*, an exercise of power over other subordinate members,[2] and legal codes like the Twelve Tables defined this power by delegating laws regarding tutelage of minors and women to the *pater* to strengthen his authority.[3] Scholars view the supremacy of the pater in the household as a metaphor for how the Republic's citizens perceived their relationships with other countries, especially allies. Politicians conducted foreign policy with a paternalistic air exemplified by the many smaller counties Rome took under its hegemony and to which it offered protection in return for gratitude and, sometimes, taxes.

Another right of the paterfamilias recorded in legal codes involves interstate succession of a freedman's property after death to the pater.[4] This meant that if a freedman died without beneficiaries or a will, his property went to the head of the domestic unit. Appian, author of *The Civil Wars,* explains: "The following year, which was in the 176th Olympiad, two countries were acquired by the Romans by bequest. Bithynia was left to them by Nicomedes, and Cyrene by Ptolemy surnamed Apion, of the house of the Lagidae."[5] C. Velleius Paterculus, a Roman historian who served under Emperor Tiberius, writes in *The Roman History* that Attalus III, King of Pergamon, also bequeathed part of Asia to Rome upon his death, causing the Republic's war with Aristonicus, a supposed brother of Attalus.[6] Such circumstances commonly occurred when a client-king died with no heirs. The succession of property to the pater after death parallels the procedure foreign kings used when dealing with Rome, thereby placing the nation in the position of the paterfamilias.

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[1] Charles W. L. Launspach, *State and Family in Early Rome* (London: George Bell, 1908), 209.

[2] Alan Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 98.

[3] Launspach, *State and Family*, 117.

[4] Ibid., 117.

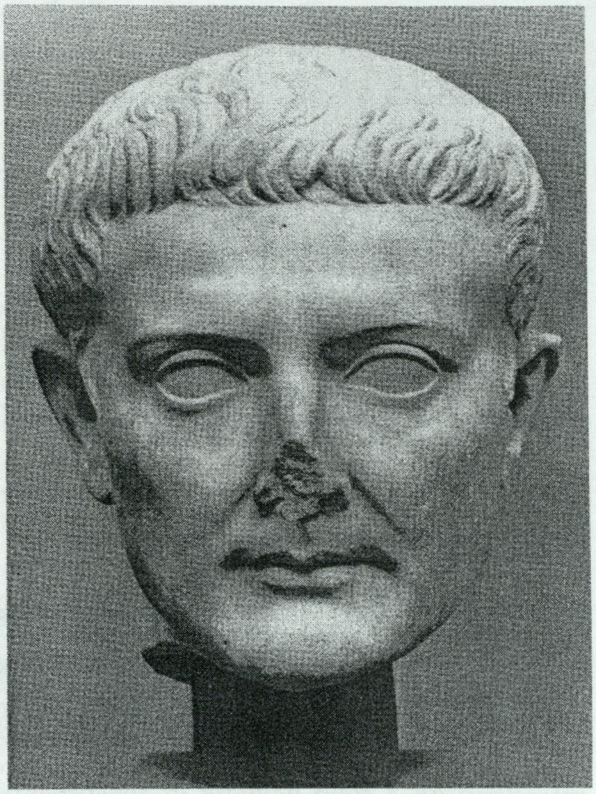
[5] Appian, *The Civil Wars*, trans. John Carter (London: Penguin, 1996), I.112.

[6] Vellieus Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*, trans. Frederick W. Shipley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), II.4.1.

Other rulers acted like freedmen in their tribute of belongings to Rome—the pater.

Besides directing household affairs, the responsibilities of arranging marriages for eligible daughters and the adoption of sons also fell to the pater. Both exercised a means of cementing friendships; any remaining sons or daughters in a household served as an integral part of the father's political dealings.[7] Politicians often used marriage as a way to form ties. Pompey, for example, married Caesar's daughter, Julia, in order to create a bond between the two powerful men.[8] Men with numerous sons sometimes arranged for another family to adopt them in order to establish a connection, whereupon these sons relinquished claims to their biological family. One example of this is of Scipio Africanus, given up by his father, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, to Publius Cornelius Scipio; Paullus hoped to further network affiliations and commit his son to building stronger associations.[9] These ways of creating intimate networks inevitably influenced methods of foreign policy, and allies in other countries embraced this practice as a means to secure help from Roman politicians.

A significant role of the pater concerning the women in his household involved the appointment of tutors to see to their well-being and act as personal guardians. Tutors possessed the authority to grant or withhold consent to a woman's actions and represented them in public transactions.[10] This authorization especially appealed to wealthy women involved in the sale or movement of land and valuables.



Stone head of second Roman emperor Tiberius (14-37 CE). John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray, *The Oxford History of the Classical World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 649.

The husband usually appointed an overseer, if the female married in *manu,* since this type of marriage conferred all responsibility for her on the groom's family—as opposed to free marriage, where the bride remained under the control of her father.[11] Similar to this familial structure, the Senate elected governors to supervise provinces unable to self-govern. The political presence of troops, *praetors*, and *quaestors* served as supervisors on a larger scale. Appointees to subordinate nations served much the same functions as women's managers: they transacted business for the region and facilitated contact between the colony and the Senate. The famous philosopher Cicero described such duties expected of

[7] Watson, *Law of Persons*, 82.

[8] Plutarch, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, trans. Rex Warner (London: Penguin, 2005), 47.

[9] Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert (London: Penguin, 1979), 23.

[10] Jane F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), 19.

[11] Ibid., 14.

him as quaestor: sending grain from Sicily to Rome and conducting business with traders and citizens, much as administrators assisted noblewomen in commerce.[12] Roman tutelage in the family represents another important example of how native customs influenced foreign relations.

The conventions of the Roman *paterfamilias* were not the only socially established institutions that influenced the Republic's dealings with other countries; the concept of friendly alliances applied as well. *Amicitia*, or friendship, based itself on mutual affection and possibly political and economic gain.[13] In Rome, a well-built organization of associates and a sense of belonging to a group remained a vital ingredient for success on the campaign trail. To support the state's infrastructure, a solid network of constituents helped attain crucial political goals. Such acquaintances and supporters showed their backing by attending elections and bestowing financial endowments. Society viewed abandonment by friends as a confirmation of social death, evidenced by the fate of Camillus, a dictator and statesman, after the desertion of his colleagues.[14] Plutarch, a biographer and historian during the early empire, details this example in his biography of notable Roman and Greek personalities, *Plutarch's Lives*: "When his friends had laid their heads together and discussed the case, they answered that as regards his trial, they thought they could be of no help to him…This he could not endure, and in his wrath determined to depart the city and go into exile."[15] When those closest to Camillus refused to support him, he became almost obligated to depart the city after they demonstrated in public his degraded social standing.

[T]roops, praetors, and quaestors served as supervisors

The concept of amicitia also applied to Rome's international dealings. Romans frequently referred to other nations with whom they entered into a compact as distinguished friends, or *amicus*.[16] These agreements sometimes took the form of treaties or spoken pacts between states. For their loyal cooperation, rulers within these countries received rewards, like King Massinissa of Numidia after the Punic Wars. Sallust, a Roman historian states that Massinissa "was awarded by the Romans with a gift of all the cities and territories they had taken during the war. Consequently, [the king] remained a loyal and true friend of Rome until his rule ended after his death."[17] The Republic offered protection to countries honored the title of either amicus or *hospitium* (guest-friend), and as the above quote shows, sometimes added benefits of power and land.[18] In return, friendly nations displayed gratitude in a myriad of ways, often supplying soldiers and grain to Rome. The concept of a personal ally usually involved self-interest for both parties, as did the concept of amicitia to other countries.

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[12] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero,* trans. Charles. D. Yonge (London: G. Bell, 1913), 386.

[13] Florence Dupont, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, trans. Christopher Woodall (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992), 16.

[14] Gardner, *Women in Roman Law*, 16.

[15] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 12.

[16] John Rich, "Patronage and Interstate Relations in the Roman Republic," in *Patronage in Ancient Societ* ed. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (London: Routledge, 1989), 124.

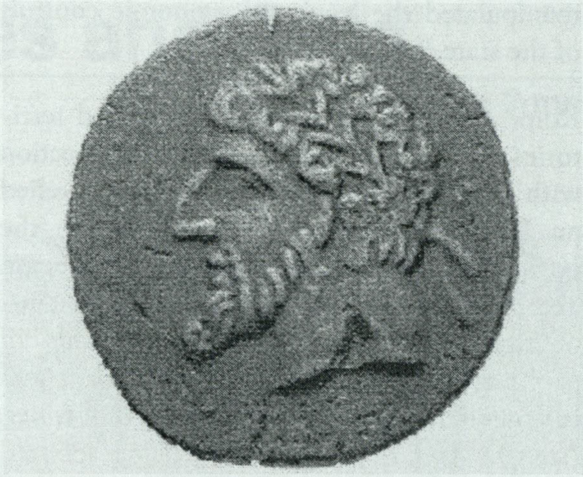
[17] Gaiu Sallust Crispius, *The Jugurthine War/The Conspiracy of Catiline,* trans. S. A. Handford (London: Penguin, 1963), 44.

[18] Anthony J. Marshall, "Friends of the Roman People," *American Journal of Philology*, 89 (January 1968): 39-55.

The idea of friendship affected foreign relations comparable to the way younger statesmen associated with older politicians. Frequently, a father or elder member of the family recommended a rising politician to align himself with and serve under an experienced statesman.[19] Such a career move ensured new government entrants the education in proper procedures and duties expected of them, which also granted opportunities to form advantageous friendships. These alliances established assistance in later political maneuverings, and guaranteed support to obtain other offices and push through legislation. Outside nobility also sent their younger sons to Rome, introducing them to elite society. In the *Jugurthine War*, Sallust tells the story of Micipsa, another king of Numidia, who sent his adopted son, Jugurtha, to serve under Publius Scipio during the Numantine War, where he won accolades from Scipio and befriended Roman nobility.[20] Eumenes II of Asia sent his siblings to Rome, "wishing to recommend his brothers to the personal friends and former guests of himself and his house in Rome and to the senate in general."[21] These statesmen learned to cultivate Roman political ties of friendship by sending younger members of the family to strengthen these bonds. These affiliations provided their countries with strong connections to the capitol, allowing them to secure political continuity in their own nations.

[F]riendship…based itself on mutual affection and…political and economic gain

The client-patron relationship emerged strongly associated with the perception of friendship in Roman society, which impacted international affairs. Romans defined patronage in the Republic's political life as a responsibility for representing subordinates in legal and contractual matters and defending them in court.[22] These powerful, connected men provided the conduit through which the average citizens secured their rights and accessibility to the government, particularly the Senate. Constituents in turn provided nobility with fiscal assistance and support by advocating proposed legislation.[23] This relationship, normally interpreted as somewhat hereditary and not legally binding, proved beneficial.[24] The patron-client bond is diverged from friendship in that, both parties sought their own self-interests, but there still existed an unequal power relation. The commoner remained at a disadvantage to the superior since the aristocratic statesman



King of Numidia portrayed on a coin made during his reign. Amezruy Web site, available at www.amezruy.info/micipsa.GIF.

[19] Matthias Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility*, trans. Robin Seager (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), 103.
[20] Sallust, *Jugurthine War,* 36.
[21] Polybius, *Rise of the Roman Empire,* 179.
[22] Andrew Drummon, "Early Roman Clients," in Wallace-Hadrill, *Patronage in Ancient Society,* 89.
[23] Ibid., 89-90.
[24] John North, "Politics and Aristocracy in the Roman Republic," *Classical Philology*, 85 (October, 1990): 277-87.

manipulated the legal and economic controls of the state.[25]

Rome suddenly subjected its conquered territories to a similar disadvantage in connection with the Republic. These regions relied on Rome for protection and to secure the position of their kings. Conquering a region automatically tied a general to the inhabitants of that area through hereditary bonds of patronage. Publius Scipio maintained and cultivated relations with friendly area tribes. After he died, the senators elected his adopted son, Scipio Africanus, to the leading generalship in Spain.[26] The Marcelli, descendants of the original conqueror of Sicily, consulted when necessary to draw up treaties for the island.[27] Due to their ancestors' involvement with the conquered region, the offspring of the Scipios and Marcellis developed a benefactor-client relationship with the subordinate country. These countries, deemed clientele, served much the same function as supportive citizens by providing patrons with troops for their armies and support in times of need.

Governors perceived themselves as protectors of particular people in the provinces the Republic appointed them to oversee. After conquering foreign countries, Rome incorporated these areas into its territory by either leaving them to govern themselves or by appointing governors to rule over them. These provincial administrators served in the same capacity as patrons at the capitol. They acted as a liaison between the people residing in their district and the government. As political authorities, they also retained the power to raise or lower taxes and control the well-being of the people they governed. When Lucullus gained the governorship of Asia in 70 BC, he lowered the taxes exacted on the people of his province. Plutarch states, "Lucullus, however, was not only beloved by the peoples whom he had benefited, nay, other provinces also longed to have him set over them, and felicitated those whose good fortune it was to have such a governor."[28] In return, Lucullus counted on receiving troops and political support from Asia, unlike the majority of overseers of client-kingdoms who tended to rule with a heavy hand.

The Republic incorporated into its foreign policy the familiar conceptualizations of amicitia, patronage, and the paterfamilias just as they existed in the practice rituals of society. When dealing with territories, Romans did not conceive of provinces as separate entities. They viewed outside countries as groups of individual people so the transfer of the patron-client relationship, or amicitia, onto an entire country did not strike them as an unusual concept. Paternalism toward peripheral areas utilized these concepts on a much larger scale than individual people. Rome itself served as the pater and the father, while surrounding regions became supporters, friends, and subordinate members inside its sphere of influence. Proculus' quote describing subordinate countries maintains the same idea: "[W]e understand that our clients are free, although they are not equal to us in influence, rank, or power, so it is to be understood that those who are required courteously to uphold our majesty are free."[29] This quote encapsulates the accepted philosophy used when dealing with a wife or child, as well as a neighboring territory such as Pergamon or Macedonia.

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[25] For elaboration on this idea, see Wallace-Hadrill, *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 72-6.

[26] Livy, *The War with Hannibal*, trans. Aubrey De Selincourt, ed. Betty Radice (London: Penguin, 1972), 18.2 -19.9.

[27] Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 63.

[28] Plutarch, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, 20.

[29] John Rich, in *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 117; see Proculus, Dig. 15.17.1.

Auschwitz: Ashes and Gold

by Laura Fones

Cannisters of Zyklon-B used in gas chambers at Auschwitz, 2008. Photograph by Mitchell Bard, Auschwitz Museum. Jewish Virtual Library, available at http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/aumb5.html.

During World War II, Nazi Germany built concentration camps to implement their "final solution"—exterminating Jews and other unwanted peoples from Europe. This resulted in many deportations to the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp where Nazis systematically executed those found unfit to work; those capable of arduous labor fueled the Nazi death machine. **Laura Fones** depicts prisoner life and the struggle among the inmates for *Kommando* positions that helped them rise in rank and avoid execution. She uses first-person accounts of survivors who lived through the horror to illuminate the constant threat of looming death.

Even in the most bestial conditions, a hierarchy develops; the Auschwitz camps—Auschwitz I, Birkenau, and Monowitz—displayed, despite their nominal and civil legality, the height of barbarism. Yet within this milieu of brutishness, a privileged class of prisoners emerged because of their professional skills. Whether they acted as doctors, dentists, or de facto assassins, their positions in the death camps contributed in making Nazi genocidal actions more profitable. In approaching the concentration camps, the naïve assumption arose that all prisoners suffered equally, but the fact remains that each person experienced pain individually.

Soviet prisoners of war. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicles: 1939-1945* (New York: Henry Holt, 1989), 545.

Within the tiny demographical hillock of safety in Auschwitz, further categorizations of privilege appeared. Some obtained jobs that allowed them comparative rest, while others used the camp-wide black market to "organize" comforts. In extreme cases, some beat their fellow prisoners to avoid abuse themselves, and some found themselves slaves to the crematoriums: the means toward the ultimate goal to survive longer. Guards allotted privileges to prisoners who acquired certain prestige—discernment due to providential luck as well as their actual skills—but these prisoners suffered a different kind of torture.

Nazi favor did not ensure life, rather, it frequently guaranteed the opposite. In the short-term view of concentration camp prisoners, a special assignment in the camp meant good fortune. Though Auschwitz symbolizes the Jewish slaughter, many non-Jews experienced the misfortune of finding themselves among the *Haftlings*.[1] Such a population consisted of prisoners of war (POWs) and political criminals, and these people fell subjected to the Nazi ideology of the annihilation of inferior races. Though Polish and Russian prisoners received the same treatment as Jews—Nazis only nominally detested Slavic peoples—they consistently suffered less than them. Partisan prisoners from France and other occupied territories enjoyed a comparatively improved situation, as their masters did not subject them to the ridicule that the Jews endured. The majority of prisoners of war consisted mostly of Russian and English soldiers. Despite the Russians' Slavic background, which caused the Nazis to see them as inferior to the Nordic peoples, the laws of war protected them, however minor. The Nazis allowed non-Jews to receive packages from home; this often meant the means by which one survived more comfortably.[2] Though the *Schutzstaffel* (SS) personnel screened incoming mail, POW care packages contained a treasure trove of valuable foodstuffs. This introduced new currency into Auschwitz's thriving black market that, due to the diverse deportees, became a geographically far-reaching

[1] Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz*, trans. Stuart Woolf (New York: Touchstone, 1958), 23. *Haftlings* referred to newly arrived surviving members of a transport; they occupied the lowest rung of the camp hierarchy.

[2] Sim Kessel, *Hanged at Auschwitz: An Extraordinary Memoir of Survival* (New York: Cooper Square, 2001), 81.

operation by which a prisoner could procure any conceivable item if he provided adequate payment. The most desired items, given their portability and rarity, included cigarettes and chocolate bars—delicacies available only in the homelands of Western POWs.

Using camp slang, prisoners referred to active participation in the black market as "organizing." Though this frequently carried the connotation of theft, Terrence Des Pres recalls a prisoner's description of organizing as "to acquire something without wronging another prisoner."[3] For example, one organized an extra food ration, a pair of boots, or a favorable working assignment. Those expert few who succeeded in dominating the black market and making the necessary connections within the hierarchy of the *Konzentrationslager* or KL[4] tended to escape—at least temporarily—the omnipresent threat of the gas chambers. Camp veterans consisted of men and women whom the Nazis detained prior to Auschwitz's 1942 conversion into an execution center.[5] Veteran internees held the advantage, aside from the social benefit of longevity, of having absorbed the brutality of the camp. The SS liked to promote these violent old hands because a talent for brutality equated to control of the mass of terrified, emaciated people who comprised the camp population.

Auschwitz camps... displayed...the height of barbarism

The Nazi personnel used these veterans as their second-in-command. The prisoners who displayed "special skill" earned assignments to oversee *Kommandos* or whole barracks.[6] Kommandos suffered abuse under their Nazi master to ensure productivity and an uninterrupted pace of heavy labor. *Kapos,*[7] usually German criminals imprisoned before the war, maintained positions in charge of individual *lagers.*[8] Because of their rank—and often their nationality—they enjoyed an exemption from labor units and a better diet, as their post prescribed that they should distribute food rations to prisoners within the lager, but often kept more for themselves. Particularly amoral and vicious non-German veterans also climbed the hierarchal ladder to achieve Kapo commands and gross the same privileges.

Since work served as a way to sustain life or achieve death through exertion—as opposed to the gas chambers—prisoners committed to familiarizing themselves with desirable jobs. Life in a normal work team comprised of a roll call before leaving to a work site, another after they reached their assigned work area, and then several hours of heavy physical labor. The unpredictability of roll call led to terror, as both the Kapo and overseer controlled duration and the accompanying violence. Roll call regularly required an hour standing at military attention or receiving heavy blows from an unsatisfied Kapo; in either case, it sapped the prisoner's strength.

Captives safeguarded their livelihood in various ways. In the camps, the length of a

[3] Terrence Des Pres, *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps* (New York: Pocket Books, 1976), 120.

[4] Rudolf Höss, *KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1984), 33. The concentration camp in Auschwitz was designated as Konzentrationslager Auschwitz, or KL in Nazi terminology.

[5] Ibid., 8.

[6] Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz,* 66.

[7] Marco Nahon, *Birkenau: The Camp of Death,* trans. Jacqueline Havaux Bowers (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1989), 59; see also Primo Levi, *Moments of Reprieve,* trans. Ruth Feldman (New York: Summit Books, 1986).

[8] For the purposes of this article, *lagers* refer only to individual barracks within the camp.

Morning roll call in Auschwitz I. *Untitled* by Mieczyslaw Koscielniak, 1972. Memorial and Museum: Auschwitz-Birkenau, available at http://www.auschwitz.org.pl/html/eng/zwiedzanie/foto/plac_apelowy_foto_koscielniak_apel.html.

prisoner's existence seemed dictated by a kind of unrecorded math: quantified food rations versus expended labor. For this reason, most inmates coveted a soft job in the KL such as a Kommando, who usually escaped strenuous physical abuse and brutalization by the overseers. Prisoners acquired soft jobs through a number of avenues, but they allowed only temporary relief from the horrors of normal camp life. If one had a personal connection to influential members of camp personnel or access to desirable black market goods, one organized a stay in a preferential work unit. Otherwise, inmates might simply hope for arbitrary selection for lighter work and avoid the basic morning routine.

Prisoners acquired soft jobs through a number of avenues

The absence of roll call led to the popularization of soft jobs among the death camp prisoners. Those selected for hospital work enjoyed relative autonomy, as their post allowed them to avoid the morning assembly and to work under an SS doctor rather than an overseer; which, despite its seeming danger, often meant better treatment.[9] They did not endure hard physical labor but simply administered aid to patients. Life in this Kommando proved a mixed blessing; its relative ease tainted by its emotional strain. Detainees knew that that little hope existed of regaining health if they fell ill. The hospitals obtained no medical supplies; and patients—because they could not work—received reduced rations. In Block 25, authorities forbade non-patient prisoners to enter and denied rations to all within its confines; the Nazis considered them essentially dead. In fact, according to scholar Sara Nomberg-Przytyk, prisoners "stayed on the block until there were enough of them to fill the gas chamber so that the gassing could be carried out with maximum efficiency."[10] The responsibilities of such gruesome tasks caused considerable psychological deterioration on the individuals who worked on the block.

Only the hospital staff experienced a job nearly as grotesque and difficult as the corpse collectors. Independent of prisoner supervisors, this manner of labor presented advantages. The corpse collectors retrieved the bodies of people who died outside the gas chambers due to starvation or disease.[11] These workers were insufficient for the demand, however, and bodies regularly remained outside for days—always recorded in the barracks roll call until collectors removed them. Compared with lugging thick tree trunks or hauling coal from mines—the average fare for the Auschwitz worker—corpse collectors benefited from a lighter load. Most prisoners who died in the

[9] Sara Nomberg-Przytyk, *Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land,* trans. Roslyn Hirsch (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 53.

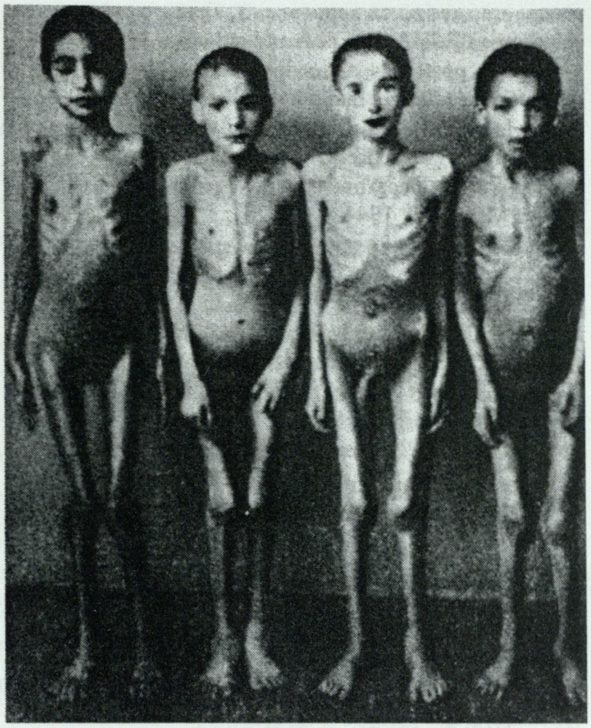
[10] Ibid., 57.

[11] Ibid., 60. Nomberg-Przytyk describes this job in her memoir as the work of two female prisoners with a cart.

night were emaciated already to the point of categorization of *Musulmen*—someone essentially a husk of a human being—perhaps a woman who once weighed 120 pounds, but then dropped to 40.[12] A prisoner in Lager C described these individuals as "not quite alive, yet not quite dead,"[13] and that they died while asleep or faced the gas chamber. The exposure to dead flesh and epidemic victims, however, made the job of corpse collector more dangerous than appealing.

Hardly any jobs in Auschwitz allowed the inmate's comparative rest; on the contrary, most required their proximity to death in return for the lighter labor. It proved less physically strenuous to contribute to the death machine of Auschwitz than to labor within or outside its confines. The camps constantly expanded due to the increased demand of space for new deportees. The influx of inmates to the camp population allowed German companies to profit from the use of slave labor.[14] Those who served in these work units expected a brief and violent existence before extermination.

Because of the varied and numerous riches brought in by new arrivals, the sorting Kommando informally named the halfway point for luggage from arriving transports, Canada, after a foreign land that seemed to possess immense wealth to the inmates. Camp prisoners hoped for this most desirable position as a sorting Kommando.[15] No other work unit provided such prestige and benefits. These Kommandos pulled money, valuables, and food from suitcases and clothes' linings. Though



Two sets of twins on whom Mengele conducted experiments. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicles: 1939-1945* (New York: Henry Holt, 1989), 594.

closely watched by SS personnel during the entire process, members of the sorting staff rarely sustained beatings and earned the privilege to take food left in the baggage because such meager fare held no appeal to the Nazi guards.[16]

The Nazis preferred females for this work, though men also participated in sorting.[17] Due to their uncomplicated work style, women on this Kommando looked the most human: they could grow their hair, shower in the warehouses, and organized clothes directly from the transport. Sorting made the murder of the Jews lucrative to the Nazi death machine.

[12] Isabella Leitner, *Fragments of Isabella* (New York: Crowell, 1978), 57.

[13] Ibid., 37.

[14] Benjamin Jacobs, *The Dentist of Auschwitz: A Memoir* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 127.

[15] Laurence Rees, *Auschwitz: A New History* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), 183.

[16] Michael Berenbaum and Yisrael Gutman eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 257.

[17] Ibid., 251. In July 1942, 815 women and 590 men worked in Canada II.

After eager prisoners pilfered the material, the Nazis sent the rest back to Germany so that its citizens might further profit from the extermination process. Reintegrating Jewish goods in Germany also served to liberate resources for furthering the war effort rather than for producing the consumer products needed by the remaining German nationals.

Bizarre though it may seem, friendly relationships between the prisoners and the SS developed within Canada. One exceptional case involved Helena Citrónová, a pretty Slovak Jew who ignited the interest of SS *Unterscharführer* Franz Wunsch. On her first day in Canada, she sang for an SS birthday party. This moment proved providential because, in her words, "that's how he noticed me, and from that moment I think he also fell in love with me—that's what saved me, the singing."[18] The result of his affection moved Wunsch to save Citrónová's sister from the gas chamber, and later she testified on his behalf at his war crimes trial. It was an unconsummated love unique to Canada. She further recollects this strange affair:

German companies... profit[ted] from the use of slave labor

> He would turn right and left, and when he saw no one was listening he'd say, 'I love you.' It made me feel good in that hell. It encouraged me. They were just words that showed a crazy kind of love that could never be realized. There [were] no plans that could be realized there. It wasn't realistic. But there were moments when I forgot that I was a Jew and that he was not a Jew. Really—I loved him. But it could not be realistic. Things happened there, love and death—mostly death.[19]

Citrónová's account shows a remarkable event in Canada, as the close proximity to the SS provided the opportunity for rape more than unrealistic romance.[20] Women in Canada had a comparatively high survival rate but also contended with the SS men's carnal advances, which they accepted either willingly or not. As Citrónová testifies, however, what occurred in Auschwitz mostly led to death.

The SS assigned a certain class of highly privileged prisoners an assured execution date. These male prisoners enjoyed comparative comfort in exchange for a four-month lifespan. These *Sonderkommando* or "special squads" exclusively operated and lived within the crematoriums.[21] They directed incoming victims to undress outside the gas chambers and handed them soap to placate their fears. After the Zyklon-B effectively executed those victims, Sonderkommandos cut off corpses' hair, removed dental gold, and burned the bodies. Sequestered from the main camp and reviled by the denizens within, one Sonderkommando wrote to a prewar acquaintance in the camp, stating, "I knew what passed through your mind when you first saw me…I could read in your eyes the shocking astonishment, the contempt, the utter disgust even, that my profession of today inspires in you, my profession of body burner."[22]

It is difficult to understand one's ability to accept small comforts before death. Marco Nahon, during his internment at the death

[18] Rees, *New History*, 186.

[19] Ibid., 189.

[20] Nomberg-Przytyk, *Auschwitz: True Tales,* 76.

[21] Nahon, *Camp of Death,* 100.

[22] Ibid.

camp, received a letter from a nameless Sonderkommando who described his job, "We at the *Sonder* are doubly cursed. But the Nazis are masters when it comes to educating their slaves to achieve the goal that they have fixed in their minds."[23] Nazi pragmatism wanted Jews to carry out their own destruction. The life of Sonderkommando meant a kind of living death. Their post placed them in purgatory rather than in hell, yet their work provided compensations. The Sonderkommando slept in linen-laid beds rather than in wooden bunks of the camp *lager*. The same unnamed Sonderkommando described to Nahon how Nazi overseers plied them with "so many little attentions after a month of fasting"[24] as a manipulative tool so they would do their work peaceably. They looted articles from the dead, and in this way, acquired more food and warmer clothing. They also consumed a regimen of alcohol to make their tasks bearable.[25]

In addition, a rich trade developed between Sonderkommando and the SS on the periphery of the crematoriums. Both units smoked and drank heavily, perhaps because of the moral strain of their respective lifestyles. Since neither received the supply of goods necessary to meet their daily needs, a small-scale black market emerged in the crematoriums.[26] With pilfered dental gold, the Sonderkommando created a unit of currency: the 140-gram gold cylinder.[27] They exchanged coins for goods retrieved from outside the crematorium confines, and in this manner, everyone associated with them benefited from the rich death trade.

It takes little imagination to understand the Sonderkommando mentality. These men expected their death soon and so accepted any advantages offered while still alive. In many ways, it is remarkable that the twelfth Sonderkommando of Birkenau—they counted the generations of crematorium workers in this fashion—chose to rebel after having been plied with drink, food, and daily misery. It is heartening to learn that, despite the resigned complacency inherent to life in the crematoriums, this twelfth set of men chose to destroy an arm of the Nazi extermination mechanism.

On 7 October 1944, the camp witnessed the culmination of revolutionary plans in the Auschwitz crematorium.[28] Women in the demolition Kommando collected adequate explosives to blow off the roof of crematorium IV and stage a short-lived firefight from crematorium four. Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, a Hungarian pathologist and Sonderkommando physician, described the aftermath,

> The first [event] of its kind since the founding of the KZ. Eight hundred and fifty-three prisoners, and seventy SS were killed. Included among the latter were an *Obersturmfürher*, seventeen *Oberschaarführer* and *Schaarfuhrer* and fifty-two *Sturmmänner*. Number three crematorium burned to the ground. And number four, as a result of damage to its equipment, was rendered useless.[29]

[23] Ibid., 101.

[24] Ibid., 102.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, trans. Tibere Kremer and Richard Seaver, (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett Crest, 1960) 100.

[27] Ibid., 62. Of the 140-gram cylinder: "The goldsmiths did not have any crucible of a smaller diameter, so there was no way for them to make a smaller 'coin.'"

[28] Ibid., 115.

[29] Ibid., 125. *Obersturmfürher, Oberschaarführer, Schaarfuhrer*, and *Sturmmänner* all constituted designations of high-ranking officers in the camp.

Members of the Sonderkommando burning corpses in pits, 1944. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicles: 1939-1945* (New York: Henry Holt, 1989), 639.

It is unclear whether this act of heroism endeared the Sonderkommando in the eyes of the general camp population, but it handicapped the death machine's monstrous capacity for the rest of the life of the camp.

Men and women selected for special assignments did not always fall condemned to play an active role in their fellows' deaths. The SS selected many skilled professionals from incoming transports for their vocational skills. Dr. Nyiszli, a man of considerable merit, became Joseph Mengele's favored physician. Within his memoir, Nyiszli offers a unique glimpse into the peculiarities of the Nazis. Mengele selected Nyiszli from a transport after discerning his talents to Mengele's standards. Thereafter, he treated Nyiszli with something akin to respect. After a conversation over a prisoner autopsy:

> I know men, and it seemed to me that my firm attitude, my measured sentences, and even my silences were the qualities by which I had succeeded in making Dr. Mengele, before whom the SS themselves trembled, offer me a cigarette in the course of a particularly animated discussion, proving he forgot for a moment the circumstances of our relationship.[30]

His primary function required Nyiszli to engage in dissecting humans who ignited Dr. Mengele's professional interest. He took apart the bodies of twins to divine their differences and studied cases of infectious diseases such as syphilis and typhus. The aim of these exercises was to sate Mengele's perverse curiosity regarding genetics and disease. In this manner Nyiszli profited the death machines of Auschwitz; he branded murder with purpose.

Mengele represents the strange relationship that special prisoners cultivated with the dangerous KL. His polite manner endeared him to people newly acquainted with him, and his quiet viciousness sent tremors down the backs of camp veterans.[31] Yet, he acquired favorites in the camp; among them were Dr. Miklos Nyiszli and a gypsy boy who enchanted everyone in the camp with his singing and who accompanied Mengele everywhere during summer 1944. When the Nazis liquidated the gypsy family camp, many wondered about the fate of the boy. Camp gossip resolved the curiosity, as "the men [revealed] that at the last minute Mengele had pushed him into the gas chamber with his own hands."[32]

Considering this, it is remarkable that Mengele's favorite pathologist survived. A contemporary of the twelfth Sonderkommando, Nyiszli resuscitated the only known person—a young

[30] Ibid., 103.
[31] Nomberg-Przytyk, *Auschwitz: True Tales,* 56.
[32] Ibid., 84.

girl—to survive the gas chambers. The end of her tale, too, is tragically ironic. Having survived the gas, an SS shot her in the back of the neck.[33] Nyiszli became privy to the secret methods of death, such as the phenol injections to the heart of Mengele's twin cadavers. What kept him alive coincided with other prisoners' in Auschwitz: a perceived necessity. Regardless of the fervor of anti-Semitism, a more pragmatic class of Germans required these deaths to yield purpose, and Mengele considered studies of disease and medical oddities a profitable purpose.

Some privileged functionaries subsisted by pure virtue of their administrative skill. Such a curious case involved Orli Reinhart, a high-ranking sphinx among prisoner functionaries in the camp whose personal beliefs one could never exactly deduce; a German anti-fascist, the Nazis detained her since age eighteen in concentration camps since 1933. Due to whatever machinations in which she participated in other camps as well as her seniority, in 1944 Reinhart served as *lagerälteste* in the women's camp.[34] Being German, not Jewish, gave her influence. She saved the lives of many individual women in her area, but also stood aside while the lives of others ended in the gas chamber.[35] Regarding her power to save, an observer noted that "Mengele had a weakness for Orli and could be swayed by her."[36] Regarding her moral integrity in standing aside while many died, one of her acquaintances regarded it as pragmatism, declaring, "she was able to decide who could be helped and who was to be sacrificed. Since you can't help everybody, you've got to know who can benefit from being helped and, of those who can benefit, who is most in need. Orli always knew."[37]

'[SS] lockers yielded a fortune of gold, pearls, rings, and money'

As with many unique individuals found among the nameless din of Auschwitz prisoners, Reinhart's morality remains somewhat in question. Some regarded her as sympathetic while others considered her unfeeling. One observer said, "I always saw [Orli] in a variety of situations, and in each situation she was a different person."[38] The same observer also noted that "the Gestapo deliberately gave her powers to undermine her ideals."[39] The Nazis used this tactic in Auschwitz to profit from her privileged existence and to destroy her morale. This proved a further extension of the death machine that one who fought against fascist ideology would end up personally enforcing it within the camps. Physical death was the consequence of the gas chambers, but also the death of one's ideals.

When comparing the two avenues of salvation in the camp—the proximity to death and the responsibility for it—one's principles often preferred the company of corpses. Many skilled professionals—pathologists and dentists—found themselves in various corners of the Auschwitz compound operating not on the living, but on the dead. Benjamin Jacobs, a Polish Jew and a dental student, imprisoned in concentration camps from 1941 until the end of the war, benefited from his skills. When he arrived in Auschwitz, Nazis stripped his dental

33 Nyiszli, *Doctor's Account,* 115.

34 Nomberg-Przytyk, *Auschwitz: True Tales*, 41. Lagerälteste was a high-ranking administrative position in the camp—a director over an area—in which Orli Reinhart "held the lives of many women prisoners in her hands."

35 Ibid., 49. It should be noted that "Orli was present at every selection and every death transport."

36 Ibid., 44.

37 Ibid., 45.

38 Ibid., 41.

39 Ibid.

Females sort out the personal belongings of recent arrivals at Auschwitz in a special section known as "Canada," May 1944. Photograph by SS Ernst Hofmann and Bernhard Walter, Auschwitz Museum. Jewish Virtual Library, available at http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/canada.html.

equipment and threw him among the ranks of prisoners. In summer 1943, he transferred to *Fürstengrube*: an Auschwitz sub-camp run by I. G. Farben Company.[40] There, by providential luck, Jacobs ran into a dental patient from his hometown of Gutenbrunn. At Fürstengrube, this old patient, the Lagerältester of the mines, was in search of a camp dentist.

With a newly built dental station in Block 7 of the camp, Jacobs rose to the rank of a privileged Jew. They gave him "an elite camp suit, a sweater, and a pair of real leather shoes, which distinguished [him] from the *Kommando* inmates."[41] With his newly won elite status, Jacobs did not suffer from the common dilemma of helping Nazis. He rationalized that his function simply required him to pull teeth. It became apparent, however, that even this innocuous job was not without a repugnant element, as Jacobs' instructions included removal of all dental gold from the mouths of his dead Kommando colleagues. Jacobs wrote his memoir in a sentimental style that is unique among privileged prisoners' autobiographies. He expresses the moral terror he felt in completing his task:

> I forced myself to approach a middle-aged man's body. His half-open eyes stared up at me, as if to accuse me of the crime I was about to commit. As I tried to pry open his mouth, I felt his ice-cold skin. When I finally forced it open, his jawbones cracked, and that frightened me…Each piece of gold I extracted made me think of how shocked they must be. Sometimes I had to pretend, in talking to myself, that what I was doing was normal… Now I had enough gold for the SS men's bridges and caps. What I didn't use Dr. König took back with him to the main camp.[42]

The gold from murdered Jewish mouths filled the coffers of the Third Reich; no prisoner escaped profiting the Nazis. In truth, the death camps operated as the most lucrative extension of the Nazi regime. Partially because of the vast influx of riches from Jews and political prisoners abroad, SS officers found an assignment to Auschwitz the pinnacle of good fortune. Officers preferred a life lording over the inmates of the KL to the death sentence of fighting at the Russian front or enduring the Allied bombings in more metropolitan occupied territories. In addition, the opportunity to profit from the plunder of Jewish goods "cast a strong spell over the SS men serving in Auschwitz."[43] Literally, every item known to man could be found in that camp because shipments of prisoners came

[40] Jacobs, *Dentist of Auschwitz*, 130
[41] Ibid., 142.
[42] Ibid., 148.
[43] Berenbaum and Gutman, *Anatomy of Auschwitz*, 257.

from every corner of Nazi occupied territory. A kind of greedy mania took hold over the SS men in the Auschwitz compound and it drew the attention of the Nazi officers.[44] The Nazis assigned SS *Obersturmführer* Konrad Morgen to weed out corruption within the SS personnel. Though many SS men escaped exposure, he testified to the presence of widespread corruption in Auschwitz,

> They made the impression of demoralized and brutal parasites. An examination of the [SS] lockers yielded a fortune of gold, pearls, rings, and money in all kinds of currencies. One or two lockers even contained genitals of freshly slaughter bulls, which were supposed to enhance sexual potency. I've never seen anything like that.[45]

One popular SS officer, Oskar Groening, escaped detention. Affectionately known as the "King of Dollars," his vocation required him to count and sort stolen money and send it to Germany. Supervision over SS men remained loose; and, particularly after it became clear that Germany would lose the war, theft became ubiquitous. SS men gathered wealth voraciously and functioned as the principle patrons to Auschwitz's black market. Anything in the world could be found in the confines of the camp, and the SS bartered for everything. In one instance, Groening "organized" to buy a revolver and ammunition for a fee of thirty American dollars.[46] In an environment so inundated with trade material, he easily found these goods.

[D]eath camps operated as the most lucrative extension of the Nazi regime

Auschwitz materialized as a unique milieu where all occupants in some way generated income for their Nazi masters. The camp served the special function of the Third Reich's most profitable killing center, and consequently as its the most corrupt. If anyone wanted to improve their lot within the KL, their level of privilege directly correlated to their proximity to the Nazi murders. Many sought to question the morality of the men and women who survived by the profits of their fellows' deaths, but such a plight ignores the realities of Auschwitz. The place was bestial and immense, but hosted a hierarchy that many prisoners attempted to climb in order to lengthen their lifespan. This was the way in Auschwitz, where the death factory issued forth both ashes and gold.

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[44] Rees, *New History,* 190.
[45] Ibid., 191.
[46] Ibid., 174.

Novels as Primary Sources: Historical Crusade Fiction from 1900 to 2006

by Tiffany Sakahara

Illustration of the 1187 battle at Hattin (13th century). Thomas F. Madden, ed., *Crusades: The Illustrated History* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 2004), 74.

A popular topic with writers since they occurred, the crusades continue to captivate readers regardless of contemporary geopolitical situations such as war, economic depression, and social change. **Tiffany Sakahara** examines historical crusade fiction from 1900 to 2006, emphasizing how the pressures and evolving conceptions of religion, love, sexuality, and gender of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries affected the genre. While the underlying topic of the crusades holds firm, the focus of the respective works of fiction changes significantly in response to the spirit of the time.

In 1095, Pope Urban II called for Christians to take up arms against their enemies in the East. With one fiery speech—the message of which spread throughout Europe, awoke a passion amongst peasants, and called nobles and knights to war—the First Crusade began. Encompassing dozens of countries, hundreds of years, thousands of miles, and millions of people,[1] the crusades became important, volatile, and dynamic moments in history, and almost immediately tales of glory, romance, and heroism spread, and legends were born.

Fiction reflects the attitudes of people and the evolution of culture. Language, subject, setting, and even the genders of each major character change throughout the decades and, although historians often overlook them, novels can serve as primary sources. To understand what an author chooses to write about is to understand the time during which he or she writes. Significant events such as Women's Suffrage and the Civil and Women's Rights movements, the creation of Israel after World War II, and the Vietnam War affected and still affect how authors portray these four themes in their novels: the role of history and an author's creative license, religion, love and sexuality, and gender. Twenty-six works of historical crusade fiction written from 1900 to 2006 illustrate how each novel reflects the period during which the author wrote, and specifically what crusader fiction suggests about societal changes in the past one hundred years.

History

Events around them affect all writers, whether of fiction or nonfiction. After the Ottoman Empire lost during World War I and the West and Middle East renewed contact, the number of novels that take place during the First Crusade—the most successful—generally increased every decade (fig. 1), making it the most prevalent in fiction (fig. 2). The second most popular (fig. 2), the Third Crusade frequently appears in novels during or after times of conflict between countries (fig. 1) because of the bravery and leadership of the Muslim sultan, Salah al-Din—or Saladin as he is known to the Western world—and the three western rulers who led their forces in person: Richard I of England, Phillip II of France, and Frederick I of the Holy Roman Empire.[2] The king of England, Richard the Lion-Hearted, is by far the most famous of the three—usually linked with chivalric romanticism—and has inspired writers for centuries.[3]

The public reacted differently to the many wars of the past one hundred years, and those wars started and ended for different reasons. The need to control regions for oil and the fight against terrorism spurred recent conflicts in the Middle East—those of the late 1980s and early 1990s as well as those after 11 September 2001.[4] Although polls and congressional votes sanctioned the military to implement the war in Vietnam, the division between the military and "civilian ideologies and cultures" widened as casualty numbers and resources needed rose, and international prestige plummeted.[5] World War I led to the concept of "total war," which refers to the "interrelationship between a nation's economy, its technology, and the

[1] This includes those fighting, camp followers, and the civilians in both Europe and the East.

[2] John Aberth, *A Knight at the Movies* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, Routledge, 2003), 70.

[3] A basic bibliographic search yields fifty-nine titles from 1900 to 2006.

[4] Michael B. Oren traces the United States' presence in the Middle East since 1776. Michael B. Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East: 1776 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 2007).

[5] Orrin Schwab, *A Clash of Cultures: Civil-Military Relations during the Vietnam War* (Westport, CN: Praeger Security, 2006), xi.

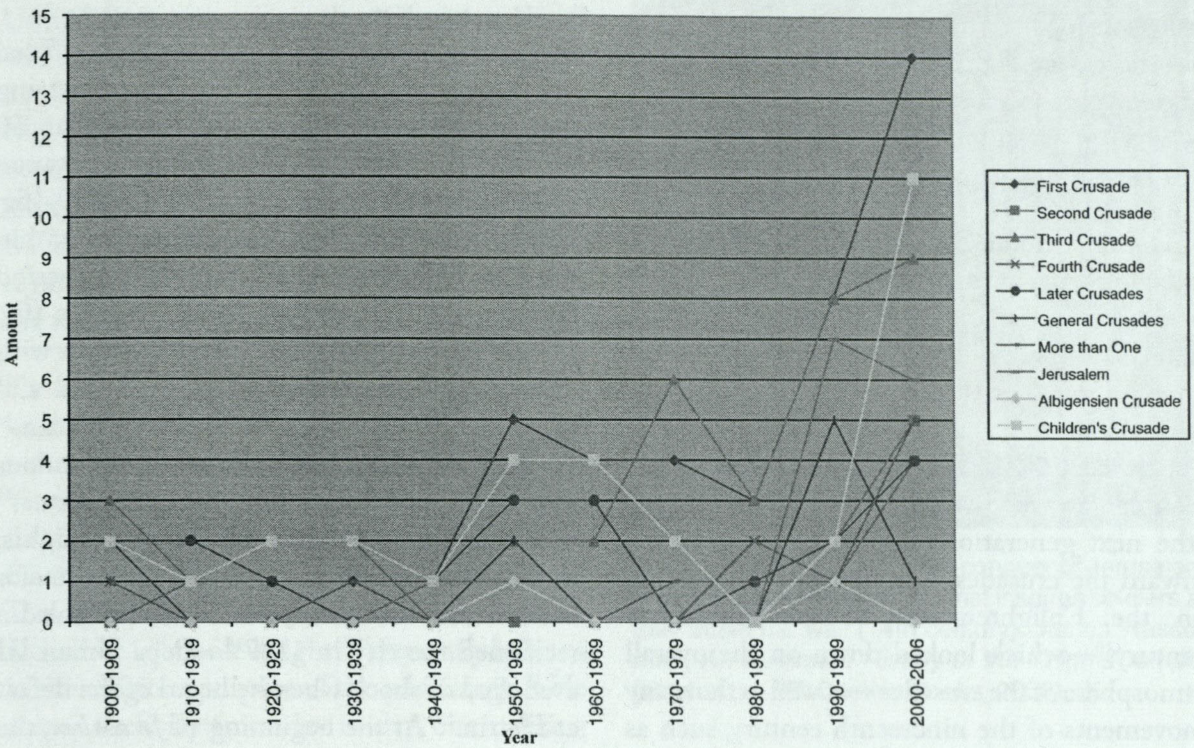


Fig. 1. Crusade Fiction by Year and Crusade.

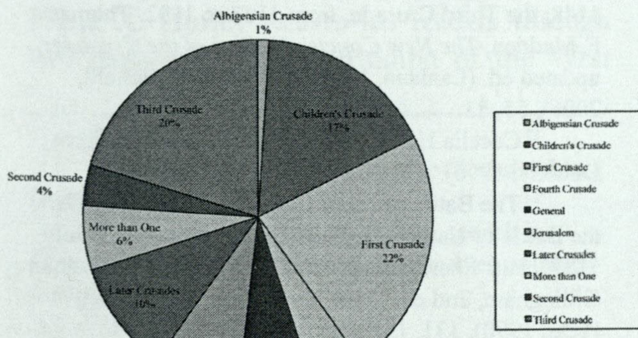


Fig. 2. Crusade Fiction by Crusade.

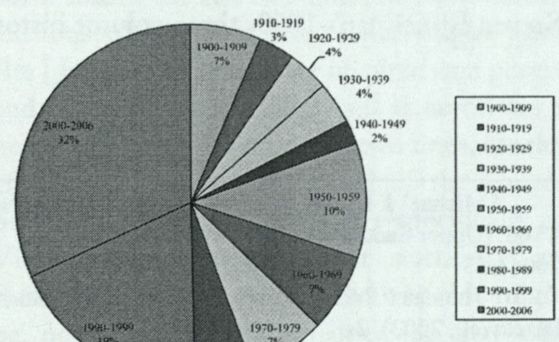


Fig. 3. Crusade Fiction by Year.

mobilization of its civilian population,"[6] and the military, public, and historians alike still consider World War II a devastating but necessary fight against evil. Changes in perspectives, reactions, and beliefs are truths of every generation, from one's parents to long ago ancestors.

Historian Thomas F. Madden discusses the "changing perspectives on the crusades."[7] He begins with the medieval popular opinion—that God sanctioned these wars against the enemies of Christ[8]—and ends with the question of how the 11 September 2001 World Trade Center attacks would affect "the next generation's approach toward the crusades."[9] In between, he touches on the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century[10]—which looked down on the overall atmosphere of the crusades—as well as the many movements of the nineteenth century, such as nationalism and romanticism. A new scholarly approach to the crusades, usually focusing on definition and crusader motivation, came with the growing number and size of universities in both Europe and the United States in the twentieth century. World War II gave rise to an aversion for war and fanatic ideology, and Sir Steven Runciman's 1950s three-volume history of the crusades still influences the modern view of the period.[11]

Saladin reclaimed the city in 1187

In the past twenty years, at least three official wars occurred in the Middle East, influencing recent interest in the crusades. More than 50 percent of crusade novels published between 1900 and the present appear after 1990 (fig. 3), and at least thirteen novels written within the last twenty-six years explore the period between the Second and Third Crusades (fig. 1).[12] *Jerusalem* (1996)[13] for example, begins with the Battle of Mont Gisard and ends with the Battle of Hattin.[14] The former was a tremendous victory for the Christians,[15] specifically the Templar Knights; the latter was a crushing loss and the last major battle before the fall of Jerusalem when Saladin reclaimed the city in 1187[16]—Pope Urban III even died of shock when he heard of the defeat at Hattin.[17] At the beginning of *Jerusalem*, the hope, the victory against odds, the confidence,

[6] Michael J. Lyons, *World War II: A Short History*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, 2004), 237.

[7] Thomas F. Madden, ed., *The Crusades* (Malden: Blackwell, 2002), 2.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., 7.

[10] The Enlightenment started around the late seventeenth century, favored human reason, and held that faith in the individual and societies created better lives. Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*, 3rd ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 64.

[11] Madden, ed., *Crusades*, 2-7; and Sir Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1951-1954).

[12] The Second Crusade took place from 1146 to 1148; the Third Crusade, from 1188 to 1192. Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades*, updated ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 55, 81.

[13] Cecelia Holland, *Jerusalem* (New York: Tom Doherty, 1996).

[14] The Battle of Mont Gisard occurred in 1177, the Battle of Hattin happened ten years later on 4 July 1187. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 131, 135.

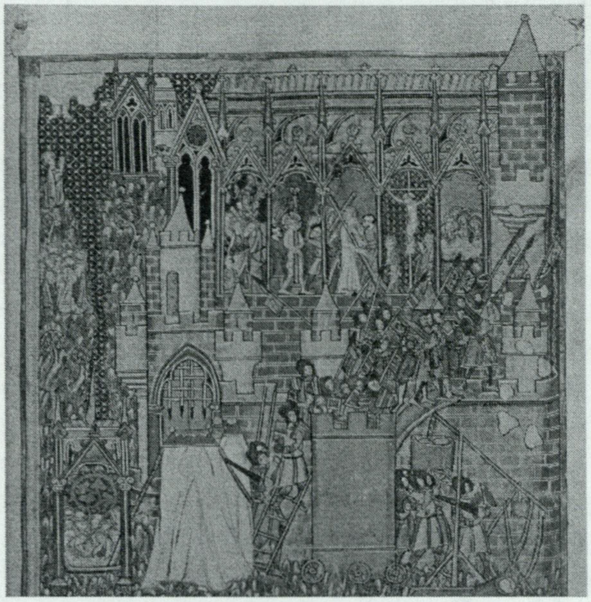
[15] Stephen Howarth, *The Knights Templar* (London: Continuum UK, 2006), 133.

[16] Mayer, *Crusades*, 135. Christian forces totaled approximately twenty thousand, including one thousand two hundred "heavily armored knights." Saladin's forces totaled approximately thirty thousand, about half of which were cavalry. Madden, *Concise History*, 74.

[17] Mayer, *Crusades*, 139.

and then the slow decline of power and control in the region are all indicative of a post-Vietnam United States, in which the "Christian West" will not always win, be armed better, or have larger numbers. Even when it seems victory will remain on the side of the West at the beginning, this feeling does not last. There are always repercussions: the loss of Hattin led to the loss of Jerusalem, and the Christians never regained the dominance they once enjoyed in the region.[18]

The Crusader (1975)[19] is an example of how world events have a bearing on the setting of a novel. Written during the later years of the Vietnam War, the story follows a young knight through the First Crusade to the victory of the Christians with their capture of Jerusalem.[20] Throughout the story, the hero, whose nickname is "monk-knight,"[21] fervently believes in the religious purpose of the pilgrimage.[22] He moves tirelessly from day to day, internalizing what happens around him—the deaths, the greed, and the squabbles of those in power—to understand how it relates to God, Christianity, and the crusade.[23] In the end, the West is victorious through numerous battles against the Muslims, gaining Latin states including the Holy Land.[24] In the epilogue, author Frank X. Hurley weaves his readers through two paragraphs of the triumph of the West



In this illustration of the 1099 conquer of Jerusalem, a vision of the Passion of Christ inspires soldiers as they scale the wall (14th century). James Wasserman, *An Illustrated History of the Knights Templar* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 2006), 35.

over "the Infidels" on the plains of Ascalon just a month after the capture of Jerusalem, despite the latter's superior numbers. Though surrounded by a Muslim empire, the crusaders proclaimed a king, Western Christians journeyed to the Holy Land, and children were born. But in the last two lines, he removes any illusions of grandeur the reader might have: "Its [Jerusalem's] existence inspired one people and discouraged another. And it stood for a hundred years."[25] With those two lines, Hurley effectively sums up the mood of the United States at the time: that war—specifically in Vietnam—and struggles for authority are futile. No matter how powerful one side might be, no matter how often one side may win, peace, dominance, and prosperity will not last forever, and it is not always for the betterment of people on either side.

[18] Madden, *Concise History*, 76.

[19] Frank X. Hurley, *The Crusader* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1975).

[20] Pope Urban II made his famous speech in Clermont in 1095; the crusaders captured Jerusalem in 1099.

[21] Ibid., 7.

[22] Any resemblance to the word 'crusade' did not appear until the mid-thirteenth century—and then seldom—before then, there was little distinction between pilgrimages and crusades, but the former was most common. Mayer, *Crusades*, 14.

[23] Hurley, *Crusader*, 40-2, 66-7, 77-9.

[24] Christian crusaders commonly referred to Jerusalem as the Holy Land.

[25] Ibid., 102.

World events also influence character choice, such as in *Knight with Armour* (1950),[26] which Alfred Duggan wrote just after World War II. It is about an ordinary man, Roger, who goes on the First Crusade; he has a horse and armor, but he does not have the proper type, so his superiors relegate him to second-class knight status: above the common foot soldier but below the nobles.[27] He achieves neither fortune nor fame and the author chronicles Roger's everyday trials—skirmishes and battles with Muslims, hunger, thirst, and sickness—in almost tedious detail.[28] The story ends as the crusaders breach the walls of Jerusalem, Roger dies, "and his spirit took flight. The pilgrimage was complete."[29] Similar to World War II soldiers, Duggan's main character was one of thousands who went to battle hoping for glory but instead found death, disease, and chaos.[30] Like the D-Day invasion on the shores of Normandy, each soldier—many of whom, like Roger, remain anonymous—played a part in victory, even if just contributing to sheer numbers.[31]

According to a note at the beginning of his novel, T. J. Koll wrote *The Sultan* (2004)[32] as a direct result of the 11 September 2001 World Trade Center attacks. He wanted to write a story based on actual people and events to listen "to their voices" as well as "honor them and those of us in the modern day who have inherited the struggle for peace."[33] This novel is about Saladin, beginning ten to fifteen years before he became sultan and ending with the capture of Jerusalem.[34] Saladin is easily the most famous of the Muslim sultans of the crusades; his character enables an author to portray him sympathetically.[35] This is what many writers of late have tried to do as a result of 9/11, after which people reacted out of fear and misunderstanding, lashing out at anyone who looked like those who attacked the United States.[36] A politically correct world mandates a standard of propriety, of surface respect for others that, even if not largely expressed, is the ideal goal of many, including Koll, whose overcompensation is a reaction to that prejudice of a post-9/11 era.

The Sultan (2004) is also a perfect example of how world events affect the creative license an author takes when writing a novel. Koll portrays Saladin as a just, kind, and almost innocent man, as well as a brilliant leader.[37] He omits any negative traits that a more than receptive

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26 Alfred Duggan, *Knight with Armour* (London: Faber and Faber, 1950).

27 Ibid., 30.

28 Ibid., 52, 99-100, et passim.

29 Ibid., 306.

30 In a collection of about two hundred out of one thousand four hundred D-Day oral history transcripts collected and archived by the Eisenhower Center, Stephen Ambrose writes in his foreword that these are stories "of courage, of slaughter, of pathos, of breakdown." *Voices of D-Day: The Story of the Allied Invasion Told by Those Who Were There*, ed. Ronald J. Drez (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), xvi, xi.

31 Barrett Tillman, *Brassey's D-Day Encyclopedia: The Normandy Invasion A-Z* (Dulles: Brassey's, 2004), s.v. "Casualties."

32 T. J. Koll, *The Sultan* (Westerville, OH: Winterwolf, 2004).

33 Ibid., 9.

34 Ibid., 267.

35 When Saladin captured Jerusalem, he allowed safe passage to the coast for those who could pay, four Syrian priests could continue to hold services in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and he allowed ten Hospitaller Knights to maintain their hospital for another year. Mayer, *Crusades*, 136.

36 Jay Tolson, "After Shared National Tragedy," *U.S. News & World Report*, 24 September 2001, 50-2; Kenneth L. Woodward, "A Peaceful Faith, a Fanatic Few," *Newsweek*, 24 September 2001, 66-8; and David Van Biema and Hilary Hylton, "The True Values of Islam; One God and One Nation," *Time Magazine*, 25 September 2001, 39.

37 Koll, *Sultan*, 47-53, 55-62, 65-7, 73-4, 80-2, 91-5, 108-10, 116-24, 137-9, 147-53.

audience might pursue.[38] For instance, at the end of the actual Battle of Hattin, Saladin ordered the execution of the surviving Templar and Hospitaller Knights and he beheaded Reynald de Châtillon.[39] and he beheaded Reynald de Châtillon. In the novel, an injured Reynald escapes,[40] and Saladin allows the remaining knights and men to retreat to Jerusalem,[41] the former to receive medical care, the latter because the citizens of the city needed as much help as possible. When Saladin finally confronts Reynald, it is Raymond of Tripoli who kills him;[42] in the end, both want him dead out of revenge, but the author chose to make Saladin more forgiving. At a time when overt anti-Muslim sentiments ran high,[43] the author compensated by portraying Saladin in the best light possible.

Wars and movements—whether social, political, or artistic—affect how societies perceive the past and this, as well as the available historiography, influences the settings and characters an author chooses, as well as how closely he or she keeps to historical fact. Alfred Duggan, an Englishman, lived through World War II, during which bombings in England killed around sixty thousand civilians between 1940 and 1945, and at least eighty-six thousand more were injured. In London alone, "more than 100,000 houses [were destroyed and] a third of the city…had been razed."[44] Frank X. Hurley wrote his book toward the end of the Vietnam War, which gave him nearly fifteen years of the war to protest; and T. J. Koll is an American who lived through the 9/11 World Trade Center Attacks. Each event influenced how the authors described war, chose characters, and how they acted or reacted to and within the crusades.

Religion

Religion changed over the past one hundred years; by the early twentieth century, most historians felt that the elimination of church influences within public schools damaged the religious literacy of Americans and these transformations permeated both society and fiction.[45] The decline of the authority of the Bible and religion is evident in the 1925 Scopes Trial, which questioned a Tennessee law that forbade the teaching of evolution. Undoubtedly guilty—defendant John T. Scopes broke the law—the purpose was to put fundamentalism on the defensive.[46] And, while during the Great Depression a connection existed between economic difficulties and attendance at church services,[47] the truth of the matter remains: the pope of yesterday could stir a religious fervor that the pope of today could never hope to match. For example, on 15 May 2007, Doubleday Books released *Jesus of Nazareth* by Pope Benedict XVI, while two

38 In a post-9/11 America, that is.

39 Saladin had at least 230 knights beheaded by any Muslim who lined up to do so. Dr. Helen Nicholson and Dr. David Nicolle, *God's Warriors: Knights Templar, Saracens, and the Battle for Jerusalem* (Oxford: Osprey Publishers, 2005), 72.

40 Koll, *Sultan*, 225. In the novel, Saladin is the one who gravely injures Reynald, but Raymond of Tripoli saves him before Saladin can kill him.

41 Ibid., 232.

42 Ibid., 261.

43 Articles still appear in news magazines about the challenges that Muslims face post-9/11; *Time* even runs an occasional statistic in their numbers section. "Numbers," *Time Magazine*, 14 June 2007, 21; and Lisa Miller, "American Dreamers," *Newsweek*, 30 July 2007, 25-33.

44 Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (New York: Random House, Anchor Books, 2003), 734; and I. C. B. Dear and M. R. D. Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), s.v. "UK."

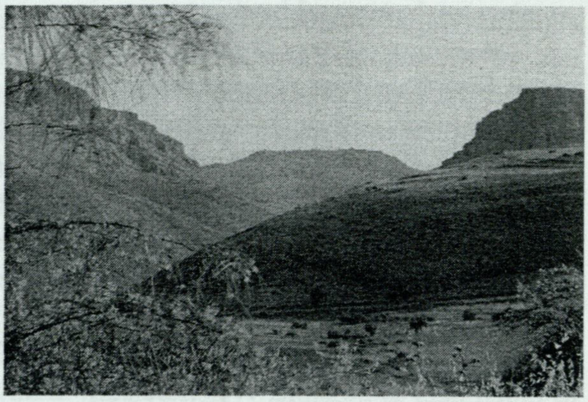
45 Stephen Prothero, *Religious Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know—and Doesn't* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2007), 99.

46 Brinkley, *Unfinished Nation*, 723.

47 Salo W. Baron, "Impact of Wars on Religion," *Political Science Quarterly* 67 (December 1952): 535.

weeks before, Hachette Book Group released Christopher Hitchens' *God Is Not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything*; as of August 2007, the former was number twenty-three on the *New York Times* Best-Seller List, while the latter reached number five.[48] According to Boston University Department of Religion Chair Stephen Prothero, America is "one of the most religious countries" in the world, but it is not "a nation of religious literates."[49] Most modern Americans follow and practice their faiths, but few truly understand or integrate it into everyday lives and ways of thinking. In contrast, religious education in Europe is compulsory, and students could probably pass a quiz set forth by Prothero that tests basic elements of all the major religions. Despite this, they are "far less likely than Americans to join and attend houses of worship or to believe in heaven and hell."[50]

Additionally, the new warfare introduced during World War I ushered in an era of realism that settled into the psyche of people around the world. Nightmares of fallen comrades raised questions of purpose, creating struggles with faith: whether one was worthy and whether one's sins were too great for even God to forgive. According to professor Salo Baron, a scholar of Jewish history, "[World War I] set in motion…the contrary quest for new religious absolutes."[51] Generations past maintained that God is all-forgiving, but newer generations doubt this as fact. Whether or not he is magnanimous, his role in fiction is constantly changing, because there is so little real understanding of religious teachings, and there is a general inability to properly convey the religious fervor of the crusades.



The Horns of Hattin. Photo by Erich Lessing, ca. 2005. James Wasserman, *An Illustrated History of the Knights Templar* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 2006), 86.

In *The Crusader* (1973), religion is the primary motivation for the main character; however, his belief in God and his faith in the pilgrimage are so strong, it is almost disturbing. The author implies that "monk-knight" murders two fellow knights and a priest who spoke against the pilgrimage and questioned its purpose, specifically its religious aspects.[52] Hurley further asserts that his character helps orchestrate the finding of the Holy Lance in Antioch[53] in order to inspire the men and keep them on their ay to Jerusalem.[54] In the United States, after nearly forty years of constant

[48] As of August 2007, on Amazon.com, *Jesus of Nazareth* had sixty-seven customer reviews while *God Is Not Great* had 481. Pope Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth* (New York: Doubleday, 2007); Christopher Hitchens, *God Is Not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything* (New York: Twelve Books, Hachette Book Group, 2007); see also "Hardcover Nonfiction Best-Seller List," *New York Times*, 26 August 2007 [online newspaper], available from http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/26/books/bestseller/0826besthardnonfiction.html.

[49] Prothero, *Religious Literacy*, 1.

[50] Ibid., 1, 27-8.

[51] Baron, "Impact of Wars on Religion," 572.

[52] Hurley, *Crusader*, 39-42.

[53] A real event that pushed the crusaders on, despite the widespread knowledge that there was already a Holy Lance in Constantinople. Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History: The Roots of Conflict between Christianity and Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 224.

[54] Hurley, *Crusader*, 66-7.

warfare,[55] anti-war attitudes spread throughout the country; Hurley's character parallels this sentiment in that he is a man of faith who is nearly desperate to keep the cause alive among a tiring group of soldiers. He represents the onward push of those men in government who continued the war in Vietnam, despite opposition both at home and abroad.[56] Hurley's character killed the opposition; the United States government set up a draft and sent their opposition to war.[57] "Monk-knight" helped create the illusion of the Holy Lance; the government stifled events of the war, including the bombings of Cambodia.[58]

God and religion maintain a constant presence in both *The Brethren: A Tale of the Crusades* (1904)[59] and *Knight with Armour* (1950), but the treatment is different. In the former, there are four main characters: Godwin and Wulf, brothers both in love with Rosamund who is in love with the latter.[60] The fourth character is Masouda, who falls in love with Godwin. In the end, when Godwin learns of Masouda's death and realizes too late that he is in love with her, he becomes a monk, devoting himself to God.[61] In the latter novel, Roger goes to mass, befriends a priest, confesses his sins, and is shrived before battles.[62]

God is all-forgiving

Religion in *The Brethren* is more symbolic, woven within the language author H. Rider Haggard uses, while it is more practical in *Knight with Armour*. Romanticism still held sway over artists of all kinds, including Haggard who identified with the "new romance," novelists who, beginning in 1887, mostly produced historical romances with the idea that these stories were fantastical fairytales for the longing and daydreams of adults.[63] Realism, however, especially as a result of the World Wars, gripped Duggan; God remained in the background, but he played a smaller role.

A major internal obstacle that the main character of *Jerusalem* (1996) had to overcome was his crisis of faith. His fellow knights call him Saint because of his strict adherence to Templar rules, especially regarding women: he neither looks at nor speaks with them, specifically Princess Sibylla.[64] Contrary to the beliefs of those who observe this behavior, however, he does this because he does not trust himself otherwise—not out of false piety or superiority.[65] He once led a life of sin for which he cannot forgive himself, and he is not sure that he has completely overcome temptation. Throughout the novel, the reader catches glimpses of this former person in his thoughts and memories, but one also sees the man he

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[55] Starting with World War II in 1941 and ending with the Vietnam War in 1975.

[56] According to Schwab, for every pro-war argument made by military and government officials, the growing anti-war movement made a better counter-argument. Schwab, *Clash of Cultures*, 128-31.

[57] George Donelson Moss, *Vietnam, an American Ordeal*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2006), 458; and James Miller and John Thompson, *National Geographic: Almanac of American History* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2005), 285.

[58] In 1969, President Nixon ordered the bombing of the Cambodian territory to destroy enemy sanctions, which he kept from Congress and the public. Brinkley, *Unfinished Nation*, 961.

[59] H. Rider Haggard, *The Brethren: A Tale of the Crusades* (London: Cassell, 1904).

[60] Ibid., 38-9, 282-3.

[61] Ibid., 210-1, 303-4, 318.

[62] Duggan, *Knight with Armour*, 29, 214-7. "Shrive" is the act of a priest to "hear the confession of, assign penance to, and absolve (someone)." *The New Oxford American Dictionary*, 2001, s.v. "shrive."

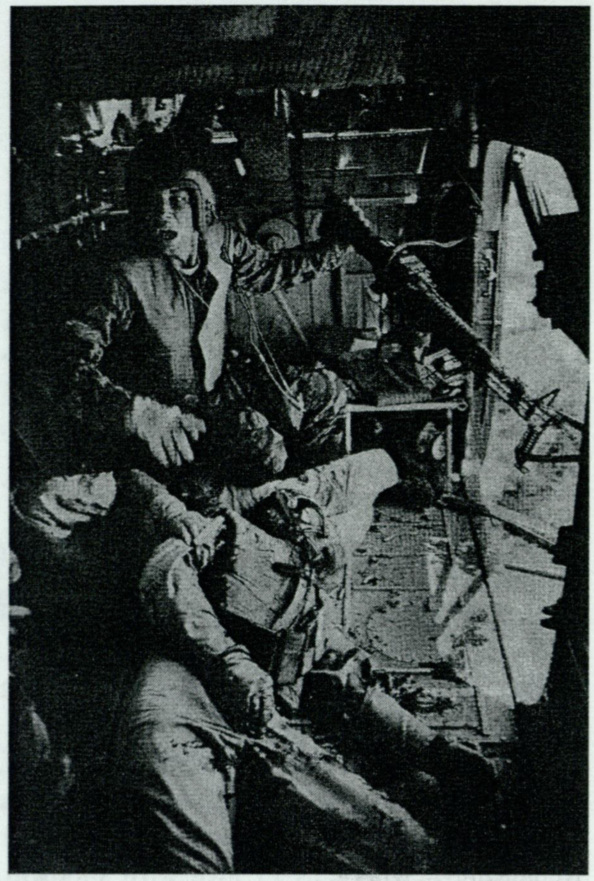
[63] Peter Keating, "A Woven Tapestry of Interests," in *Edwardian and Georgian Fiction*, ed. Harold Bloom (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2005), 194, 201.

[64] Holland, *Jerusalem*, 14, 41, 277.

[65] Ibid., passim.

tries to become.[66] This struggle—one between good and evil, right and wrong, and human desires—is something everyone experiences,[67] but it is the guilt and remorse over his past that lead to Saint's salvation.

Times of adversity greatly affect a person's ability to see God. People search for religion in times of war,[68] and the tremendous advances in technology that made it more atrocious furthered this search for answers. Army chaplains in Iraq struggle with their faiths; one writes in his journal, "Can [I] keep doing this? Is the pain & the heartache worth it?...God, please let me look to you and no other."[69] Another says that, "[t]here's no way that questions of faith don't come up in an atmosphere like this."[70] In a post-Enlightenment world, answers seem harder to find. Authors deal with religion in relation to the times during which they write their novels, betraying what he or she and probably the general public feel toward and understand about religion.



Wounded U.S. soldiers huddle aboard a helicopter in Vietnam, 1965. Kelly Knauer, ed., *America: An Illustrated Modern History, 1900-2007* (New York: TIME Books, 2007), 73.

Love and Sexuality

Rarely is there a story in which there is not some form of love; if it is not a major plot point, then it is somewhere in the background, and crusader fiction is no exception. Love is one of the most important emotions humans feel; it is a motivation for marriage, for murder, for family, for betrayal, and for regret. Love can influence where a person goes to school, work, and live; whom one chooses to know or continue knowing; and where one spends time and what one does to spend it. Whether familial, fraternal, or romantic, love and sexuality as novel themes have grown in importance over the past one hundred years. In the last century, there exists a growing acceptance of sexuality and sex outside of wedlock and in the media,

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66 Ibid., 19, 29-30, 138-9, 154.

67 A common scene in cartoons is the angel on one side and the devil on the other, with the man or animal in the middle, deciding who to follow. This is basically a representation of the Id (temptation), the Superego (common sense), and the Ego (self), which Freud created as an explanation for the warring desires in humans. Gary R. VanderBos, PhD, ed., *American Psychological Association Dictionary of Psychology* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2006), 316, 462, 909.

68 As William Thomas Cummings said, "There are no atheists in the foxholes." Fred Shapiro, ed., *The Yale Book of Quotations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 182.

69 Eve Conant, "Faith under Fire," *Newsweek*, 7 May 2007, 28.

70 Ibid., 29.

Manuscript illustration from the early 13th century depicts a pious crusader kneeling in prayer. Thomas F. Madden, ed., *Crusades: The Illustrated History* (Ann Arbor: University Press, 2004), 156.

as well as falling marriage rates.[71] This change in culture affects, among other things, fashion, vocabulary, lifestyle, and literature. In the early 1900s, the Western world began shaking free of the legendary prudishness of the Victorian Era, which—though there is evidence of "what went on behind closed doors"[72]—was "whatever the [Victorian] middle-class…attempted to hide…or deny."[73] The Roaring Twenties brought the Flapper, an independent, liberated, and uninhibited young woman;[74] Hippies appeared in the 1960s, representing peace, free love, and drugs;[75] and recent studies show changing attitudes toward homosexuality.

One can trace the evolution of all such elements in fiction throughout the century. For example, there is fraternal affection and respect in *Durandal: A Crusader in the Horde* (1931),[76] especially once the character Donn Dera finds Durandal—a fabled sword akin to Excalibur, which only the worthy can wield. Donn Dera, however, is not worthy, even though he searched for years; it is the main character, Sir Hugh, who can wield the sword. After a moment of disappointment and resignation, the man chooses to stay with the knight because of his love for him,[77] a selfless and uncomplicated gesture of acceptance that most writers of today choose to forgo.

In *The Sultan* (2004), Raymond of Tripoli's infidelity while his wife gives birth to their daughter both strengthens and weakens the friendship between him and Reynald de Châtillon. Reynald helps him through his grief and guilt when they both die in childbirth, but his support also leads to Reynald's death at Raymond's hands nearly twenty years later when the latter can no longer remain beholden to the former for keeping his secrets. It is also their collaboration that puts into place all the pieces that lead to the Christian

[71] As of 2006, divorce rates are actually at their "lowest since 1970"; marriage, however, "is down 30% since 1970, with the number of unmarried couples living together up 10-fold since 1960." "The State of Divorce: You May Be Surprised," *Time Magazine*, 21 May 2007, 16.

[72] Milton Rugoff, *Prudery and Passion* (New York: Putnam, 1971), 245.

[73] Andrew H. Miller and James Eli Adams, eds., introduction to *Sexualities in Victorian Britain* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 1.

[74] Norton et al., *Since 1865*, 680.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Harold Lamb, *Durandal: A Crusader in the Horde* (West Kingston, RI: D. M. Grant, 1981).

[77] Ibid., 48-51, 80-1.

loss of Jerusalem to Saladin.[78] In the end, the friendship between Raymond and Reynald proves destructive to everyone around them, including themselves, because they each use the other to gain something: power, title, or loyalty.

The major theme in *Crusader King: A Novel of Baldwin IV and the Crusades* (2003)[79] is the fictional love between King Baldwin IV and his best friend, Theo, as well as his love for his people.[80] In the prologue of the novel, Baldwin, Theo, and their fathers bring money to disperse amongst the colony of lepers in Jerusalem. Though afraid at first, Baldwin approaches them with the money and sees their adoration. His fears replaced with love, he kneels before each one and kisses their hands.[81] The novel resumes a few years later as Baldwin shows early signs of the disease, and Theo is training to be a Templar Knight. At the end, Baldwin dies and Theo develops leprosy.[82] Author Susan Peek uses the disease and characters to symbolize fortitude and acceptance, because it is the two most altruistic and philanthropic characters of the novel who contract leprosy. Baldwin, though deformed by the disease, remained courageous and loving, and he retained his right to the throne because he ruled for his people, not for the mere sake of power.[83] Theo's unfailing love for Baldwin caused him to stay by his side despite the latter's illness, protecting him until the end. At a time when fear for self and of others runs high, Peek encourages fraternity without regrets. While afraid at first, both men press on because of love and duty, despite the consequences, and they refuse to give up, giving each other strength for one to be a king and the other to be a knight. The pressures around them are complex, but through all of it, their friendship never wavers, and even grows stronger in the face of adversity.

Stephen J. Rivele explores the complications between a man and a woman in *A Booke of Days: A Novel of the Crusades* (1997),[84] where the lust the main character—Roger, Duke of Lunel—feels for his wife drives him to the First Crusade. Roger is friendly with her previous husband, but despite the love he holds for the other man, he cannot ignore the mutual passion between himself and his friend's wife. Soon after they begin their affair, the husband dies, and after a suitable amount of time, Roger and the widow marry. The author contrasts Roger's love for this woman with that of another he meets on the crusade.[85] The first is dark, passionate, and destructive, based mostly on sex and obsession: "What do I know of love who have [*sic*] never felt it except in my loins?" he asks himself.[86] The second is a forbidden love with a Muslim woman, based on a respect and kindness that reminds him of past feelings of holiness and innocence, before his wife and before the crusade.[87]

important moments in *Jerusalem* (1996) is when Saint refuses full participation in a Templar ritual because he realizes that he has fallen in love with Sibylla, for which he is angry with both himself and God.[88] Later, he asks Stephen, one of his fellow knights

[78] Koll, *Sultan*, 21-3, 33, 97-101, 164-7.

[79] Susan Peek, *Crusader King: A Novel of Baldwin IV and the Crusades* (Rockford: Tan Books, 2003).

[80] Baldwin IV reigned from 1177 to 1185. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987; New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2005), 101.

[81] Peek, *Crusader King*, 1-4.

[82] Ibid, 190-1.

[83] This is in spite of those who advised him to step down because of his disease in favor of his sister, Sibylla.

[84] Stephen J. Rivele, *A Booke of Days: A Novel of the Crusades* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1997).

[85] Ibid., 19-24, 287.

[86] Ibid., 257.

[87] Ibid., 301, 309-83.

[88] Holland, *Jerusalem*, 143-4.

and the man to whom he is closest, to shrive him; when Saint confesses to be in love with a woman, and Stephen asks if he is contrite, Saint replies that he is not. "Can I absolve you, then?" his friend asks, and he replies, "No."[89] He resists giving into his feelings, but there is a moment toward the end when he is just a man and she is just a woman, but then that moment is over, and he is once again a Templar Knight and she the queen of Jerusalem.[90] That moment, as well as every event leading up to his beheading after the Battle of Hattin, allows him to forgive himself and understand God's love.[91] In both novels, it is the main character's love for a woman that makes him question his worthiness in the eyes of God, causing him to struggle even more with his faith; but in the end, it is also that love—or one better, purer—that allows him clarity and lends him the ability to understand that his struggle made him worthy.

[T]heir friendship never waivers

There are few mainstream novels that deal openly with homosexuality, but beginning twenty years ago that number continues to grow, reflecting the maturing acceptance of gays in society.[92] *Jerusalem* (1996) contains homosexual characters—most of whom are Templar Knights, such as Preceptor German de Montoya, and one of the major characters, Stephen de L'Aigle—who are accepted by those who know in their order.[93] They are present but unimportant to the plot or social commentary on the part of the author, which may be a statement in itself—their inclusion without making reference to any social stigma—that acceptance of homosexuality is disseminating.

Mel Keegan's *White Rose of Night* (1997)[94] specifically centers on homosexuality. It does not take place in an alternate universe where everyone accepts and explores homosexuality; instead it deals with the fears of those who are gay, as well as those who are not. The two main characters are a knight and squire who fall in love. The squire accepts his sexuality, realizing that he might be damned, but that he has done too much to turn back. The knight is unsure and afraid, not necessarily of his feelings for the other man, but of what could happen to them if anyone found out, as well as for their souls. There is even a moment in the novel when the squire is sick and the knight thinks it is because of their consummated passion.[95] Throughout the story, it is their love for one another that motivates them to survive battles and capture. In the end, the knight marries a woman out of convenience—they are both unwed—and protection for both: for her because she is an older woman without family and nowhere to go, for him because he loves a man and they need to disguise their relationship from those who would condemn them. In the epilogue, the squire is an old monk in a monastery, having moved there when his knight died, intent on recording his love for a man.[96]

The setting in Keegan's novel is a war motivated by the intolerance of other religions and races in which Christians fought to spread their faith and territory, a time of knights, fighting, and killing—all things stereotypically masculine.[97]

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89 Ibid., 178-9.

90 Ibid., 281. Sibylla became queen in 1186 after the death of her son, King Baldwin V. Riley-Smith, *Crusades: A History*, 109.

91 Holland, *Jerusalem*, 317-8.

92 A basic bibliographic search on homosexuality in fiction yields nearly three hundred novels between 1900 and 2006.

93 Ibid., 62-4.

94 Mel Keegan, *White Rose of Night* (England: Gay Men's Press, 1997).

95 Ibid., 64-5, 67, 87.

96 Ibid., 7-8, 280, 282.

97 Gender stereotypes are roles and actions men and women should demonstrate; "men should be assertive and women should be sensitive to the needs

And even though there is an overlapping of gender roles, such ideas sustained both the test of time and the evolution of culture.[98] Ironically, in the midst of such intolerance and testosterone, a love story exists between two homosexual men—whom society stereotypically portray as effeminate—who fight for a religion that condemns them. According to psychologist Gary Taylor, sex between men probably existed from the beginning of human history. Social historians documented that its negative reputation in the church began by at least the Middle Ages, and that "between the fourteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, hundreds of thousands of men were executed…for engaging in the act of sodomy [which merited] a tortuous death by…burning, fatal castration or being slowly dismembered alive or eaten by dogs."[99]

Statue from the 12th century shows the reunion of a husband and wife after his return from many years in Muslim captivity. Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 167.

Fraternal, familial, and romantic love—whether between two people of the opposite or same sex—are important themes in literature. Fraternal love is a given in war novels, as men are the ones who fight and form a bond from shared experiences, if not a common background. Familial and romantic loves are each important aspects of novels, and the crusades are becoming more common as the setting for conflicts within and between families, as well as among couples. As time passes, homosexuality is also becoming a more common theme, exploring the possibility that these relationships are normal—the idea behind lesbian and gay awareness training, which, as proposed by Psychologist Elizabeth Peel, comes from the belief that such negative attitudes by the general public "can be challenged and changed through education"

of others" and other such things that go with either attribute. Deborah A. Prentice and Erica Carranza, "Sustaining Cultural Beliefs in the Face of Their Violation: The Case of Gender Stereotypes," in *The Psychological Foundations of Culture*, ed. Mark Schaller and Christian S. Crandall (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 259.

98 Ibid.

99 Gary Taylor, "Psychopathology and the Social and Historical Construction of Gay Male Identities," in *Lesbian and Gay Psychology: New Perspectives*, ed. Adrian Coyle and Celia Kitzinger (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 156.

Female welders during World War II, January 1942. Robert Andreas, ed., *100 Events that Shook Our World: A History in Pictures of the Last 100 Years* (New York: Life Books, 2005), 59.

and through increased exposure "to the realities of lesbian and gay lives."[100]

Gender

Over the past one hundred years, movements greatly altered the role of women, both in life and fiction. The twentieth century started with the Victorian Era, moved through Women's Suffrage and the Twenties Flapper, sailed through the domestic Fifties, Civil Rights, and Hippies, and ended with the continuing struggle between career woman, wife, and mother. Each of these changes altered the way society perceived women, and how they saw themselves. Written before the volatile sixties, for example, no women appear in *Durandal* (1931); the novel is really an adventure story of men during the crusades. There are two main women in *The Brethren* (1904), but like most novels of the day, their appearance only serves to fulfill a necessary component in "Adventure and Romance" stories; in this case, one is a pawn in a much larger game involving men and the other is a foreigner who survives as an orphaned girl in a male-dominated environment and eventually dies.[101] Before women's suffrage movements, women lost their individual rights to fathers, brothers, or husbands;[102] the one woman who is independent in *The Brethren* is from a different culture, falls in love with one of the brothers, but eventually dies because of her independence and that love.[103]

During World War II, women joined the workforce, influenced by the iconography of Rosie the Riveter and patriotism.[104] When the men came home from the war, most women went back into the domestic sphere with June Cleaver as a new role model.[105] This theme plays out in *Knight with Armour* (1950) where the only women are the wives and their servants who follow their husbands on the crusade. Roger meets one of these women—recently widowed—and they soon marry.[106] Her part is small and unimportant, except for the purpose of giving Roger a person to care for and with whom to interact. Her role is to look after the household they create in the various places they inhabit while on the crusade, and his is to put her interest before his when he makes career moves—which wall to defend, which leader to follow, where to lay camp. In the end, she betrays Roger by leaving him for his cousin, whom he met on the crusade and trusts implicitly.[107]

[100] Elizabeth Peel, "Lesbian and Gay Awareness Training: Challenging Homophobia, Liberalism, and Managing Stereotypes," in Coyle and Kitzinger, *Lesbian and Gay Psychology*, 255.

[101] Haggard, *The Brethren*, 2-4, 103-5, 210, 303

[102] John K. Roth, ed., *Encyclopedia of Social Issues* 6 vols. (Tarrytown, NY: Marshall Cavendish, 1977), s.v. "Feminism."

[103] Haggard, *The Brethren*, 73-4, 285, 297.

[104] Brinkley, *Unfinished Nation*, 828. The famous wartime image that symbolized the importance of the female industrial worker.

[105] The ideal but fictional 1950s housewife and mother in the television show, *Leave It to Beaver*, Universal Studios, 1957-1963, played by Barbara Billingsley.

[106] Duggan, *Knight with Armour*, 72-87.

[107] Ibid., 213, 221-3, 247-50.

In a more overt contrast, the main female character in *Knights of the Black and White* (2006)[108] is Alice, daughter of King Baldwin II, Princess of Jerusalem. While her older sister Melisende is exotically beautiful, obedient, and nothing else;[109] Alice is cunning, clever, and quick-witted. Her mother teaches her, unwittingly, how to manipulate men through sex and her sexuality, which she uses to gain and retain power; the author even introduces her in a section called, "The Temptress."[110] Nearly every scene with Alice contains an underlying tone of sexuality and manipulation of men; she forces one to forsake his vow of chastity and causes another's murder[111]—both were men of the church. Her psychology is complex—stemming from the fact that she is the second of four girls, and the only one ignored by her mother[112]—but her methodology is commonplace.

Though written more than fifty years apart, both Roger's wife and Princess Alice are what society presumes women to be: Eve to her Adam. In her study on the evolution of the Biblical Eve and her influence on society, Pamela Norris writes that even now the image created by theologians nearly two thousand years ago remains, and that "Eve is synonymous with Woman [and she] stands accused of vanity, moral weakness and sexual frailty, while Adam/Man's role in the transaction can be summarized by the familiar defense: 'She led him on.'"[113] Women's struggle with this perception is evident throughout history. It appears in such obvious places as politics and society, but also in cultural areas of art and literature. For example, almost two hundred years ago, Jane Austen pointed out through one of her heroines that man's portrayal of her tainted the image of women in fiction. "Men have had every advantage of us in telling their own story," Austen wrote. "Education has been theirs in so much higher a degree; the pen has been in their hands. I will not allow books to prove anything [about women]."[114] Even today, similar to the early 1800s, women must fight against their portrayal in literature. Though writers create them as multi-dimensional, women still, more often than not, appear as the temptress.

In *Jerusalem* (1996), Sibylla and her mother, Agnes, represent the two struggling ideologies of mother and independent woman,[115] something that has had a presence throughout history, but which women's liberation movements augmented and made more prevalent in fiction. "It's better to have a man than not,"[116] Agnes tells her daughter as she neglects her son and refuses to remarry. But Sibylla wants her next marriage to work to her advantage because she knows that she will be queen someday and wants to rule through a loyal husband.[117] "You make being a woman so small and narrow...I want more than that,"[118] she tells her mother.

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108 Jack Whyte, *Knights of the Black and White* (New York: Penguin Group, Jove, 2007).

109 Ibid., 369. In reality, Melisende ruled as Queen Regent of Jerusalem for more than twenty years, seven of which after her son came of age; Alice married Price Bohemond of Antioch and attempted for seven years to become regent after his death. Jonathan Phillips, "The Latin East: 1098-1291," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; reissue, 2001), 120-1.

110 Whyte, *Knights of the Black and White*, 348-450, 369, 372-81

111 Ibid., 442, 458-60, 578-81, 734-5

112 Ibid., 368-72.

113 Pamela Norris, *Eve: A Biography* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 4-5.

114 Jane Austen, *Persuasion* (Ann Arbor: Borders Group, Borders Classics, 2007), 187.

115 Holland, *Jerusalem*, 48-9.

116 Ibid., 184.

117 Ibid., 39-40, 49-50, 54, 136-7, 183-4, 192.

118 Ibid., 50

The sinful "Eve" image is prevalent in modern art. *The Sin,* color lithograph by Edvard Munch, 1901. Rita Gilbert, *Living with Art,* 3rd ed. (New York: Knopf, 1992), 228.

Two books that reflect changing conceptions of the evolving gender roles during the late twentieth century and are specifically about strong women of the crusades are: *Queen of Swords* (1997)[119] and *Duchess of Aquitaine* (2006).[120] The former chronicles the rise and fall from power of Melisende, Queen of Jerusalem, as seen through the eyes of fictional characters.[121] In the end, Melisende's son, Baldwin III, wrestles her power away—she ruled as regent and refused to give up the throne once he came of age. *Duchess of Aquitaine* is about Eleanor,[122] mostly as queen of France; it begins with her father's death and her subsequent inheritance of Aquitaine,[123] and ends with her impending nuptials to Henry, future king of England.[124] The author, Margaret Ball, created Eleanor and Henry as characters in love, contrasting their relationship with that of her first husband, King Louis VII of France, with whom she struggled for control over her own life and lands.

Alice and Sibylla, Melisende and Eleanor, and even Agnes are among the few women who appear in the historical record of the crusades, which concentrates more on the heroics and politics of the men involved. This is, in part, the result of active male discouragement of women taking up the cross. Those present did not fight or involve themselves in any way but in the capacity of cooks, washerwomen, and prostitutes; and later, beginning in the thirteenth century, Pope Innocent III encouraged them to help on the home front through monetary donations, prayer, and fasting.[125] The female authors of all three books portray their gender as strong and independent, and whether of the past or present, they have the same struggles: woman, wife, and mother. A woman's role in society evolved over the past century with the right to vote,[126] to pursue a

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[119] Judith Tarr, *Queen of Swords* (New York: Forge Press, 1997).

[120] Margaret Ball, *Duchess of Aquitaine: A Novel of Eleanor* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006).

[121] Tarr, *Queen of Swords*, 36.

[122] Most crusade studies reference Eleanor of Aquitaine, and there are many biographies, including: Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons, eds., *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); and Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950).

[123] Ball, *Duchess of Aquitaine*, 5-28.

[124] Ibid., 376.

[125] Madden, *Concise History*, 139-40.

[126] In 1920, Congress passed and the states ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, creating national suffrage. Norton et al., *Since 1865*, 596.

career,[127] and even the right to choose what she does with her own body,[128] and fiction reflects that transformation. As time progressed, women gained attention within crusade fiction—and literature in general—because of these changes as well as the increase in female authors. David Gates writes that, of the top five words that most often appeared in the titles of best-selling books between 1906 and 2006, *woman* is number four, the usage of which "explode[ed] after women's lib."[129] Even if novels are not about a specific woman, strong female characters are becoming major aspects in the plots.

"Women's liberation" movement encouraged women to demand everyday equality with men, ca. 1970s. Kelly Knauer, ed., *America: An Illustrated Modern History*, 1900-2007 (New York: Time Books, 2007), 90.

Conclusion

Fiction written about the crusades of the Middle Ages changed a great deal over the past century. Wars such as World War II and Vietnam, movements such as Women's Suffrage and Civil Rights, and events such as 9/11 marked society and culture, and consequently influenced fiction. History, religion, love, sexuality, and gender as novel themes affected and were affected by these changes, whether for good or bad. Julia Alvarez of the Washington Post wrote an article exploring the challenge of writing fiction after 9/11.[130] "How often a reviewer will allude to a novel as...an author's first post Sept. 11 work," she writes. "Or mention Sept. 11 as an influence on the novel. Or assess the novel in the context of a post Sept. 11 world."[131] This idea applies to every major event that affects human lives: the revolutionary 60s, the era of *The Greatest Generation*[132]—men and women who came of age during the Great Depression and World War II—and all the wars of the beginning of the twentieth century, such as the Spanish-American and the Russo-Japanese Wars. "Everything has changed, though nothing has,"[133] Alvarez quotes, and this could be true after every event one lives through, hears about, or that touches one's life. The most bizarre and greatest of moments spur writers to write, and though they may try to remain as factual as possible, what they want to say needs to be said, and if that means taking creative license, that is the way it is. But even if history did not occur exactly the way a writer portrays it, their own history is in every word chosen, every

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[127] Supreme Court decisions *Reed v. Reed* (1971) and *Frontiero v. Richardson* (1973) protected women against sexual discrimination, giving them more confidence and protection within the workforce. Ibid., 873.

[128] *Roe v. Wade* (1973) is the Supreme Court decision, with a 7-2 majority, that made abortion legal until the last three months of the pregnancy. Ibid., 872-3.

[129] David Gates, "True or False: Jane Austen Outsells Alice Walker and Ann Coulter," *Newsweek*, 9 July 2007, 70.

[130] Julia Alvarez, "The Writing Life," *Washington Post*, 11 September 2005, BW10.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation* (New York: Random House, 1998).

[133] Alvarez, "Writing Life," BW10. Alvarez quotes Jay Parini from his villanelle, "After the Terror." A villanelle is a 19-line poem, and Parini is an American author and poet. Jay Parini, "After the Terror," in *Cry Out: Poets Protest the War*, ed. Edward Morrow (New York: George Braziller, 2003), 111.

character portrayed, and every event described. Fiction writers are not historians, scholastically interpreting the past; they are chroniclers of their present, and history is one of their tools, just as are pens, paper, and computers.

Sonderkommando

by Bradley D. Stevens

Entrance to Auschwitz-Birkenau, presently a museum. BBC News, available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/picture_gallery/05/europe_auschwitz/html/11.stm.

Among the many atrocities the Nazis inflicted upon the Jewish people, few hear the tale of the *Sonderkommando*, a select group of Holocaust victims forced to participate in the extermination of their own people. **Bradley D. Stevens** identifies the Nazis' method of selecting the Sonderkommando; victims' daily duties; and the internal and external struggles they faced in coping with the horrors they not only witnessed, but in which they played a part. Branded as traitors by some, excused as misunderstood by others, the only thing more complicated than their position in this "special squad" is how the Sonderkommando came to terms with the choices they made.

The Nazis proved adept at using language to suit their needs, even changing subtext to explicit agendas. The term *Sonderkommando* is one word that now holds a horrific connotation. Employed in the death machine of Nazi concentration camps, prisoners carried out the genocidal aims of their persecutors. Sonderkommando merely means "special squad," yet its connotation describes the connection with labor detachments that dealt with "final solution" victims. It may be easy for some to condemn these victims as culprits to Nazi crimes, but Primo Levi, holocaust survivor and author, explicitly states: "[N]o one is authorized to judge them, not those who lived through the experience of the Lager and even less those who did not."[1] The term Sonderkommando usually refered to the killing squads that followed the German army in its advances in the east; they were also known as the *Einsatzgroupen*.[2] Auschwitz held the largest "death camp," and there, the term Sonderkommando explicitly defined the Jews who worked in the crematoria, not the *Schutzstaffel* (SS) guards who supervised them—whereas in Chlemno, they and the guards assigned to the crematoria shared the title.[3] Investigating the inception, duties, and resistance of the Sonderkommando in Auschwitz-Birkenau provides a better understanding of their experiences.

Sonderkommando merely means 'special squad'

As with much of the policies and bureaucracies of the Nazi machine, the establishment of death factories at Auschwitz was neither a swift decision nor premeditated. Instead, the organization of the systematic slaughter of Jews evolved out of ideological and practical situations. Auschwitz opened in May 1940 and, initially, only one crematorium occupied the main camp, used for "natural deaths" of inmates.[4] Camp administrators instigated mass murder and experimented with different options. On 3 September 1941 Auschwitz carried out its first trial with Zyklon B, formerly used as an insecticide, by killing nine hundred Russian prisoners of war (POWs) in the basement of a mortuary.[5] Successive gassing continued to kill POWs and the sick. At this point, the Sonderkommando consisted of two details that incorporated both Jews and non-Jews. One—known as *Leichentragerkommando*—worked as the "corpse hauler squad" and the other—*Krematorium-Kommando*, also known as *Heizers*, or stokers—ran the fires of Crematorium I in Auschwitz.[6]

Beginning in 1942, gassings took place in Birkenau, a sub-camp of Auschwitz.[7] Here, the Nazi's converted two old cottages into gas chambers. Prisoners called them "red house" and "white house," while the Nazi's referred to them as "Bunker I" and "Bunker II."[8] On 4 July, a transport of one thousand Jews arrived for the first run of Bunker II; 264 faced selection for slave labor and the rest were gassed.[9]

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[1] Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved* (New York: Random House, 1989), 59.

[2] Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (New York: Norton Company, 1996), 126.

[3] Gideon Greif, *We Wept Without Tears: Testimonies of the Jewish Sonderkommando from Auschwitz* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 8.

[4] Peter Hayes, "Auschwitz, Capital of the Holocaust," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17 no. 2 (2003): 330; and Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 159.

[5] Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 442.

[6] Greif, *We Wept,* 4.

[7] Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 161.

[8] Greif, *We Wept,* 5.

[9] Dwork and van Pelt, *Auschwitz,* 305.

Krematorium-Kommando and the *Fischl-Kommando,* named after the foreman, swept the chamber floors and prepped the bodies for the crematorium or the pits.[10] A work detail to Bunker II made Jews undress faster, led them into the chamber, and separated from the rest of the group those unable to fit into the chamber or appeared too nervous. Sonderkommando led those remaining Jews to the back of the building, where, later, the SS shot them in the head.[11] The Sonderkommando kept the chamber floor clean to keep from alarming the new arrivals. This cleaning process included repainting the cottages each time which remained a requirement because victims of gassings defecated and clawed the walls, leaving blood on the floors, ceilings, and walls.[12] Unlike the later Crematoria II and III, these cottages, or "bunkers," did not have ventilation units. Thus, the Sonderkommando wore gasmasks while moving bodies out of the bunker.[13] In the yard, one shift searched for jewelry, gold teeth for extraction, and cut the hair of women—later made into blankets for German soldiers on the eastern front.

Because Crematorium I could not cope with the load of corpses, prisoners—a squad called *Begrabgskommando* that remained unaffiliated with the Sonderkommando—dug mass graves near the cottages, to which they transported the bodies on carts that ran on a small gage truck.[14] After placing them in the trenches, Sonderkommando layered lime and soil on top. By July 1942, the SS ordered the Sonderkommando to exhume and then burn the bodies to destroy evidence of a final solution.[15]

[10] Greif, *We Wept,* 4.

[11] Ibid., 6

[12] Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 163.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Greif, *We Wept,* 6.

[15] Ibid., 7.

Corpses in Block 11 of Auschwitz, as discovered by Soviet war crimes investigators. About.com: 20th Century History, available at http://history1900s.about.com/library/holocaust/blauschwitz17.htm.

In summer 1943, with the four crematoria of Birkenau ready to receive transports, the term Sonderkommando extended to those working in the modernized crematoria.[16] In II and III, an elevator provided access from the underground "dressing room" and gas chambers to the furnaces on the ground level.[17] The crematoria had five three-retort furnaces, retorts being openings to the furnace. In addition, builders installed ventilation systems in Crematoria II and III during the first half of 1943.[18]

Crematoria IV and V became operational shortly after II and III. To save costs, the Nazi's designed them with the gas chambers and dressing rooms on the ground floor near the two three-retort furnaces.[19] When removing the bodies in Crematoria IV and V the Sonderkommndo wore gasmasks.[20] Signs in the gas chambers read, "Zur Desinfektion," or

[16] Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 164.

[17] Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), 220-50.

[18] Ibid., 355.

[19] Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 168, 218.

[20] Ibid., 172

Bales of female prisoners' hair found in warehouses of Auschwitz during liberation, January 1945. About.com: 20th Century History, available at http://history1900s.about.com/library/holocaust/blauschwitz23.htm.

"to disinfection," but the SS never bothered to install fake showerheads.[21]

Reasons the SS decided to install new crematoria included the need to increase the killing capacity of the Lager, as well as to get rid of the open burning pits, which burned day and night. The German military worried that the British bombers could use the bright light from the pit fires as navigational beacons.[22] Although the implementation of the crematoria halted the use of the burning pits, the camp administrators ordered their resumption when transports from Hungary began to overload the crematoria.[23] The four crematoria of Birkenau could "process" approximately four thousand four hundred bodies in a twenty-four-hour period.[24] This number corresponds to a thirty- to forty-minute burning period for the bodies but when an order came to shorten the period to twenty minutes, the capacity elevated to about eight thousand bodies a day.[25]

The SS usually selected Sonderkommando from new arrivals still dressed in civilianclothing, but occasionally chose veteran prisoners from the camp.[26] After the selection of the fit and able for slave labor, selection for work detail in the crematoria began. The prisoners spent thirty days in quarantine where they had their head shaven, received a shower, clothes, and eventually a tattoo.[27] Not required to wear prison clothes, the men instead wore clothes from gas chamber victims after painting a red cross on the front and back of the shirts.[28]

In many ways, the work of the Sonderkommando resembled that of factory assembly lines. Each held a station where they passed "material" from one process to the next; in this case, workers processed human lives, rather than nuts or bolts. Duties included reception of new arrivals, transportation of bodies to the incinerators, collection of valuables, operation of the furnaces, and pulverization of bone and disposal of ash. Most members of the Sonderkommando, assigned to one specific duty or another, experienced a certain degree of flexibility depending on the bulk of the transport and the size of the current Sonderkommando.[29] The *Kapo*, the functionary in charge of all the Sonderkommando squads, received information regarding the time and size of transports.[30] Though also a prisoner,

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[21] Ibid., 169.

[22] Greif, *We Wept*, 9.

[23] Dario Gabbai, interview by Bradley D. Stevens, tape recording, 13 November 2006, Los Angeles, California.

[24] Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 166.

[25] Dario Gabbai, interview by Carol Stulberg, video recording, 7 November 1996, Los Angeles, California; and Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 166, 177.

[26] Greif, *We Wept*, 10.

[27] Dario Gabbai, "One Day in the Life of the Sonderkommando," personal writings, received by Bradley D. Stevens on 13 November 2006.

[28] Greif, *We Wept*, 11.

[29] Ibid., 99.

[30] Ibid.

he often survived consecutive "selections" and liquidations of the Sonderkommando.[31]

When new transports arrived at Auschwitz, the SS selected the Sonderkommando and then led the remaining prisoners to one of the crematoria. As the Jews walked into one of the "dressing rooms," ten to twenty Sonderkommando awaited them—spread throughout the long, cold room—to soothe the new arrivals. Here they told the people to undress so they could take a shower and then reunite with their families. Calmly, they told new arrivals to leave their clothes on numbered hooks and to remember the number so they could find their clothes when they finished.[32] The group shuffled in, undressed, moved to the supposed showers, and waited while the rest did the same.[33] This process took up to an hour to complete.[34]

One might get the impression that the Sonderkommando acted as callous individuals, lying to their own people as they herded them to their doom. Gideon Greif suggests that this ignores the perspective of the Sonderkommando: they felt the deception provided those about to perish a moment of sympathy and human compassion.[35] Many, however, felt guilty and avoided eye contact or conversation; if they talked, they simply repeated the lies of reunification and work.[36] In addition, it provided one moment where the Sonderkommando could interact with people who still retained some vestige of humanity.[37] New arrivals connected the Sonderkommando to a past they lost.

Door to gas chamber with note that reads, "Harmful gas! Entering endangers your life," February 1945. About.com: 20th Century History, available at http://history1900s.about.com/library/holocaust/blauschwitz35.htm.

Dario Gabbai, a Sonderkommando from Crematorium III and one of the few still alive today, says that sometimes he told people of their fate and even mentioned where to stand so they could die faster.[38] Not cold and callous things to say, but simply acts of mercy; Gabbai hoped to ease the inevitable pass of death. The reaction of each Sonderkommando to the realities that surrounded him was as varied as the individual.

After the SS exterminated each group of Jews through the use of Zyklon-B the task of removing bodies stood before the Sonderkommando. The gassing took approximately thirty minutes to

[31] Ibid., 101.
[32] Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 167; and Greif, *We Wept*, 98.
[33] Ibid, 97.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 59-60.
[36] Ibid., 12-3.
[37] Ibid., 59-60

[38] Gabbai, interview by Stulberg.

take full effect.[39] The horrors in the crematoria confronted the Sonderkommando daily—the sight of contorted bodies hugging loved ones; masses of people in a pile after struggling to reach the top of the room in a vain attempt to survive the gas; bloody walls from people trying to dig through with their hands; blood and a white discharge from victims' noses; pink, black, and blue faces from asphyxiation, their eyes filled with horror; and excrement covering the floor.[40] This made it difficult for the men to pull them out. Many times the Sonderkommando resorted to brute force by prying bodies apart, breaking bones in the process.[41]

[H]e thought this person remained alive

The Sonderkommando could not afford to handle the masses of bodies in any manner other than inhumanely. They fell under tremendous pressure to remain on schedule and they lacked physical and emotional strength to treat the bodies with more care.[42] On one occasion, Gabbai, working in Crematorium III, removed bodies from the gas chamber and placed his foot on the stomach of another body while attempting to separate them. The force expelled air from the lungs, creating a moan.[43] Gabbai went into a state of shock because, for an instant, he thought this person remained alive.[44] Once untangled, the Sonderkommando dragged corpses, bringing the filth and excrement that lay on the ground along with the bodies. Many pulled the bodies by arms or heads while some, like Gabbai used a cane, and others, such as Josef Sackar, used a pitchfork.[45] Though it depended on the size of the transport, the task of removing the bodies from the gas chambers took about four hours.[46]

Jews deported from their respective countries on trains usually numbered one thousand per transport. In the case of Hungarian Jews, the transports arrived without cessation and "[a]ll the squads working in the gas chambers, crematoria, and the 'Canada' warehouses in Auschwitz were reinforced, and the crematoria were kept working twenty-four hours a day."[47] In the span of two months, 445,000 Hungarian Jews "deported" to Auschwitz, drastically increasing the workload of the Sonderkommando.[48]

If the corpses were not burned right away, as happened often since the crematoria could not keep pace with the gas chambers, the bodies bloated, increasing the difficulty of handling their disposal. In fact, many times the skin peeled off as one grabbed the body.[49] After the men completed removing the deceased, they washed and prepared the gas chamber for the next transport. Many times they used perfume, found among the possessions of the female victims, to make the room smell better.[50]

Before loading the the elevators in Crematoria II and III, Sonderkommando cut the hair from the bodies in an anteroom, adjacent to the elevators.[51] They loaded the dead onto the elevator and brought them to street level. Here the Sonderkommando, responsible for finding

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39 Gabbai, "One Day in the Life."
40 Ibid.; Greif, *We Wept*, 15, 31; and Gutman and Berenbaum, 170.
41 Greif, *We Wept*, 15.
42 Gabbai, "One Day in the Life."
43 Andrew Barron, *Auschwitz: The Final Witness* (British Sky Broadcasting, 1999), videocassette.
44 Ibid.; and Gabbai, interview by Stulberg.
45 Gabbai, interview by Stulberg; and Greif, *We Wept*, 113.
46 Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 171.
47 Yahil, *Fate of European Jewery*, 510.
48 Ibid., 511.
49 Greif, *We Wept*, 113.
50 Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 16.
51 Ibid., 170.

and removing valuables, met the shipment. Some probed through the orifices searching for any hidden valuables. The Sonderkommando conducted the process in a callous manner, for there was no time to be gentle. The scene turned bloody as men ripped away earrings and plucked rings from the dead.[52] While searching for valuables, some Sonderkommando looked for gold. Using wrenches, they ripped teeth out and deposited them in a bin for the SS.[53] The Nazi's usually selected those who pulled teeth based on their previous professions in dentistry.[54] After this process of pilfering, the bodies were ready for the furnace.

Main gate where trains brought an estimated two million victims to die in Auschwitz. PBS series "Nova," available at http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/holocaust/makingn05.html.

Heizers needed to know how many bodies, depending on their size, to load and how long they should burn.[55] They placed anywhere from two to five in one retort at a time.[56] Normally they placed women in first because their bodies contained more fat, which helped burn other corpses.[57] Some men used pitchforks to load while others fixed stretchers to the retort, which helped the bodies slide in easily.[58] Many times the crematoria could not burn the bodies as fast as they arrived. In these cases, they stacked the bodies in the "dressing room" or in the hall outside the furnace.[59] Many times the dead moved and groaned as a result of the heat, making the job even more horrendous for the Sonderkommando.[60] To the Heizers, it seemed as if they burned people alive. Even if Heizers still needed to burn the previous load, they pushed new bodies in to keep up with the schedule. The bones fell through the grate to crush later.[61] All Sonderkommando, but especially the Heizers, smelled of charred flesh and wore clothes covered in the ash of Jews.[62]

[H]eizers... smelled of charred flesh

The last detail of the Sonderkommando included the collection of ash and the pulverizing of bones. The SS removed all evidence of extermination, destroying even the small skeletal remains found after the cremations. The Sonderkommando loaded the waste onto wheelbarrows or trucks and dumped it into ponds near the crematoria or hauled it to the nearby Vistula River or one of its tributaries.[63] Other times, they used the byproducts in the creation of compost or applied it to the soil directly for fertilizer.[64]

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52 Greif, *We Wept*, 21.

53 Ibid; and Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 171.

54 Ibid., 171.

55 Greif, *We Wept*, 17; and Gabbai, interview by Stevens.

56 Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 171; and Gabbai, interview by Stulberg.

57 Ibid.

58 Greif, *We Wept*, 16.

59 Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 172.

60 Greif, *We Wept*, 17.

61 Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 171.

62 Gabbai, interview by Stevens.

63 Gabbai, interview by Stulberg; and Greif, *We Wept*, 18.

64 Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 171.

Walled entrance to gas chamber in Auschwitz where Sonderkommando brought their victims, April 1945. About.com: 20th Century History, available at http://history1900s.about.com/library/holocaust/blauschwitz28.htm.

Besides their clothing, relative freedom distinguished the Sonderkommando from other prisoners. Free to take food and clothes from the victims in the "dressing room," the Sonderkommandos gained access to better nourishment than the rest of the prisoner population.[65] Because of this, the Sonderkommando stayed physically healthier than other prisoners. Most of the transports remained unaware of their destination or when and if they would receive food, so they brought along extra, such as sardines, "cake food," and canned meats and vegetables.[66] This provided an immense benefit to the Sonderkommando and allowed them, at times, to forgo the horrendous meals provided by the SS. The availability of garments, sometimes winter wear, helped the men endure the elements. Though very upsetting for them to scavenge from helpless victims, they knew it offered survival.[67] These resources of food and clothes eventually helped Gabbai survive the cold, death march from Auschwitz in 1944.[68]

In addition to the increase of rations, they received relative personal freedom. Preferring to remain outside, usually no more than one or two SS guards remained inside the crematoria; instead the SS relied on their Kapos to maintain discipline and oversee the workload.[69] The SS rarely entered the barracks, giving the Sonderkommando time to socialize amongst themselves. In their barracks, they could eat, rest, and attempt to forget about their surroundings. Gabbai spent his free time talking about food, family, and "good times."[70] Some Sonderkommando used this time for spiritual reflection or religious observance. A few even managed to recite all of their daily prayers.[71] Although the SS barred prisoners from religious practice, many pretended to work while praying to remain observant.[72] Others, like Gabbai, lost faith in the face of such monstrosity and felt that God was not in Birkenau.[73]

The Sonderkommando, as with prisoners in other camps, did not necessarily accept their fate passively. Many forms of resistance took place in the camps, whether individual actions or organized revolt. The first method involved the observance of religion. Though this may not appear to be a form of opposition, the goal of the SS was to dehumanize the Jews; that many retained their religion, something profoundly human, was an indirect confrontation with that goal. Survival equaled resistance. Another form of resistance included minimizing the work accomplished. That is, by not working any more than required, the Sonderkommando limited the capacity of the crematoria.

65 Gabbai, interview by Stulberg.

66 Gabbai, interview by Stevens.

67 Gabbai, "One Day in the Life."

68 Gabbai, interview by Stulberg.

69 Gabbai, interview by Stevens.

70 Gabbai, interview by Stulberg.

71 Greif, *We Wept*, 35-7.

72 Ibid., 35.

73 Gabbai, interview by Stevens.

The writing of diaries proved to be one of the more important forms of resistance. Many Sonderkommando inscribed scraps of paper and buried them in the ground. Often, they penned multiple volumes and buried them in many different places.[74] Yisrael Gutman wrote:

> These diaries were written by men who knew that they had no hope of remaining alive. Only their testimony could survive them and reach the free world. Each diary was composed by a man of distinct personality, who emphasized a different aspect of life in [Birkenau].[75]

These men dared to witness the horror. The possibility of informing the outside world and leaving a historical record of such an unfathomable event became their one hope. Leyb Langfus, a Sonderkommando who disinfected cut hair and was part of the underground—a group of Sonderkommando conspiring to impede Nazi efforts—left several manuscripts buried all over the crematoria compound.[76] In fear of the SS finding his writings, Langfus signed them with the letters "A. Y. R. A.," his initials in Hebrew.[77] Following the discovery of Langfus' diaries, it took researchers many years to identify and locate the author. Many of the writings implored the reader to search for more manuscripts, even telling of teeth that had been scattered in the yards as evidence of the genocide. In an additional attempt to make their messages available to future readers, many contained prologues in multiple languages to entice the reader to do precisely that: read and witness.[78] Zal Gradowski, a Sonderkommando, wrote:

Ruins of Crematorium II at Auschwitz II: Birkenau, February 1945. About.com: 20th Century History, available at http://history1900s.about.com/library/holocaust/blauschwitz41.htm.

> Beloved finder of these writings! I have a request of you. The actual goal of my writing, in fact, is that my life, doomed to death, at least take on content and that my days of hell, my hopeless mornings, acquire a purpose for the future.[79]

These writings reveal the impossibility of fully understanding the horrors that the Sonderkommando witnessed and experienced. Most wrote diaries in Yiddish.[80] While many manuscripts surfaced, most remain buried or lost. Many exist in deteriorated conditions due to time, poor storage containers, and low quality of pen and ink.[81]

Escape and revolt remained the most glorified and violent forms of resistance at Birkenau. Two escape attempts that occurred were negligible in size but significant. During the first, on 7 December 1942, two Sonderkommando attempted to escape through the wires.[82] Only two days later, six men intended to escape

[74] Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 522.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid, 530.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid, 46.
[79] Greif, *We Wept*, 47.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., 8.

but were summarily executed owing to an informer. As a form of punishment, all of the Sonderkommando, approximately three hundred men, died in the gas chambers.[83] Before they went into the gas chamber, the Sonderkommando killed the informer.[84]

The revolt of the Sonderkommando must be understood within the context of the dwindling numbers and size of transport. The knowledge that their lives depended on the continuance of transports composed of Jews doomed to death filled the Sonderkommando with agony.[85] Thus, as the transports began to slow and lessen, the numbers of the Sonderkommando dwindled as well. In September 1944, two hundred Sonderkommando "were sent from Birkenau to Auschwitz [and] were deceitfully gassed in [the mortuary,] rooms that had never been used for that purpose before," leaving approximately 633 Sonderkommando.[86]

[Sonderkommando] attacked the SS

Growing nervous, the Sonderkommando wanted to revolt and the Sonderkommando underground contacted the general prisoner population resistance. The regular prison population, however, desired to wait longer, hoping that the Russians would be near and that there would be a better chance of escape. Herein lay a conflict of interest, since the Sonderkommando did not expect to live and instead wanted to exact revenge before they died. Therefore, Stanislaw Kaminski, a revolt leader and Gabbai's Kapo in Crematorium III, decided to set a date for the revolt.[87] Before the revolt began, however, an SS officer shot Kaminski.[88]

A few days later, about three hundred men found out that they were on a liquidation list.[89] Understandably, these men refused to wait any longer for revolt.[90] On 6 October, when the SS came for these men in Crematorium IV, the Sonderkommando threw the German Kapo into the furnace alive as their first victim that day. They attacked the SS with shovels, poles, hatchets, hammers, stones, fists, and even homemade grenades[91] that they made from gunpowder that some women who worked in the munitions factory—led by Roza Robota—smuggled to them.[92] The Sonderkommando also made a homemade bomb, which they used to destroy the furnace in Crematorium IV. As the men of the Crematorium fought the SS, others went to the attic and set the building on fire. This signaled the revolt. Prisoners in Crematorium II saw the fire, killed two guards, and began to flee in a chaotic fashion, running through the adjacent women's camps.[93] Many of the men from Crematorium II managed to escape to the nearby town of Rajsko and hid in a granary. The SS eventually found them, lit the building on fire, and killed them all. The next day, the SS killed anyone from Crematoria II and IV who survived. Gabbai remembers burning the bodies of his comrades the next day.[94] Three SS officers were killed, twelve wounded, over three hundred Sonderkommando perished, and no one escaped.[95] At the end of the revolt only 212 of this group of Jews remained alive, mostly from the two crematoria who did not participate in the revolt. This may not sound like a success,

83 Ibid.

84 Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 499.

85 Gabbai, interview by Stevens.

86 Gabbai, "One Day in the Life"; and Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 500.

87 Ibid., 499.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid., 500.

90 Greif, *We Wept*, 42-43.

91 Ibid., 43; and Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 500.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., 501; and Gabbai, interview by Stulberg.

94 Gabbai, interview by Stevens.

95 Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy*, 501.

but considering the circumstances and aims of the men, they did exact revenge.

On 25 November 1944, Heinrich Himmler informed Auschwitz to halt the extermination and to destroy the crematoria, ending the horrific work of the Sonderkommando. The impossibility of understanding the reality of living and working in the machine of death known as Auschwitz-Birkenau is overwhelming. The Sonderkommando relieved the SS of direct involvement, which forced them to partake in the destruction of their own people and themselves. Involuntarily becoming active participants in the deception, theft, and genocide of European Jewery, the Sonderkommando of Auschwitz-Birkenau provide testament to the possible depths of mankind.

La Guitarra Como un Arma: Victor Jara and La Nueva Canción Chilena

by Daniel A. Vidrio

Jara and his guitar. Victor Jara, *Antologia Musical*, 2001 Warner Music Chile.

Daniel A. Vidrio examines the impact of an artist on Chilean political culture. The work focuses on how a musician, Victor Jara, and the Chilean New Song movement influenced nationalism and its development from the late 1960s to the 1970s. Highly respected for his talent and kindness, Jara used music as a powerful weapon for change, hoping to inspire awareness. With his voice, he wished to inspire the peasantry and the oppressed working class to better their daily lives to bring a revolution using democratic means. Daniel examines Jara's musical work to demonstrate how he drew direct inspiration from the working class and combined it with traditional Chilean music which, in due course, resonated with the people.

In an August 1973 interview during a visit to Peru, Victor Jara explained his thoughts on the *Nueva Canción* (New Song)[1] movement in Chile. During the session, he voiced that "the authentic revolutionary should be behind the guitar, so that the guitar can be an instrument of struggle that can also shoot like a gun."[2] He believed it necessary to defend Salvador Allende's administration, which he campaigned for and supported, even if it meant taking up arms in its defense. Jara, like many other Nueva Canción singers, understood music's utility as an effective weapon to educate the masses.[3] This tool, during the late 1960s and early 1970s, built Chilean nationalism and supported the rise of the Popular Unity Party.[4] In fact during many campaign appearances, Allende, understanding the importance of Nueva Canción, sometimes spoke to crowds with a banner behind him declaring, "There is no revolution without songs."[5] Nueva Canción proved to be more than just protest songs, but also about resisting North American influence and reflecting traditional Chilean life. Jara helped shape the way many people viewed themselves, and inspired them to believe in a new Chile. Victor Jara used his songs as weapons in order to create social and political change, which fostered nationalism in Chile.

'[T]he guitar can be an instrument of struggle that can also shoot like a gun'

In order to truly recognize the importance of Victor Jara, one must first appreciate what made a Chilean song Nueva Canción. Scholars wrote off the movement as simply protest songs because of their lyrics and popularity at political rallies. Merely labeling them protest songs, however, minimized the importance and deep meaning behind them.[6] June Tumas-Serna argues that "Nueva Canción symbolizes a search for political, economic, and cultural identity in order to counteract widespread cultural stereotyping, economic domination by transnational corporations, and political manipulation by North American policy."[7]

During the late 1960s, U.S. music, magazines, and films flooded Chile. North America exported musical groups like the Beatles and movies such as Disney's *Fantasia* and *The Wizard of Oz* to Chilean markets. Many Chileans embraced this influx because of a widespread sentiment that Chilean customs and music seemed backward and uncivilized. Others, however, believed that in order to combat American influence, Chileans needed to embrace their established cultural traditions. Furthermore, in order to stop the influx, Chileans needed to build a media to unite under the banner of Chilean nationalism. Pre-Nueva Canción enthusiasts learned to play indigenous Chilean music using traditional instruments, such as the *charango*, a small guitar made out of

[1] Nancy Morris, "Canto Porque es Necesario Cantar: The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983," *Latin American Research Review* 21, no.2 (1986): 118, 122-36. Nueva Canción Chilean developed between 1966 and 1973.

[2] Jan Fairley, "Annotated Bibliography of Latin-American Popular Music with Particular Reference to Chile and to Nueva Canción," *Popular Music* 5 (1985): 334. All translations are the author's unless otherwise noted.

[3] Joan Jara, *Victor Jara: An Unfinished Song* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1983), 118.

[4] Benjamin Keen and Keith Haynes, *A History of Latin America*, vol. 2, *Independence to the Present*, 7th ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 349-52.

[5] "No hay revolución sin canciones," in Fairley, "Annotated Bibliography," 307.

[6] June Tumas-Serna, "The 'Nueva Canción' Movement and Its Mass-Mediated Performance Context," *Latin American Music Review Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 13 (Autumn/Winter 1992): 144; Fairley, "Annotated Bibliography," 305; and Jara, *Victor Jara*, 121.

[7] Tumas-Serna, "Nueva Canción," 139.

an armadillo shell, and the *quena*, an indigenous flute. These musical developments transformed into a new hybrid of folk music with socially conscious lyrics, which prompted the name "New Song."[8]

Understanding Victor Jara requires an examination of his rearing because it renders a picture of how he emerged as the most revered Nueva Canción artist. Victor Jara was born in 1935, about fifty miles from Santiago, Chile, in Lonquen. As one of four children, his family lived on the Latifundio[9] of the family Ruiz-Tagle. He witnessed his father beat his mother regularly; eventually, his father abandoned the family. Amanda, Jara's mother, rented a room to a teacher in order to make ends meet and worked part-time selling food to workers in the central market. She sang in restaurants in her youth and occasionally played the guitar for young Victor. Early on, Jara displayed his superstitious and very religious nature, which he employed as inspiration for many of his later works.[10] He lived a rural and poor life, which worsened when his mother died in 1950. The loss greatly affected Jara, who watched his mother work hard in order to help support him and his three siblings. He decided to enter the seminary in order to earn his priesthood but, after two years, he decided to join the armed services. After one year of mandatory service, he received his discharge papers with high marks in military conduct, which characterized him as polite and possessing good habits.[11]

[T]o combat American influence, they embraced their traditional Chilean culture

During his stay in a Catholic seminary, he enjoyed singing and playing music. He auditioned for a role in the University of Chile's choir production. This turning point fueled his interest in theater and folk music. In March 1955, Jara decided to audition for a position at the Theater School of the University of Chile, the only real drama school in the country at the time. While studying, he came across a book, *Canto General,* by Pablo Neruda, a Chilean poet and Communist activist. Through its new ideas and Chilean folk songs and poems, this book changed Jara's life.

By 1959, he advanced to his final examinations and earned the opportunity of directing a couple of plays. While he enjoyed singing and playing guitar, Jara's primary interested remained directing and he worked as a director for the Theatre Institute of the University of Chile. [12] Jara cultivated a reputation as an up-and-coming director, and even the conservative newspaper *El Mercurio*[13] stated, "Victor Jara has shown his understanding of it in giving the production a rhythm which simultaneously happy, spontaneous and relaxed…The enjoyment of the cast with their own work is noticeable and that enjoyment is communicated to the audience. There is much

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[8] Jeffrey F. Taffet, "'My Guitar Is Not for the Rich': The New Chilean Song Movement and the Politics of Culture," *Journal of American Culture* 20 (Summer 1997): 91, 94, 100-01, n. 2, 4; Morris, "Canto Porque es Necesario Cantar," 117-8; Keen and Haynes, *History of Latin America*, 354; Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 322-3; and Jara, *Victor Jara*, 120-1, 261, 265.

[9] A large land estate in which tenants pay taxes and provide low wage labor for the land owner.

[10] Jara, *Victor Jara*, 23-32.

[11] Ibid., 34-7.

[12] Ibid., 45-53.

[13] *El Mercurio* later became an anti-Allende newspaper funded by the U.S. CIA. Peter Kornbluh, ed., *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: New Press, 2004), 138-9.

laughter."[14] He emerged highly respected for his talent, but also for his kindness and his ability to talk[15] and relate to people.[16] The ideas of Neruda germinated in Jara's mind.

Jara discussed starting a folk duo with many of his fellow actors. He began to visit rural towns such as El Carmen, to further understand folk life and learn traditional Chilean songs.[17] He met Chilean Folk musician Violeta Parra during his second year at theater school; the two artists discussed folk music at a Café in Sao Paulo, which influenced Jara immensely.

Before further discussing Victor Jara and his contributions, one must first address Violeta Parra. Many artists considered her a major cultivator of the Nueva Canción movement. She sought out, gathered, and recorded traditional Chilean folk music. She collected hundreds of songs from different regions and brought nearly-forgotten songs to the masses. Parra, a prolific and talented artist, also wrote over sixty songs from 1948 until her death in 1967.

He used song as a weapon for change

To those unfamiliar with Nueva Cancion, it is rather difficult to understand the great significance of Violeta Parra to the movement. In 1964, she established "La Carpa de la Reina," a cultural center in La Reina outside of Santiago. She coached many musicians, including Victor Jara, who emerged as the founders of Nueva Canción. The majority of her songs barley hinted at political themes; however, toward the end of her life, she wrote political and social commentaries, mostly dealing with injustices she observed. Silvio Rodriguez, a crucial writer of the Nueva Canción (or *Nueva Trova*) movement in Cuba, commented on her importance and stated that "Violeta is fundamental. Nothing would have been as it is had it not been for Violeta."[18] One of her most famous songs written in 1962, "La Carta" describes her brother's unjust imprisonment under the administration of Jorge Alessandri R.[19] Parra wrote: "The letter comes to tell me there is no justice in my country. The hungry people ask for bread, the militia gives them lead, yes. Luckily, I have a guitar for expressing my pain."[20]

Her work continued the theme of injustice when she commented on mine workers in the song "Arriba Quemando el Sol," which illustrates what she observed as she visited a northern copper mine. She describes the expression of torture on the faces of women and men mine workers. She references the fact that many in Santiago remained unaware of the horrible conditions in the mines and concluded her song by stating, "The miner never knows how much his pain is worth."[21] Parra's early songs dealt with daily rural life, while her

[14] "Jara, *Victor Jara,* 73-6;" and Gabriel Sepulveda Corrandini, *Victor Jara: Hombre de Teatro* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Sudamericana, 2001), 29-171.

[15] "Gladys Marin (Secretaria general del PC de Chile)," in *El Chile de Victor Jara*, eds. Omar Jurado and Juan Miguel Morales (Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones 2003), 113-6; and "Isabel Para (Cantantora Hija de Violeta Para)," in Jurado and Morales, E*l Chile de Victor Jara,* 47-52.

[16] Corrandini, *Victor Jara: Hombre de Teatro,* 96-7.

[17] Jara, *Victor Jara,* 38-45.

[18] Morris, "Canto Porque es Necesario Cantar," 118-20; Taffet, "My Guitar," 94, 96-7; and Albrecht Moreno, "Violeta Parra and la Nueva Canción Chilena," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 5: 108-26.

[19] Alberto Cardemil, *El Camino de la Utopia: Alessandri, Frei, Allende Pensamiento y Obra* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Andres Bello, 1997), 17-107.

[20] Morris, "Canto Porque es Necesario Cantar," 119.

[21] "El Minero ya No Sabe Lo que Vale Su Dolor," in Violeta Para, *Grandes Exitos*, CD EMI Odeon SAIC, 2004; and Taffet, "My Guitar," 97.

later works focused on social and political commentary. The injustices she witnessed permitted her to write prolifically and her work allowed many to develop new songs by using her templates in order to bring change.

After Parra's death, Victor Jara remained the most prominent and respected student of the emerging movement. He used songs as a weapon for change. Many might underestimate the power of song, but Samuel Chavkin argues

> [A] speech [or song] can rouse hundreds and thousands—it can become central in the national political debate...When published, it becomes a document. A machine gun is as good as its supply of bullets. Without ammunition it is useless, dead. But a song that catches fire or a poem that takes wing can stir people indefinitely.[22]

This helps to explain why, after the 1973 coup against Allende, Pinochet declared all traditional musical instruments associated with Nueva Canción illegal. The law prohibited public or radio performances and the recording of instruments such as the charango and Nueva Canción songs.[23] Although this temporarily suppressed the Nueva Canción, the music endured in the minds of the Chilean people, along with the strong legacy of activism that Jara embodied since the mid 1960s.

[P]easants...took up residence on an unoccupied waste dump

In 1964, Eduardo Frei M., elected as the first Christian Democrat, won the presidency.[24] Frei ran under the slogan "Revolution in Liberty," in which he promised many economic, agrarian, and housing reforms. His revisions also included the idea of the Chileanization of the copper industry, which boomed during the war in Vietnam.[25] Many Chileans like Victor Jara, believed Frei served as a puppet of the conservative right. People on the left, frustrated with Frei's administration, planned ahead for the elections of 1970.

In 1966, Quilapayun,[26] a group of university students who gathered to write and sing Chilean folk songs, approached Jara and asked for his service as their artistic director. The group emerged as one of the leading Nueva Canción groups, along with Inti-Illimani,[27] and began transitioning from folk to a different type of music.

Jara and Quilapayun performed at many important events, such as the 1967 May Day celebration. He performed such songs as "El Pimiento" and "Canción de Minero," all written in the early part of the 1960s during his beginnings as a play director. These songs, appropriate for performance at the May Day demonstration, expressed the feelings of the copper mine worker. In "El Pimiento," he

[22] Samuel Chavkin, *The Murder of Chile: Eyewitness Accounts of the Coup, the Terror, and the Resistance Today* (New York: Everest House, 1982), 213.

[23] Morris, "Canto Porque es Necesario Cantar," 123-4; and Jara, *Victor Jara*, 257.

[24] The Christian Democratic Party was a Chilean political party made up of members from the conservative and moderate groups.

[25] Luis Vitale, "El Primer Gobierno DC: Eduardo Frei Montalva," in Luis Vitale et al., *Para Recuperar La Memoria Historica: Frei, Allende y Pinochet*, 1999, 121, 123-6, 132-6; Keen and Haynes, *History of Latin America,* 350-2; and Jara, *Victor Jara,* 97-9, 138-146.

[26] A Chilean indigenous name that means "the three bearded men."

[27] J. P. Gonzalez, "Inti-Illimani and the Artistic Treatment of Folklore," *Latin American Music Review* 10, no. 2 (1989): 267-85.

voiced, "Nobody sees him working bellow the ground."[28] The song "Canción de Minero," also contained a similar undertone when he sang, "Digging, dragging, sweating, bleeding, all is for the boss, nothing for my pain, miner am I."[29] At the event, this resonated with the people who related to the feelings expressed in Jara's songs. Also, many became frustrated with the influx of American themed music and films. In 1969, Victor wrote, "Quién Mató a Carmencita?" which described how pop radio poisoned a teenage girl's mind and caused her suicide because of the illusions that Americanism brought into mainstream Chilean society.[30]

Jara and Eduardo Carrasco at the 1967 May Day demonstration. Victor Jara, *Antologia Musical*, 2001 Warner Music Chile.

Many blamed Frei for the American influx, but the populace's aggravation escalated with the massacre on 9 March at Puerto Montt. The peasants, without a place to live, took up residence on an unoccupied waste dump about two miles from Puerto Montt. Edmundo Pérez Zucovic, the Minister of the Interior, instructed the police to use any force they deemed necessary to remove the people, and they fired on a group of ninety-one families. Pérez Zucovic, an unpopular Christian Democratic businessman, gained his post due to his friendship with Frei. They had known each other since childhood, and therefore Frei failed to denounce the massacre or take any action to give justice to those wrongfully killed or severely hurt.

'Why were defenseless people confronted with guns'

Distraught about the massacre, Jara picked up his guitar and began to put his emotions into song. Considered one of his most famous works, "Preguntas por Puerto Montt" clearly accuses Pérez Zujovic of the incident. He asks, "Why could he do such a thing?"[31] He sang, "You must answer Mr. Pérez Zujovic! Why were defenseless people confronted with guns," and concludes, "Mr. Pérez, your conscience is buried in a coffin and your hands can not be washed by all the rains of southern Chile."[32]

In 1969, Ricardo García and the Universidad Católica in Santiago organized a festival to bring musical groups that rejected the influx of Americanism together. The festival, named the Primer Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena, ultimately gave the movement its name. The University rector Fernando Castillo defined the movement when he stated,

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[28] "Nadie Lo Ve Trabajar Debajo el Suelo," in Victor Jara, *Antologia Musical,* 2001 Warner Music Chile.

[29] "El Piemento" by Victor Jara, *Antologia Musical*; "Cancion de Minero" by Victor Jara, *Antologia Musical*.

[30] Taffet, "My Guitar," 91; Jara, *Victor Jara*, 120-1; and Vitale, "El Primer Gobierno," 138-43.

[31] Ibid., 143; Jara, *Victor Jara*, 125-8; Keen and Haynes, *History of Latin America*, 352; Collier and Sater, *History of Chile*, 324-5; and Luis Moulian and Gloria Guerra, *Eduardo Frei M. (1911-1982): Biografia de un Estadista Utopico* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Sudaamericana Chilena, 2000), 182, 223.

[32] "Preguntas por Puerto Montt," Victor Jara, *Antologia Musical*.

> Lately in our country we are experiencing a reality that is not ours...Our purpose here today is to search for an expression that describes our reality...And isn't it true that our radio and television programs seldom encourage the creativity or our artists...? Let our fundamental concern be that our own art be deeply rooted in the Chilean spirit so that when we sing-be it badly or well-we express genuine happiness and pain, happiness and pain that are our own.[33]

Although the movement reached the cities, its roots originated within countryside and traditional Chilean folk songs.[34]

Performers, equipped with Violeta Para's templates, cumulated at the Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena with the music and sounds that many artists had played for five to ten years. At the event, Victor Jara and Quilapayun wrote: "Plegaria a un Labrador," which employed biblical terms and messages to express changes in order to bring hope for a new beginning. They sang, "Today is the time to build for tomorrow. Free us from the one who dominates us in misery. Bring us your kingdom of justice and equality."[35] Their song won first prize at the festival, which gave Jara an important position in the emerging Nueva Canción movement. Jara focused on the

Jara and Quilapayun performing "Plegaria a un Labrador" at the Primer Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilean. Joan Jara, *Victor Jara: Un Canto Truncado* (Santiago Chile: Ediciones B, 1999), 118-9.

elections of 1970, and pledged full support for Salvador Allende. In the eyes of many of the leftist parties, Allende seemed the only possible way to achieve the justice and equality that artists sang about. Many began performing at different events and going out to rural areas to perform and register people to vote for Allende.

Salvador Allende belonged to the Frente de Acción Popular (Popular Action Front), a coalition of Socialist and Communist political groups that evolved into the Popular Unity Party in the lead up to the election of 1970. He made many unsuccessful attempts at the Chilean presidency in 1958 and 1964, but finally won in 1970 under unusual circumstances. Allende won the presidential election with 36 percent of the votes, followed by the conservative National Party candidate, ex-President Jorge Alessandri, with 35 percent. Since Allende did not receive a majority, the Chilean congress decided the election and, after many days of debate and discussion, they voted for Allende.

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[33] Morris, "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar," 120.

[34] Herman San Martin, *Nosotros Los Chilenos* (Santiago, Chile: Editora Austral, 1970), 161-280.

[35] "Plegaria a un Labrador " by Victor Jara, *Antologia Musical*; Patricia Viches, "De Violeta Parra a Victor y Los Prisioneros: Recuperacion de la Memoria Colectiva e Identidad Cultural a Traves de la Musica Comprometida," *Latin American Music Review* 25 (Fall/Winter 2004): 202-3; Morris, "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar," 120-1; and Jara, Victor Jara, 131-5.

The cover of Jara's most revered work collection. Victor Jara, *Antologia Musical*, 2001 Warner Music Chile.

After Allende won, Nueva Canción shifted its focus and praised Allende's administration along with its capabilities. Many positive lyrics centered on changes to come. Some works focused on the Chilean nation stating, "We should unite ourselves to defend peace."[36] The song "Aqui me Quedo," provided a good example of how Nueva Canción artists, like Jara, feared civil war or even a possible coup. Not oblivious to the idea of civil unrest, he penned, "I don't want the country divided."[37]

'My guitar is not for the rich'

By the 1970s, Jara surfaced with great influence and high celebrity status, but he remained modest. While many in Chile loved him, others hated him, and sometimes audience members threw rocks at him during his shows. Unfortunately for Jara, the Allende government was unable to undertake many important reforms or sustain them very well.[38] It did not help that the U.S. government poured millions of dollars to overthrow Allende.[39] In one of his last songs before his death, Jara wrote,

> I don't sing for the love of singing or because I have a good voice... My guitar is not for the rich no, nothing like that...For a song has meaning when it beats in the veins of a man who will die singing, truthfully singing the truth...Song that has been brave will forever be new.[40]

This song revealed Jara's uncertainty of the future but expressed the necessity to sing and use the guitar in order to make people think and build Chilean nationalism through song.

The Nueva Canción movement created a way in which ordinary individuals brought about change through social and political consciences while building Chilean nationalism using traditional folk music to express their ideas. Music proved itself such a powerful tool that after his coup, Pinochet banned anything related to Nueva Canción with an iron fist. Despite the ban, Violeta Parra recorded and kept alive many traditional Chilean songs that would have otherwise been lost to time. She opened a café where beginning artists honed their skills and received her guidance. The movement began rising slowly during the late 1960s, but with the first festival, it obtained the name of Nueva Canción and expanded. Victor Jara lived a rural life until his teenage years when he joined the Catholic seminary and later the armed services. The turning point of his life came when he attended Theater School at the University of Chile, where he absorbed new ideas and music. He honed his guitar skills, and began writing his own music and performing at political and cultural

[36] "El Martillo" and "Demos Unidirrnos para Defender la Paz," in *Antologia Musical.*

[37] "No Quero la Patria Dividida" by Victor Jara, *Antologia Musical*; and Taffet, "My Guitar," 94.

[38] Edward Boorstein, *Allende's Chile: An Inside View* (New York: International Publishers Society, 1977), 161-264.

[39] Kornbluh, ed., *Pinochet File*, 79-115, 121-57.

[40] "Manifesto," Victor Jara, *Antologia Musical.*

events. Many of his songs resonated with people from many social classes, especially the working class. Copper mine workers embraced songs such as "El Pimiento" and "Canción de Minero" because they felt that Jara told their story to the rest of Chile. Other songs, such as "Preguntas por Puerto Montt" and "Plegaria a un Labrador," arose as important rally songs for the Popular Unity Party and for many who believed Chile needed political change. Victor Jara helped shape the way many people saw themselves and inspired many individuals to become politically active during the Frei government. He inspired many Canto Nueva artists to produce this important music under the watchful eye of a dictator. Victor Jara's songs gave hope to many Chileans, which is the reason why he is so revered to this day.

The Planet Venus among the Maya: An Enigma

by Arut Kadyan

The Dresden Codex, a hieroglyphic manuscript records the appearances and disappearances of Venus. The Latin American Studies Web site at http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/maya/dresden-codex-fragment.jpg.

The mysteries of the ancient Mesoamerican civilization of the Maya continue to fascinate scholars and the general public. Researchers look at architectural remains and ancient glyphs for clues to better understand the Maya obsession with time, cosmology, and astrology. **Arut Kadyan** explores the significance of Venus and the planet's particular role within Maya culture. Through the analysis of archeological, textual, and iconographic research, Arut illuminates the planet's integral function to the civilization.

Scholars demystified much of the ancient Maya culture; however several elements of the civilization remain hidden in the shadows of the past. For example, the nature of the planet Venus and its particular role among the Maya remains an enigma that needs resolve, especially because it is such a pervasive theme in their culture. Lack of evidence, however, restricts scholars who seek further clarification. Only a handful of textual material survived the ravages of time and European colonization, with the remaining data coming from archeology. Despite the fact that archeological evidence has limitations, it consists of a vast corpus of architecture and art. This archive of information offers many clues that, when pieced together, assist in gaining a better understanding of the Maya. A synthesis of archeological, textual, and iconographic research helps scholars illuminate the role of Venus among the Maya civilization. As scholar Susan Milbrath explains, "Of all the planets, Venus is clearly the most important in Maya art, cosmology, and calendrics."[1] The planet permeates Maya culture through mythology, divination, societal structure, architecture, and even war, adding to its distinction and bringing to question the reason behind its status.

[Maya] cosmology... completely differs from that of the Western world

Maya Cosmology

Before delving into the relationship between the Maya and Venus, it is important to realize that their cosmology—the understanding of the universe and humanity's role within it—completely differs from that of the Western world. The ancient Maya viewed the cosmos as a stage on which the celestial bodies acted out specific roles. The sun, moon, planets, and stars personified living deities and "the workings of society, the actions of the king, and the behavior of the people of all ranks were irrevocably linked to the movements and activities of these living entities."[2] This provides one reason why they observed and recorded the movements of the heavenly bodies.

The Maya adhered to a complex set of beliefs about the universe that interlinked science with religion and dictated people's behavior or practices. Their view of time as innately cyclical instead of linear directed their way of life. They believed that they could understand both the future and the past by observing cycles and recognizing patterns.[3] They did not adhere to a fatalistic outlook, where events emerged as predetermined and inevitable; instead, they supposed that not only could they know the future, but they could change it as well. Therefore, there are legitimate reasons for why scholars have categorized these ancient peoples as obsessed with time.

The Maya viewed themselves, like the heavenly bodies whose movements they tracked, as active participants in the universe. They developed the sciences of calendrics, mathematics, and astronomy mainly for astrological or divinatory purposes so that their shamans, priests, and rulers could predict future events by carefully observing and recording the movements and appearances of the planets and stars.[4] Through the performance of ritual sacrifice, they repaid the gods or celestial bodies that helped provide

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[1] Susan Milbrath, *Star Gods of the Maya: Astronomy in Art, Folklore, and Calendars* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 157.

[2] Linda Schele, *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1986), 305.

[3] Arthur Demarest, *Ancient Maya: The Rise and Fall of a Rainforest Civilization* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 192.

[4] Ibid.

information about the future.[5] The Maya predicted the movements of the heavenly bodies by observing the cyclical passages across the sky. Furthermore, they drew political and social order from the cosmic arrangements.

Scientific Postulations

Scholars formulated several theories that help explain Venus' significance. The simple reality that the planet is the third brightest object in the sky, after the sun and moon, provides one explanation.[6] Although its visibility explicated the ability of people to observe and track its movements, that alone does not account for Venus' significance given that the moon is brighter but plays a lesser role. The planet's relationship to the sun comprises the most accepted explanation for its high status among the Maya. Their pantheon designated the sun god as the creator, and thus the most important deity.[7] Venus also remains close to the sun in its movement by arriving in the morning and departing in the evening. Its role as a chaperone to the most venerated celestial body in Maya culture explains the planet's prominence.

The Dresden Codex—a pre-contact, hieroglyphic Maya manuscript—details, in meticulous accuracy, the path of Venus by recording the appearances and disappearances of the planet as a morning and evening star, including the durations for which it remained out of sight, which reflects its importance. Known as the Venus Table or The Venus Almanac, the list shows that the Maya understood the planet's full cycle of intervals—which lasted roughly 584 days—a process called the synodic period of Venus or the Venus year. This divides into four phases: an

A sculpture of the feathered serpent, a possible representation of Venus, on the West façade of the 'Nunnery' at Uxmal. The Civilization Web site at http://www.civilization.ca/civil/maya/images/may-crv4b.gif.

appearance as a morning star lasting 263 days; a long disappearance lasting 50 days; a 263-day cycle of visibility as an evening star; followed by a short disappearance for eight days.

Relationship to Sun and Moon

The brightest planet derives its eminence from its relation to the sun and moon. Its course of movement along the cosmogram consists of five reoccurring forms or cycles. The Dresden Codex reveals that its five cycles, found in the Venus Table, calibrate to eight solar years and ninety-nine lunar months.[8] Arthur Demarest explains that "the importance of the daily,

[5] Anthony F. Aveni, *Stairways to the Stars: Skywatching in Three Great Ancient Cultures* (New York: John Wiley, 1997), 121.

[6] Ibid., 40.

[7] Demarest, *Ancient Maya,* 179.

[8] Milbrath, *Star Gods*, 211.

High Priest's Temple at Chichen Itza; a pyramid dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, the Feathered Serpent God linked to Venus. The Civilization Web site at http://www.civilization.ca/civil/maya/images/maybl07b.gif.

seasonal, and annual movements of the sun, moon, and Venus was incorporated into many Maya myths, as well as in the calendar and rituals."[9] While the Dresden Codex reveals a clear astronomical connection between the different cycles, other cultural aspects also link the three astral bodies.

The correlation between Venus, the moon, and the tzolkin, a 260-day ritual calendar employed by the Maya, serves as a testament to the planet's importance. For instance, the Maya could have utilized the Venus Table to predict lunar eclipses since, on average, they occur every 173.33 days, and three of these cycles equate to two tzolkins or 520 days.[10] It is important to note other explanations for the origins of the 260-day calendar, including the "approximation of the human gestation cycle from last menstruation" and the period between planting and harvesting corn.[11] Given Venus' major role in divination, it is feasible that the Maya constructed their ritual calendar based on the planet's cycle of visibility, also 260 days. They constantly tried to duplicate on earth what they saw in the heavens, therefore, it is probable that they also developed their farming methods based on the planet's cycle of visibility. The relationship between Venus, the moon, and the tzolkin strengthens the case for the planet's importance among these peoples.

The Planet and Architecture

Scholars established a link between Maya architecture and Venus on both large and small scales. The Maya constructed many buildings, temples, and structures to align with astral bodies, including their most revered planet.[12] The Caracol Tower at Chichen Itza and the House/Palace of the Governor at Uxmal provide the most convincing examples for Maya archeo-astronomy.[13] Both add further proof to the theory that they attempted to recreate on earth the organization that they observed in the cosmos.

The architectural components of the Caracol Tower suggest that the building functioned as an observatory to survey the movements of Venus. The lower platform of the tower faces the direction of the summer solstice and the extreme north setting position of the planet. This provides another example of its observation in relation to the sun. The stylobate on the upper platform of the tower also aligns with the planet's northern extreme. The apex of the tower consists of three horizontal shafts or windows, two of which could have served to make observations of Venus' northern and southern extremes. Additionally, the builders of the Caracol monument dedicated the structure to Quetzalcoatl-Kukulcan, who symbolizes the planet. The alignments found in the architectural elements and the dedication

9 Demarest, *Ancient Maya,* 181.

10 Aveni, *Stairways to the Stars,* 122.

11 Prudence M. Rice, *Maya Political Science: Time, Astronomy, and the Cosmos* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 72.

12 Demarest, *Ancient Maya,* 201.

13 Aveni, *Stairways to the Stars,* 138-9.

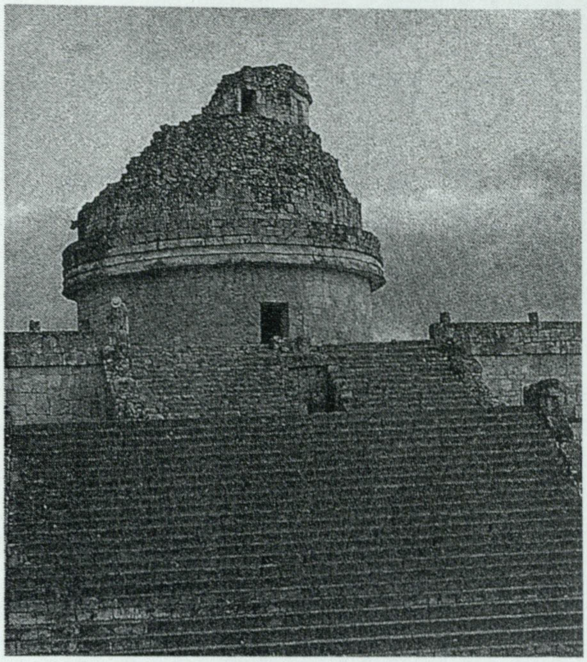
strongly support a connection between the Caracol Tower and Venus.[14]

The House/Palace of the Governor similarly connects Maya architecture with their most revered planet. For instance, the central doorway of the building points to the eastern horizon where the morning star rose in the maximum south. The strongest pieces of evidence that link the structure to the planet are the more than 350 hieroglyphic symbols of Venus that adorn the sides of the building.

In addition to the House/Palace of the Governor, the Maya built other architecture at Uxmal relating to Venus, such as the Nunnery Quadrangle.[15] Although the evidence connecting this structure is subjective, it is nonetheless compelling. Weldon Lamb surmises that the thirteen doors of the North Building represent Venus' cycle of thirteen sidereals because they nearly equal five of its synodics. The 584 Xs found across the building seem to reflect the length of the Venus synodic cycle. Other elements that connect the structure to the planet include two feathered rattlesnakes that symbolize Venus as Kukulcan, which adorn the façade of the West Building.[16]

Association with Caves

Evidence shows that the Maya also revered caves and associated them with the planet Venus. Demarest explains that "mountains, especially those with caves and springs in them, remain today the most sacred element of the Maya landscape," which includes pyramids and temples built over cave systems.[17] The Maya believed that the sun, moon, and Venus resided in the underworld or in mythological caves from which they would emerge to perform their roles in the sky.[18] Their iconography seems to connect their worshipped planet with the caves they revered. For instance, glyph T526, found in the Temple of Inscriptions at Palenque, consists of both Venus and cave signs, which is interpreted as symbolizing the underworld from which the planet is born.[19] Both religious beliefs and iconographical evidence tie Venus to sacred caves.



Caracol Tower, Chichen Itza, Mexico, might have functioned as an observatory to track movements of Venus. Michael D. Coe, *The Maya* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 22.

Venus in Text and Mythology

In addition to architectural evidence, textual material—especially the pre-conquest manuscript, the Popol Vuh—provides further

[14] Anthony F. Aveni, *Skywatchers: A Revised and Updated Version of Skywatchers of Ancient Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 274-6.

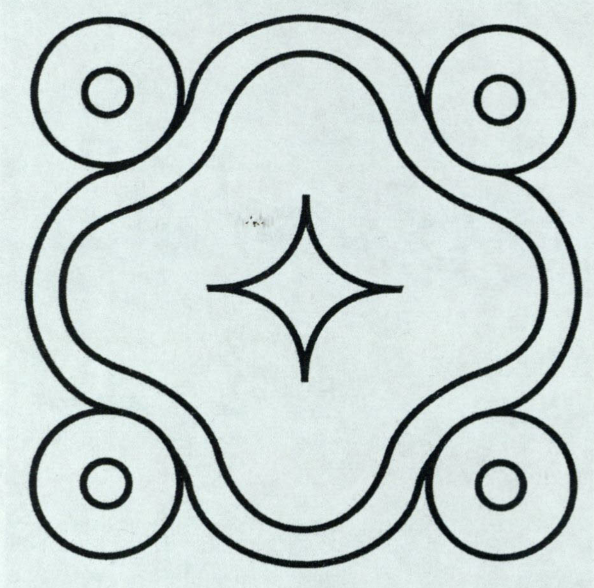
[15] Aveni, *Stairways to the Stars,* 139-42.

[16] Weldon Lamb, "The Sun, Moon and Venus at Uxmal," *American Antiquity* 45 (January 1980): 79-86.

[17] Demarest, *Ancient Maya,* 202.

[18] Karen Bassie-Sweet, *From the Mouth of the Dark Cave: Commemorative Sculpture of the Late Classic Maya* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 172.

[19] Ibid., 100-1.



Lamat Glyph representing Venus, the second most revered object in the sky besides the sun. The Authentic Maya Web site at http://www.authenticmaya.com/images/CHAK'%20EK.JPG.

proof of Venus' significance and prominence in Maya mythology. In his interpretation of the Popol Vuh, Dennis Tedlock argues that the story of "One and Seven Hunahpu" is an allegory for the movements of Venus and corresponds to the 260-day ritual calendar. He contends that the planet rose as a morning star on a day named Hunahpu, reappeared as an evening star on a day called Death, was reborn as a morning star on a day named Net, and that all of this corresponds to "One and Seven Hunahpu."[20] It seems more than a coincidence that Venus travels in five repeated cycles and that there are several fivefold recurrences within the story, including the "five test houses where Hunahpu and Xbalanque spend the night in the underworld."[21]

Only some scholars diverge from Tedlock's interpretation of the Popol Vuh; the majority of the independent research echoes his analysis. For instance, Karen Bassie-Sweet and Gregory Severin agree with Tedlock's analysis that the Maya recorded astronomical observations in myth, with One Hunahpu representing the sun and Seven Hunahpu symbolizing Venus, and both share the moon.[22] There are conflicting points of view on whether One Hunahpu, Seven Hunahpu, or both represent Venus, since the evidence is ambiguous. Nevertheless, there is a unanimous consensus among scholars that one of them symbolizes the revered planet.[23] Although there are alternative interpretations of the Popol Vuh, the fact that Venus plays a central role in Maya mythology remains undisputed.

Venus as Maya Deities

The evaluation of Maya deities can help in assessing Venus' significance. According to Milbrath, Venus is symbolized by many different gods, who themselves represent or govern various aspects of life. She establishes that the five found in the Venus Table symbolize the various seasonal aspects of the morning star.[24] Other examples of male deities that represent the planet abound. For example, one Venus god was "tied to rain prediction and the growth of maize."[25] This data only adds further credence to the notion that the Maya calibrated their agricultural endeavors according to the movements of their most worshipped planet.

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[20] Dennis Tedlock, *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings*, revised ed. (New York: Touchstone, Simon & Schuster, 1996), 37.

[21] Ibid., 258.

[22] Bassie-Sweet, *From the Mouth*, 191; and Gregory M. Severin, "The Paris Codex: Decoding an Astronomical Ephemeris," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge* 71, pt. 5 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1981), 12.

[23] Milbrath, *Star Gods*, 160.

[24] Ibid., 164.

[25] Aveni, *Stairways to the Stars*, 45.

There is a significant amount of evidence, albeit circumstantial, that links Venus to the Maya deity Quetzalcoatl-Kukulcan. Spanish sources written after colonization by Bishop Diego de Landa and historian Diego Lopez de Cogolludo identify Kukulcan and Quetzalcoatl as the same individual.[26] Granted that bias taints the contents of these documents, an ulterior motive for Landa and Cogolludo to link the two personages together seems improbable. The Dresden Codex pictures Quetzalcoatl with the day 1 Acalt. Scholars interpreted this as his personification as the God of Venus since the date also correlates to the heliacal rising of the planet.[27] Other images found in the Dresden, Borgia, and Vindobonensis codices also link Quetzalcoatl-Kukulcan, a feathered serpent deity, with the planet.[28] For instance, the Venus Table depicts five Kukulcans or feathered serpents wearing different garments; possibly symbolizing the Venus' five cycles.[29] Although these clues suggest that Quetzalcoatl and Kukulcan were the same Venus deity, the links in the chain of evidence are weak because the evidence is inconclusive.

Maya Astrology

Venus' role in divination provides evidence for its strong influence on Maya society. Demarest elucidates that "only through careful study of their astronomical knowledge and calendrics could priests and rulers direct the appropriate rites needed to insure the well-being of the crops and the health and future of individuals, families, the collective communities and the city-state."[30] Venus ties into divination through

Maya planned and fought wars corresponding to Venus's first appearance as a morning star. The Authentic Maya Web site at http://www.authentic-maya.com/images/Uaxactunstela_5.gif.

the various deities that embody the planet and the ancient Maya belief that they governed certain aspects of their lives. The shamans or rulers employed astronomical observations of the planet for prophecy.

Scholars gauged Venus' role in divination by looking at Maya astrology. Iconographic evidence for a Maya zodiac survives at Chichen Itza, where the animals carved on the lintel of the building known as Las Monjas or the Nunnery are very similar to the sequence of animals found on pages 23-4 of the Paris Codex. While most scholars agree that animals from both sets were part of an existing zodiac, they differ on which constellation corresponds to which creature. The connection to Venus at Chichen Itza is entirely iconographical since each panel of the Nunnery incorporates the planet's sign.[31] There is evidence that shows Venus also functioned as a horoscope. The Book of Chilam Balam clearly indicates that the planet is one of seven astral bodies associated with a specific day of the week, and that each

[26] Milbrath, *Star Gods*, 177.

[27] Herbert J. Spinden, "Maya Inscriptions Dealing with Venus and the Moon," *Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences* 14, no. 1 (New York, 1928), 58-9.

[28] Milbrath, *Star Gods*, 178.

[29] Aveni, *Stairways to the Stars*, 117.

[30] Demarest, *Ancient Maya*, 179.

[31] Aveni, *Stairways to the Stars*, 201-4.

one exercises power over certain parts of the human body.[32] Although this demonstrates how Venus influenced the daily lives of the Maya, the planet's role in divination extends far beyond providing horoscopes for individuals born on Friday—its day of the week.

Divination: Order and Power

The influence of Venus on the Maya people in terms of divination becomes more evident with the study of ritual. Besides the sun, they venerated and dedicated more rites to the brightest planet than to any other divine figure.[33] Scholars attribute the ritual of fasting to correspond to Venus. The longest fast of 340 days coincides with the Venus Calendar for the period during which the planet disappears as the morning star and reappears as the evening star.[34]

Venus imagery pervades Maya art and texts

Being able to foresee future events and prophesize meant power in Maya society, knowledge of the fate of the people granted influence to the predictors. Shamans, priests, and rulers performed rituals of sacrifice for various reasons, including the duel purpose of maintaining social order and reinforcing their authority. They employed the Dresden Codex as an essential tool for prophecy since it included "three linked calendars of Venus and correction tables to calculate precisely its positioning and reappearances as the morning and evening star."[35] Predicting the motion of Venus allowed the Maya to establish order in the social, religious, military, and political spheres of their civilization through the use of divination.

The Maya performed ceremonies of sacrifice, including bloodletting, to ensure both the perpetuation of the cosmic order and the equilibrium of their society.[36] These rituals and ceremonies proved their importance to maintaining the social order because the rulers relied on ideology as one of their main sources of power. Therefore, kings performed sacrificial rites in an attempt to reenact the movement of the heavenly bodies and they consequently drew power from this.[37] It is not clear whether ritual performances were honest endeavors that stemmed from pious rulers who indirectly benefited from their inherent power or whether the rulers orchestrated these events for the sole purpose of reinforcing their authority.

There is evidence that indicated a clear and definite connection between Venus and the Maya leadership. For instance, at Copan, Temple Eleven, Text Two—a section of wall in one of the rooms—recorded the appearance of the planet as the evening star forty-six days after the accession of a ruler named Smoke Squirrel.[38] This suggested that the Maya considered the appearance of Venus an important astrological event and that rulers utilized it to reinforce their authority. Another example of a leader associated with Venus to bolster his status came from the Twin-Pyramid Complex N at Tikal, which depicts Jasaw Kan K'awil I with a headdress that incorporates an insignia of the planet.[39] In the Late Pre-Classic, the Maya "developed a cosmogram based on

[32] Eugene R. Craine and Reginald C. Reindorp, *The Codex Perez and the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 49.

[33] Aveni, *Stairways to the Stars,* 115.

[34] Tedlock, *Popol Vuh*, 55.

[35] Demarest, *Ancient Maya,* 200.

[36] Linda Schele, *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1986), 301.

[37] Demarest, *Ancient Maya,* 206-7.

[38] Schele, *Blood of Kings,* 123.

[39] Rice, *Maya Political Science,* 130.

the passage of the Sun and Venus," and during the Classic Period, "rulers legitimized their positions by claiming identity as the gods of the cosmogram."[40] This added further credence to the idea that rulers linked themselves to the revered planet in order to heighten their power.

The Planet in Art

Iconography revealed the importance of Venus in art. During the Late Pre-Classic Period, cosmic imagery dominated Maya iconography with the sun and Venus assuming the central roles.[41] Maya art reflected the symbolic model for justifying political authority and reinforcing social order as deriving from the visual interaction between the sun and its chaperone.[42] Since rulers founded their power on ideology, and ceremonial centers, iconography played a crucial role in projecting their authority by way of symbolism.

The iconography among architecture reveals the power of Venus as a symbol. One emblem found throughout Maya art is the Cosmic Monster or the Celestial Monster, which appears on famous masterpieces such as the Tablet of the Cross and Pacal's Sarcophagus Lid at Palenque.[43] The image consists of one body with two heads and is symbolic of the pairing of Venus and the sun.[44] The relationship between these two heavenly bodies resurfaces repeatedly in various aspects of Maya life. The Cosmic/Celestial Monster reinforces this idea, as it "appears to represent the dawn with the sun following Venus."[45] The brightest planet benefits from its association with the sun, since the latter represents the highest deity in the pantheon and is the most venerated celestial body.

Venus imagery pervades Maya art and texts, and is projected in many different forms. For instance, the huge stucco masks with long crocodilian snouts that adorn the stepped pyramids in Belize identify with Venus pulling the sun.[46] The planet's glyphic symbols also characterized the skyband representations in Classic Maya vase painting.[47] The use of a half-star or half-pentagram as a symbol for Venus was popular among the Maya because the appearances of the planet along the Zodiac form a perfect pentagram or five-pointed star, and can be found at Tikal and Cacaxtla.[48] Though generally significant and prominent, there is evidence that Venus held more importance at some locations than at others. For example, "inscriptions of Copan give more attention to Venus than those of any other major Classic Maya site."[49] Why the veneration of Venus proliferated in some places while not in others remains a mystery.

Venus and War

The intricate relationship between Venus and war, in which ritual and divination play a role, reveals the planet's influence. The Dresden Codex links the planet to war by depicting it as a spear-throwing warrior deity.[50] The temple at Bonampak offers another example of an association between the planet known as the morning star and war, since the murals that depict warriors also contain Venus hieroglyphs.[51]

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[40] Elizabeth P. Benson and Gillet G. Griffin, *Maya Iconography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 83.

[41] Schele, *Blood of Kings,* 26.

[42] Benson, *Maya Iconography*, 85.

[43] Bassie-Sweet, *Commemorative Sculpture,* 150-1.

[44] Schele, *Blood of Kings,* 45.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., 26-7.

[47] Benson, *Maya Iconography*, 277.

[48] Milbrath, *Star Gods*, 186.

[49] Tedlock, *Popol Vuh*, 47.

[50] Paxton, *Yucatan Maya,* 65.

[51] Aveni, *Stairway to the Stars,* 129.

Though the Maya ritualistically waged war at the time that Venus first appeared as a morning and evening star, why they did this still mystifies scholars.[52] Evidence shows that during the Classic Period, kings traditionally invoked the assistance of Venus before waging war by wearing skeletal masks, characterized by protruding teeth.[53] War can also explain the planet's eventual decline among the Maya. Prudence Rice postulates, "One also wonders, however, if Venus's importance was severely diminished by the Late Postclassic, perhaps by the fact that warfare was increasingly frequent and 'real' rather than largely symbolic or ritualized."[54] This could very well be the case since the significance of Venus among the Maya depended upon their conceptual nature of warfare.

[K]ings traditionally invoked the assistance of Venus before waging war

Despite some of the uncertainty surrounding this topic, scholars know a great deal about the intricate relationship between Venus and the Maya. They understand that the planet is the second most venerated celestial body behind the sun, and its high status is evident in the way it permeates various facets of Maya civilization. The importance of the planet becomes apparent in their cosmology, where astral bodies personify living entities that act out their roles in the cosmos. Their cosmogram or pantheon also reveals that Venus personified several deities who assumed various functions, including governing war and agriculture. Furthermore, the planet is central to Maya religion, especially in terms of divination since rulers employed it to strengthen their authority and to maintain social order. Ideology served as the cornerstone of Maya theater-states. Rulers relied on rituals and the combined visual effects of architecture and iconography to substantiate political power, and the planet played a major role in each component.

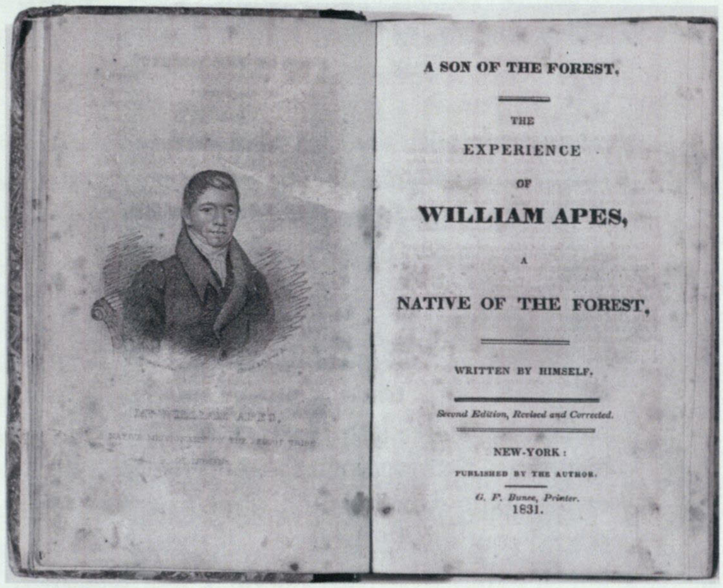
The planet also draws power from its relation to the sun and moon. Maya architecture and iconography reflect its significance. There is evidence to suggest that the Maya constructed their architecture to align with and observe the morning/evening star. The mythology found in textual material, especially the Popol Vuh, establishes Venus' importance from its central role in the stories. The planet's symbolism and imagery also abounds in Maya art. Iconographic evidence establishes a link between the planet and war, and along with calendrics shows that the Maya waged war ritualistically based on its appearance as an evening star.

Many important questions regarding the planet's role in Maya culture remain unanswered. For instance, it is a mystery why they waged ritualistic warfare when Venus first appeared as an evening star. Scholars also do not know how Maya worship of Venus originated and evolved throughout time. Furthermore, it is equally puzzling why they worshipped the planet or held it in high regard in some places more so than in others. Lack of evidence seems to limit the progress of research on this topic, but answering these questions will help gain a more complete understanding of Venus' role among the Maya.

[52] Milbrath, *Star Gods*, 193.
[53] Schele, *Blood Kings*, 214.
[54] Rice, *Maya Political Science*, 262.

William Apess and the Mashpee Indian Revolt: 1833 and Present-day Mashpee-Wampanoag Tribal Identity

by Taran Schindler



William Apess, *A Son of the Forest: The Experience of William Apes, Native of the Forest* (New York, 1831), frontispiece. Courtesy of the Rosenbach Museum & Library, Philadelphia, PA.

In 1833, William Apess, a Pequot Indian from Connecticut and a dedicated Methodist preacher, became an advocate for the rights of the Mashpee Indians of Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Joining their political movement and quickly becoming a leader, Apess led political and civil actions against legislation that blocked the Mashpee from practicing self-government and religion. **Taran Schindler** demonstrates how the results of Apess' work, recorded in *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Marshpee Tribe*, secured a level of autonomy for the tribe in the early nineteenth century. Apess' actions and the written record of his efforts provide foundation for modern day legislative decisions regarding tribal identity and nationhood.

What belongs to the red man shall hereafter in truth be his; and thirsting for knowledge and aspiring to be free, every fetter shall be broken and his soul made glad.

William Apess
Indian Nullification, 1835

We are today who we were then: the keepers of an important American story, one that was in danger of dying out, but has been given a new birth.

Glenn Marshall
Chairman of the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribal Council, 2006

In 1835, William Apess, an itinerant Methodist preacher of Pequot descent, published a book entitled, *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Marshpee Tribe*; or, *The Pretended Riot Explained*. The text, comprised of a collection of letters, decrees, and newspaper articles, as well as Apess' own commentary, tells the story of the 1833-4 struggle of the Mashpee Indians of Cape Cod, Massachusetts against an Anglo-American overseer system of government and toward reclamation of their church from an apathetic ministry.[1] *Indian Nullification* traces the Mashpee's growing discontent with their situation, and demonstrates Apess' active participation and charismatic leadership of this organized political movement. Although Apess' and the tribe's political efforts lasted only one year, their moderate successes were unique to their time and are important footholds for modern day legislation.

On 31 March 2006, the U.S. Department of the Interior acknowledged the Mashpee Wampanoag Indian Tribal Council, Inc. as an Indian tribe. This tribe, located near its ancestral lands in Barnstable County, Cape Cod, Massachusetts, has sought federal recognition since 1975.[2] This recent decision allows the tribe to pursue a government-to-government relationship with the United States, to sue for land claim reclamations and legislation, and to participate in federal programs available for American Indian tribal members.[3]

In order for the Mashpee Wampanoags to meet the federally recognized definition of "tribe," the tribal council and its legal teams spent the last two decades collecting historical, anthropological, genealogical, and cartographic data to fulfill seven criteria that proved continued existence.[4] Of those criteria, one specifies "that the current group and its ancestors maintained a community distinct from that of other populations near the town of Mashpee, MA, since the 1600s"; another "shows that the current group and its ancestors maintained political authority or influence over its member as an autonomous entity since first sustained contact."[5]

[1] William Apess, "Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Marshpee Tribe; or, The Pretended Riot Explained (1835)," in *Our Own Ground, The Complete Writings of William Apess, a Pequot*, ed. Barry O'Connell (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 164.

[2] U.S. Department of the Interior News, Press Release from the Office of the Assistant Secretary – Indian Affairs, "Summary under the Criteria for the Proposed Finding on the Mashpee Wampanoag Indian Tribal Council, Inc.," 31 March 2006, www.doi.gov/bureau-indian-affairs.html.

[3] Ibid.; see also http://mashpeewampanoagtribe.com/ for information regarding government assistance programs.

[4] "Summary under the Criteria," 31 March 2006, www.doi.gov/bureau-indian-affairs.html.

[5] Ibid.

The Mashpee Wampanoag found—and other academic scholars concurred—that both stipulations received support. In his under sung account of the Mashpee Revolt, Willliam Apess supported both that self-governance and religious freedom. The Mashpee's efforts may have gone unrecognized if Apess had not made their cause his own. Apess' personal search for spiritual connections, as well as his own experiences with civil disenfranchisement, served as driving factors behind his participation in the Mashpee community's demonstration for religious and political autonomy.

William Apess was born in Colrain, Massachusetts, on 31 January 1798 to parents of both Pequot and white descent. Due to family strife, the state removed young Apess from the custody of his parents and placed him with alcoholic and abusive grandparents. Subsequently, he became indentured to a series of white families. At age six, his first foster family introduced him to the Baptist church where he precociously felt "an indescribable sensation pass through my frame…"[6] In church, he also learned to fear Indians as savages and developed an understanding of his own Indianness as something "disgraceful." A master who took offense with him called Apess an "Indian Dog."[7]

Apess supported… self-governance and religious freedom

As a young teen, he was sold to a staunchly Presbyterian Connecticut family. Their religious practice, dependent upon wrote prayer and repetition, offended Apess. In an act of rebellion and personal preference, he joined the more spontaneous and expressive itinerant camp meetings of the Methodists. In this community, he transcended racism and self-hatred through a conviction "that Christ died for all mankind—that age, sect, color, country, or situation made no difference."[8]

Outside of religious practices, Apess' young adult life began with service in the U.S. Army during the War of 1812. The government's denial to award him or any other Indian he knew a veteran's due of "forty dollars bounty and one hundred and sixty acres of land,"[9] further exacerbated his disgust for racial treatment during his enlistment. After leaving the service, he spent time with Indian communities in northern New York before returning home to Massachusetts in the early 1820s, where he reunited with his parents. He worked as a shoemaker, married Mary Wood, "a woman of nearly the same color as myself," and decided to become a preacher.[10] The Methodist Episcopal Church, however, blocked Apess' request for ordination. Apess believed the Church's refusal seemed rooted in racist values. The new and anti-authoritarian Protestant Methodists finally ordained him in 1829-30. Their practices, inspired by the Second Great Awakening, emulated their belief that early Christian communities functioned without hierarchies.[11]

The early years of Apess' marriage and of his authorized preaching coincided with the economic itinerancy typical to New England Indians. To supplement insufficient agricultural efforts on poor quality reservation land, Indians

[6] William Apess, "A Son of the Forest 1829, 1831," in O'Connell, *Our Own Ground,* 9. For a comprehensive summary of Apess' life see Kim McQuaid, "William Apes, Pequot: An Indian Reformer in the Jackson Era," *New England Quarterly* 50 (December 1977), 605-25.

[7] Ibid., 10-2.

[8] Ibid., 19.

[9] Apess, "A Son of the Forest," in O'Connell, *Our Own Ground,* 27, 31.

[10] Ibid., 43-6.

[11] O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 321-3.

in post-revolutionary America traveled to sell their wares or labor.[12] Within six months, Apess worked as a tavern-keep, a farm hand, and a laborer in five cities within three different New England states.[13]

When Apess first met with the Mashpee Indians in May 1833, he found the tribe mired in two arguments. The first set the tribe against the state government regarding an oppressive overseer system instituted at the end of the American Revolution. The second debate involved heated discontent over an appointed white minister who, instead of improving the spiritual and civic lives of the Mashpee, lived on their land and preached in their church to a predominantly white congregation.[14]

Apess saw the Mashpee's situation as an amplification of his own struggles

Perhaps Apess saw the Mashpee's situation as an amplification of his own struggles. His foster family and church authority limited Apess' religious freedom, while a private fund, the Corporation of Cambridge (Harvard) College, controlled the Mashpee's religious life. The Mashpee also were denied their house of worship, their choice of religious leadership, and their "portion of the Gospel."[15] Apess grew up indentured, raised to believe in the innate inferiority of the Indian, and challenged by society to earn a living wage. Similarly, the Act of 1788 limited the Mashpee's political autonomy. The act instituted a board of five Overseers who held full authority to direct the political, economic, and legal aspects of the community. Among many restrictive policies, the Overseers could

> improve and lease the lands of the Indians....regulate their streams, ponds, and fisheries; mete out lots for their particular improvement; control and regulate absolutely, their bargains, contracts, wages, and other dealings, take care of their poor, and bind out their children to suitable persons.[16]

Immediately, Apess volunteered his leadership to the Mashpee. He suggested that he "might do them some good and be instrumental in procuring the discharge of the Overseers and an alteration of existing laws."[17] What followed over the next several months included a series of correspondences expressing demands, appeals, and actual meetings between the Mashpee leadership, the Massachusetts government, and religious authorities from Harvard, as well as journalists and legal representatives from both sides.

The arguments from the Mashpee demonstrated their intolerable disenfranchisement, including two separate resolutions. The first resolved that the tribe would rule itself and protect its own natural resources; the second concluded that the tribe would choose its own preacher and control its own meetinghouse.[18] Working under the assumption that the Massachusetts Governor would not contest their demands, the Mashpee ousted the Overseers,

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[12] Ann Marie Plane and Gregory Button, "The Massachusetts Indian Enfranchisement Act: Ethnic Contest in Historical Context, 1849-1869," *Ethnohistory* 40 (Autumn 1993), 589.

[13] Apess, "A Son of the Forest," in O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 47.

[14] O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 164; see also Apess, "Indian Nullification," in O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 171, 236.

[15] Donald M. Nielsen, "The Mashpee Indian Revolt of 1833," *New England Quarterly* 58 (September 1985), 403; see also Apess, "A Son of the Forest," in O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 171.

[16] Apess, "A Son of the Forest," in O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 208-9.

[17] Ibid., 177.

[18] Apess, "Indian Nullification," in O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 177.

KING PHILIP DYING FOR HIS COUNTRY.

William Apess, *Eulogy on King Philip, as Pronounced at the Odeon in Federal Street, Boston by the Reverend William Apess, an Indian, January 8, 1836* (Boston, 1837), frontispiece. Courtesy of the W. E. B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

formed a tribal council, and announced their intent to take control of their meetinghouse.[19] After a period of sensationalized journalism and misinformation regarding the state's approval of the Mashpee's reforms, as well as false reports of the violent nature of their rebellion in March 1834, the Mashpee became a recognized district and gained authorization to elect selectmen. This twelve-member board became responsible for municipal infrastructure and, during a period of transition, reported to one commissioner and a treasurer appointed by the state. Not until 1840, however, did the Mashpee take complete control of their meetinghouse by removing the minister and changing the lock to the building.[20]

[T]he Mashpee Revolt made the intent and ability to self-govern a reality

Regaining control of their house of worship and the right to choose who filled the pulpit, demonstrated a clear sense of community action that separated the Mashpee from neighboring towns. Typical of the time, Congregationalists practiced in a "respectable and orderly" manner.[21] The Mashpee, however, believed in the extemporaneous expression associated with Baptism and Methodism. Although this

[19] McQuaid, "William Apess, Pequot," 605-25.

[20] Nielsen, "Mashpee Indian Revolt," 416-7.

[21] Phineas Fish to John Davis, 11 August 1810, Harvard College Papers, vol. 6, 1809-11, Harvard University Archives quoted in Nielsen, "Mashpee Indian Revolt," 404-5.


The Wampanoag tribe receives official word of their long-sought-after recognition. Stephanie Vosk, "There's a Lot up in the Air: After Winning Federal Recognition, Mashpee Wampanoag Discuss Several Potential Plans with the Town," Mashpee, MA, Web site (2007), http://www.mycape.com/mashpee/story1.html.

example of community distinction seemed less than radical, it showed that the Mashpee were a separate group with particular cultural preferences.

In garnering political authority to control their civic interactions, the Mashpee Revolt also secured another, more subtle aspect of tribal cohesion. At the time, dominant white society saw the Mashpee as less Indian and more a settlement of "mixed-race non-whites."[22] Anglo-American accounts in 1831 noted: "Of 200 Narragansetts…'only five or six are genuine untainted…all the rest are either clear negroes or a mixture of Indian African and European blood,'" and in 1832, the "Mashantucket Pequot community…[was] 'considerably mixed with white and negro blood.'"[23] The Mashpee traditionally displayed openness to outsiders. Soon after first contact with Europeans, the Mashpee began to mix with other Indian tribes, Africans in the whaling industry, African American escaped and freed slaves, and Hessian soldiers after the Revolutionary War.[24] Because white racial ideology of the era upheld blood lines over cultural affiliations, the Mashpee and other Indians in nineteenth-century Massachusetts were no longer considered "real Indians."[25]

In a unique moment of perhaps inadvertent and unexpected social change, once the Massachusetts government granted the Mashpee the right to design their own governing body, the group itself was officially sanctioned. In this new light, the Mashpee's nebulous racial distinctions perceived by white society became Mashpee Indian. Conclusively, the Mashpee Revolt made their intent and ability to self-govern a reality, as well as publicly validated cultural connections over simple genetic history.

William Apess' written and active leadership became the catalysts that provided real social change for the Mashpee Indians in the early 1830s. The positive response from the state of Massachusetts was more than just fair dealing; in part, it represented a response to Apess' well-constructed presentations and more so, it showed how his efforts encouraged

[22] Plane and Button, "Massachusetts Indian Enfranchisement," 589.

[23] Daniel R. Mandell, "Shifting Boundaries of Race and Ethnicity: Indian-Black Intermarriage in Southern New England, 1760-1880," *Journal of American History* 85 (September 1998): 471.

[24] Gerald Torres and Kathryn Milun, "Translating Yonnondio by Precedent and Evidence: The Mashpee Indian Case," *Duke Law Journal* (September 1990): 638-9.

[25] Plane and Button, "Massachusetts Indian Enfranchisement," 593.

Massachusetts to act independently from national sentiment. Not incidentally, the years the Mashpee presented their case, were concurrent with national congressional agreements supporting the Indian Removal Act of 1830 that upheld relocation in place of failed attempts to "civilize and settle."[26]

Twenty years later, the Mashpee Wampanoag reclaimed their tribal status

In Apess' written and spoken presentations, he drew dramatic corollaries between the Mashpee's situation and the American colonists' relationship with the British crown in the mid-eighteenth century. Apess quite consciously used language reminiscent of the American Revolution in *Indian Nullification* and other writings. Benjamin F. Hallett, the young lawyer who volunteered to represent the Mashpee's cause to the state, remarks in a letter included on the second page of *Indian Nullification*, "the persons concerned in the riot, as it was called…I think were as justifiable in what they did as our fathers were, who threw the tea overboard." In Apess' own commentary on the rights of Overseers over the Mashpee, he turns the table in a rhetorical twist in order to ask the reader, "How, if he values his own liberty, he would or could rest quiet under such laws."[27] Further, in his 1836 Eulogy on King Philip, Apess compares the heroism of the seventeenth-century Pokanoket leader King Philip, or Metacomet, to George Washington. By employing the same flowery and heroic language used to incite colonists against the British crown, Apess drew attention to the plight of the native population. In this text, he boldly states, "What then is to be done? Let every friend of the Indians now seize the mantle of Liberty….we want trumpets that sound like thunder, and men to act as though they were going to war with those corrupt and degrading principles that robs one of all rights…."[28]

Apess' artistic choice to use Revolutionary rhetoric demonstrates his political élan and perhaps even a political scope beyond local Indian issues. By calling his text "nullification," he directs the reader's attention to the states' rights-Nullification Crisis, which argued that states could choose not to enforce a federal law.[29] In light of the Indian Removal Act, northeastern sympathies to the southern Cherokee's expulsion, and the rise of the romantic literary image of the "noble savage," Apess made clear that disregarding the Mashpee's claim would be hypocrisy: "You plead for the Cherokees, will you not raise your voice for the red man of Marshpee?"[30]

In 1976, when the Mashpee Wampanoag first brought their case to recover tribal lands to federal attention (*Mashpee Tribe v. the Town of Mashpee*) the court informed them that to proceed they needed proof of tribal status. After forty days of deliberation primarily focused on a definition found in a 1901 case, *Montoya v. United States*, the jury arrived at the awkward conclusion that "the Mashpee were not a tribe in 1790, were a Tribe in 1834 and 1842, but again were not a Tribe in 1869 and 1870." At the time, the judge dismissed the case because he stipulated that if the Mashpee ever lost their

[26] Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, eds., *The Cherokee Removal, A Brief History with Documents*, (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1995), 116-9.

[27] Apess, "Indian Nullification," in O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 167, 211.

[28] William Apess, "Eulogy on King Philip, as Pronounced at the Odeon, in Federal Street, Boston, 1836," in O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 306.

[29] O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 163.

[30] Mandell, "Shifting Boundaries of Race and Ethnicity," 473; see also Apess, "Indian Nullification," in O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 205.

tribal status, they could not reclaim it.[31] Yet, twenty years later, the Mashpee Wampanoag reclaimed their tribal status, in part, due to the judicial decision that in 1834, the tribe existed. The courts could not have made this decision without William Apess' historic leadership. It is through this decision that the value of Apess' documentation becomes apparent, relevant, and meaningful to the relationships between the United States, the Mashpee, and Indian tribes of today.

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[31] Torres and Milun, "Translating Yonnondio," 635-6.

Allegiance to God or Country: Quaker Pacifism during the Civil War

by Nicole Rhoton

George Fox founded the Religious Society of Friends on principles of equality and non-violence. Stoke Newington Quakers, available at http://www.stokenewingtonquakers.org.uk/GFox.jpg.

During the Civil War, members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) experienced a major moral dilemma. Historically opposed to slavery, yet also adamantly pacifist, they struggled over the correct course of action during the war: whether they should fight to end the evil institution or remain committed to their peace testimony. **Nicole Rhoton** exposes their radical actions, and highlights the civic and religious consequences they faced as a result of their decisions. Because enlisting in the army meant loss of membership within their religious organization and refusal to register meant loss of rights as citizens, members had to choose between their God and their country. By using the Quakers as an example, Nicole highlights the inherent conflict between pacifism and patriotism.

> We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings [*sic*] with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world.
>
> **George Fox**
> *A Declaration*, 1660

Peace is unpatriotic. Throughout American history, persons or groups who denounced or criticized a war that the public deemed necessary, society viewed as traitors, communists, and today, as terrorists. As a citizen, a person must demonstrate his patriotism through support for war, regardless of whether it conflicts with his conscience. When one rejects war due to moral or religious beliefs, his or her position as citizen becomes precarious. Today, many people oppose violence and war on moral grounds. The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) retains a special place in our country's history as one of the first historically visible groups to battle with the social implications of rejecting war. Since their arrival to the colonies in the seventeenth century, the Quakers struggled with allegiance to a higher law that forbade violence and the laws of the land, which often mandated military allegiance as a requirement for citizenship. Their experiences demonstrate an inherent conflict between pacifism and patriotism.

Although the Quakers refused to bear arms during the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War, the federal draft during the Civil War threatened their rights as religious people to an even greater extent. Moreover, the underlying cause of the Civil War—slavery—made the decision to fight or not more challenging for the Friends, who rejected slavery as an evil institution. Since the late seventeenth century, Quakers positioned themselves at the forefront of the anti-slavery movement, yet during the Civil War, they refused to fight to end the oppression. Due to their religious principles, Quakers believed in abolition and in peace. While they envisioned an end to slavery, they could not justify war to realize this aim. Their experiences prove that dissent for war does not mean support for one's enemy. Their ambition to adhere to religious principles, achieve abolition, and obey civil government reveals the complexities of serving both God and country—two elements so dear to the American people.[1]

Quaker philosophies regarding nonviolence, abolition, and the struggle for women's rights remained inextricably intertwined.[2] The Religious Society of Friends based their beliefs upon a religious understanding developed almost two hundred years before the Civil War. The Quakers originated in seventeenth-century England under the teachings of George Fox (1625-1691), who advocated a particular understanding of Jesus Christ's teachings. Fox believed that Christ died in the flesh but

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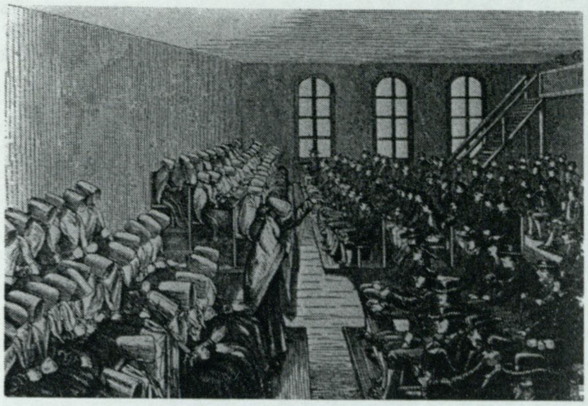
[1] Archival holdings of Quaker records, diaries, journals, literature, and newspapers are extensive, but for the most part remain unpublished. The available historiography on American peace movements locates the establishment of notable pressure groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and disregards earlier Quaker pacifism as integral to the establishment of an American peace movement because it was based on religious ideas. See Charles Chatfield, *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America 1914-1941* (Knoxville: Tennessee University Press, 1971); and C. Roland Marchand, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform 1898-1918* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972).

[2] Most historiography focuses on the Friends actions for the cause of abolition or women's rights. Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968); and Peter Brock, ed., *Liberty and Conscience: A Documentary History of the Experiences of Conscientious Objectors in America through the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

resurrected in the spirit of all mankind, and that he resided in the hearts of all people, regardless of race or sex.[3] Because all people potentially held the light within, he admonished Friends to "teach and instruct blacks and Indians, and others, how that God doth pour out his spirit upon all flesh in these days of the new covenant, and new testament."[4]

Because of the belief that everyone held Christ in their hearts, Fox did not see the need for a hierarchical structure of priests or bishops, and prescribed that collective Quaker worship take place at a meetinghouse rather than a church. Friends believed in the power of the worshipping group and began their meetings with silent meditation, awaiting the divine light to speak from within whomever experienced it in that moment. Men and women remained free to speak, provided God who spoke through them. Because Friends rejected the establishment of clergies or religious offices, women exercised greater freedom in a nonpatriarchal religious structure and participated in the public sphere as teachers, ministers, and prophets.[5] As a result, Quakers viewed all people as equals in Christ, an understanding that brought them to champion the abolition of slavery and equal rights for women.

Quakers worshiped at a local meeting, whose membership also met quarterly and yearly with other local meetings. These basic bodies decided on matters of importance to the Friends. In addition to worship, the meetings developed guidelines or testimonies for the Quaker faith. The meetings functioned as autonomous organizations, and solutions (or laws) agreed upon during "Unity" remained subject to change. Friends believed that God spoke within them, both individually and at the group level. Thus, they believed that their decisions and solutions came from God. Friends consulted the inner light in many different matters, such as issues of marriage, money, slavery, funeral arrangements, and the peace testimony.



The Society of Friends believed in equality of the sexes and allowed women to teach and preach long before most other organizations. *Nord Amerika,* wood engraving by Ernest von HesseWartburg, 1888. Library of Congress, available at http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/list/picamer/paRelig.html.

The peace testimony relied on the same understanding of the light within. If each person contained Jesus, or the inner light, then violence against man equated to violence against God. Taken from the scriptures, Quakers held the belief that "war ought to cease, among the followers of the Lamb Christ Jesus, who taught his disciples to forgive and love their enemies,

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[3] William Penn, *Primitive Christianity Revived: In the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers* (London: T. Sowle, 1696; Philadelphia: James M. Brown, 1857), Chapters I-III, http://www.strecorsoc.org/penn/title.html.

[4] George Fox, "To Friends in America, concerning their Negroes, and Indians, 1679," CCCLV in *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters and Testimonies* vol. 8, text available at http://www.qhpress.org/texts/oldqwhp/gf-e-355.htm.

[5] Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 22.

and not to war against them, and kill them."[6] George Fox espoused the peace testimony in a declaration to Charles II in 1660; he stated:

> We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings [*sic*] with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world. The spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move unto it; and we do certainly know, and so testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.[7]

Quakers continuously pledged dedication to the government

Quakers continuously referred to Fox's declaration in addition to quoting scripture to justify their peace testimony. Their pacifist activism began when they arrived in the American colonies.

Their pacifist activism began when they arrived in the American Colonies. The religious belief that all potentially held God within, informed Quaker actions regarding slavery and pacifism as early as the seventeenth century. Friends further developed testimonies against slavery and violence in a continent engulfed in both. From the beginning, Quakers struggled to practice beliefs that often conflicted with their civic duties. In the colonies, a most basic requirement for citizenship and acceptance within a community involved taking up weapons against invaders. In order to adhere to their peace testimony, Quakers adamantly refused to carry guns.

During times of tension between warring groups, colonists persecuted Quakers for their refusal to bear arms. The first recorded case of penalization for Quakers' conscientious objection to militia involvement in the colonies occurred in Maryland in 1658. William Fuller and Thomas Homewood refused to obey the orders of the court of Cecilius, Lord Baltimore to join the militia and as a result, were fined and physically beaten. The militia fined or confiscated goods from twenty additional Quakers who refused to bear arms or train with the militia.[8]

Like Fuller and Homewood, many Quakers faced imprisonment, physical abuse, and hefty fines upon refusal to join militias. Major Robertson imprisoned Peter Varley and John Kenny in Boston in 1712 for refusing to "go in the expedition to Canada." John died because of harsh treatment.[9] Well aware of the dangers

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[6] Penn, *Primitive Christianity Revived*, Chapter XII.

[7] George Fox, *A Declaration from the Harmless and Innocent People of God, Called Quakers, against All Sedition, Plotters, and Fighters in the World: for Removing the Ground of Jealousy and Suspicion from Magistrates and People Concerning Wars and Fightings: Presented unto the King upon the 21st Day of the 11th Month, 1660* (London, 1684), http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/dec1660.htm.

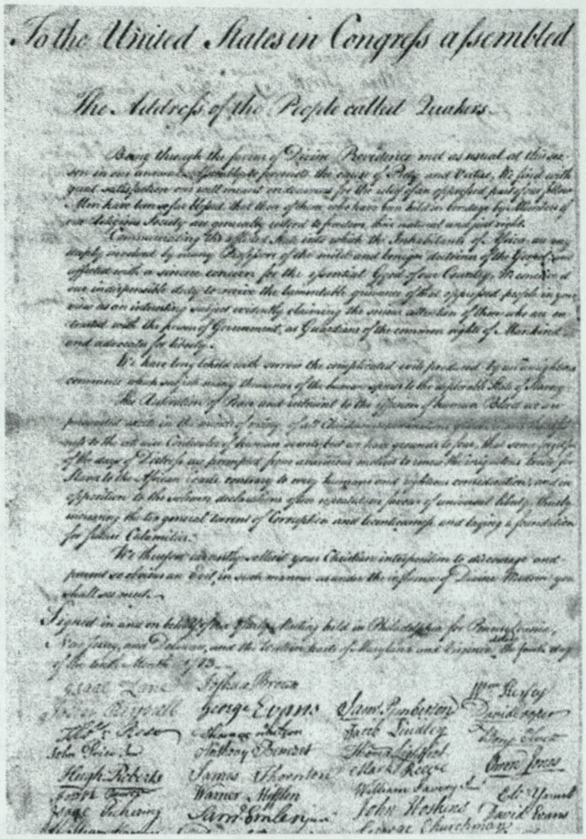
[8] The other men mentioned include Richard Keene, William Muffit, John Knap, Michael Brooks, Thomas Mears, Susanna Elliot, Hugh Drew, William Davis, William Cole, Robert Dunn, Francis Barnes, John Ellis, William Elliott, Edward Coppedge, Henry Carline, John Walcott, William Reid, Ishmael Wright, William Stockden and Guy White. Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, for the Testimony of a Good conscience* (London, 1753), 2:378-80 in Brock, *Liberty and Conscience*, 7-9.

[9] "From the Minutes of New England Yearly Meeting, 1712," in Brock, *Liberty and Conscience*, 12.

of resistance, Quakers continued to adhere to their peace principles.

Friends further struggled to maintain pacifism while situated between opposing factions such as non-Quaker colonists and American Indians. For the most part, Friends enjoyed peaceful relations with the Natives and attempted to carry out Fox's admonition to "teach and instruct."[10] Nevertheless, in late seventeenth-century Philadelphia, where a heavy population of Quakers resided, tension arose when Quakers resisted militia engagement with nearby tribes. Colonists, who lived in close proximity to Indians, resented the Quakers who remained closer to the town's center and refused to support them in protection against Indian raids.[11] The Friends, however, "would neither retire to garrisons, nor provide themselves with arms"[12] against the Indians. In return, Natives respected the Friends, and left them unharmed during the raids, except in the documented instance when Indians killed two Quakers who "took weapons of war to defend themselves."[13] A fellow Quaker, who recorded the case, felt that the Indians killed the Friends because they did not recognize them since they held weapons. If they appeared defenseless and unafraid, the natives would have recognized them as Quakers and left them alone.

In addition to declining to fight, Quakers refused to comply in any project that assisted the efforts of militias. Friends' resistance to support other members in their community in such aims set them apart from other colonists,


To the United States in Congress assembled

The Address of the People called Quakers.

Quaker petition from 4 October 1783, asking Congress to end the slave trade; image 1 of 4. National Archives, available at http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/charters_of_freedom_zoom_pages/charters_of_freedom_zoom_5.1.1.html.

who resented Quaker pacifism. Many refused to assist in the building or maintenance of forts during the war of Spanish Succession in 1711. Utterly frustrated with the Friends resistance to "contribute in any manner of way to the defense of the country," Governor of Virginia Alexander Spotswood complained to England:

> I have been mightliy [*sic*] embarrassed by a set of Quakers who broach doctrines so monstrous...they have not only refused to work themselves... but their consciences will not permit them to contribute in any manner of way to the defense of the country... at the same time they say that being

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[10] Fox, "To Friends in America, concerning their Negroes, and Indians."

[11] Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue*, 23.

[12] Jonathon Dymond, *Inquiry into the Accordance of War with the Principles of Christianity*, originally printed in 1823, transcribed and reproduced online at http://www.qhpress.org/texts/dymond/inquiry.html#144.1.

[13] Ibid.

> obliged by their religion to feed the enemies, if the French should come hither and want provisions, they must in conscience supply them.[14]

For refusing to comply, the militia heavily fined Friends, taking their oxen, mares, wagons, and wheat as penalty.[15]

While the Friends opposed fighting for their local governments, they never hesitated to write letters to authorities requesting exemption from military involvement. As avid letter and petition writers, the Quakers continuously pledged dedication to the government in any manner that "doth not infringe upon [their] tender consciences."[16] Demonstrating first their allegiance as citizens, they also requested exemption from all activities, such as military duty or oath-swearing, because it conflicted with their religious beliefs. This trend continued up to and through the Civil War and, in many cases, realized achievable results when Friends secured release from service due to petitions. It also demonstrates the fervency and dedication to their religious tenets, despite the fact that many of their concerns undoubtedly remained unanswered.

Quakers formed tactics to oppose slavery

The government, however, did not completely ignore the Quakers. When James Madison proposed a Bill of Rights to Congress in 1789, he included a provision for the permanent exemption of conscientious objectors from military service. Madison proposed an amendment that

> [t]he right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed; a well armed and well regulated militia being the best security of a free country: but no person religiously scrupulous of bearing arms shall be compelled to render military served in person.[17]

This amendment speaks directly to the concerns of the Quakers, who undoubtedly influenced Madison's suggestion. Congress adopted the Bill of Rights, but the objector clause failed to pass a vote.

Quakers continued their pacifist actions against violence during the Civil War, despite the fact that the war raged over slavery—an institution Friends abhorred as much as war. Like pacifism, Quaker concern for the well-being of slaves stemmed from their religious view that all beings held the inner light. Beginning in the eighteenth century, Quakers formed tactics to oppose slavery, sought to guarantee political, social, and religious equality within their communities, and sympathized for oppressed groups such as slaves and women.

Before the late 1700s, yearly meetings allowed slave holding and only insisted that Friends treat their slaves ethically and "instruct them to live godly, righteously, and soberly."[18] Anti-slavery sentiments, however, existed among Quakers much earlier. During the late

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[14] Letter dated 15 October 1711, *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood,* ed. R. A. Brock (Richmond, VA.), 1 (1882): 120-1 as cited in Brock, *Liberty and Conscience*, 5.

[15] Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, 378-80.

[16] Ibid., 380.

[17] *Annals of Congress: The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 1st Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1834), 431-42, as cited in Lillian Schissel, *Conscience in America: A Documentary History of Conscientious Objection in America, 1757-1967* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1968), 45.

[18] Fox, "To Friends in America, concerning their Negroes, and Indians."

seventeenth century, Quakers in England wrote letters to Friends in the colonies encouraging manumission. William Edmundson, an Irish Quaker, called on Friends in Rhode Island to free their slaves in 1676. Both Edmundson and John Woolman visited meetings in the colonies, teaching about the evils of slavery. Only thirty years after the first Friends arrived in the Pennsylvania colony, German Mennonites and Quakers in Germantown approached their meetings in 1688 and argued for equality.

[S]erving God meant loss of rights as citizens

> Tho they are black, we can not conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are.[19]

Members of the monthly meeting deferred to the quarterly, which deferred to the yearly meeting, which simply tabled the matter. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (PYM) officially denounced the slave trade in 1696, yet it took almost sixty years for the PYM to agree to disown Quakers who refused to free their slaves.[20]

Although members neglected to arrive at a consensus within their meetings during these years, individuals began to see that slave-holding conflicted with the religious teachings and with their own consciences. In 1774, North Carolina planter and businessman Thomas Newby, who felt "uneasy on account of slave-keeping," approached the Perquimans monthly meeting and "requested the advice and assistance of friends."[21] The meeting took the matter to the North Carolina Meeting who admonished all Friends to manumit their slaves in 1777.[22] Most meetings denounced slavery by 1776 and agreed to disown members who held slaves. Shortly thereafter, Quakers involved themselves outside meetings in developing anti-slavery and manumission societies, and petitioned the federal government to abolish the slave trade and the institution of slavery in America. Quakers also participated in the Underground Railroad effort to secure freedom for escaped slaves.

In the South, where manumitting a slave meant dangerous consequences for freedmen, members donated their slaves, as property, to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting to await emancipation. The courts only granted manumissions when a master attested to the meritorious actions of his slave. Quakers attempted this technique, yet felt compelled to relay their religious testimony during proceedings. The courts refused to manumit slaves on the basis of religious principles, even when the master provided proof of his slave's meritorious service. The state government, aware of Quaker principles (undoubtedly due to the many petitions Friends presented), often denied Quaker manumissions, regardless of whether members testified to their beliefs before the court. Consequently, members agreed to donate slaves to the meeting, where the meeting in turn, paid "slaves" to work for

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[19] Garret Henderich et al., "A Minute Against Slavery, Addressed to Germantown Monthly Meeting, 1688," in Joseph Walton, *Incidents Illustrating the Doctrines and History of the Society of Friends* (Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1897), 537.

[20] In 1754, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting agreed to disown Quakers who refused to free their slaves.

[21] Hiram H. Hilty, *By Land and By Sea: Quakers Confront Slavery and Its Aftermath in North Carolina* (Greensboro, NC: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1993), 1-3.

[22] Ibid.

Maria Chapman (1806-1885), abolitionist and co-founder of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery society and member of the New England Non-Resistance Society. Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, eds., *Active Nonviolence in the United States: The Power of the People* (Culver City, CA: Peace Press, 1977), 25.

the meetinghouse, until a time when they achieved legal emancipation or moved to free territory. Although the law allowed churches to hold property, Justice Ruffin of the North Carolina Supreme Court argued in 1827 that because owning slaves violated Quaker religious principles, it was impossible for the meeting to own them. Ruffin argued that because Quakers did not use slaves as property, they could not lawfully own slaves.[23] This ruling demonstrates the complex situation for Quakers living under civil government while maintaining allegiance to a higher law. Even when they tried to work within the system, the courts denied their right to hold property—a right guaranteed to all white men. Their dedication to serving God meant loss of rights as citizens.

Because the Religious Society of Friends recognized the "divine light within" all people regardless of race, class, or gender, women actively participated in promoting the cause of abolition. Quaker female ministers like Philadelphian Rebecca Jones and Virginian Sarah Harrison traveled between meetings testifying to Friends against slavery. Harrison successfully secured the release of over two hundred slaves, and Jones encouraged Friends to accept blacks into meeting membership.[24]

In addition to developing schools for African American children, Quakers employed black women teachers and principals at these schools. Women advised against the purchase of goods produced by slave labor, and actively boycotted them with their consumer powers.[25] Women's participation included a gendered response to abolition, as women activists encouraged Quaker mothers to rear their children against

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[23] Ibid., 44; and Rosser H. Taylor, *The Free Negro in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1920; electronic edition, 2002), 10, http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/taylorrh/taylorrh.html#n27.

[24] Linda B. Selleck, *Gentle Invaders: Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Richmond, ID: Friends United Press, 1995), 21.

[25] Women became involved with the Free Produce movement, established societies to boycott goods produced by slave labor, and to purchase cotton and sugar from non-slave holding merchants. The poetry of Margaret Chandler, whose themes included anti-slavery and free produce in *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, influenced many women. Lucretia Mott served as treasurer of the American Free Produce Association where five additional women served on the executive committee. See Jean Fagan and John C. Van Horne, *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 279.

the evils of slavery. Lucy Stone urged mothers to

> [r]emember that while your foot is on the cradle, it is on a source of power stronger than his who casts the ballot; and standing in that place of responsibility, let no hour pass without deepening in the minds of your little ones the impression of hatred of a system out of which comes such scenes as those in Kansas, out of which comes the prostration of the honoured head of Chales Sumner, out of which come the Fugitive Slave Law and the Dred Scott Decision.[26]

Given at the anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in May 1857, Stone's address to mothers demonstrates the empowerment Quaker women felt in their roles as contributors to the anti-slavery crusade. In traditional gendered roles as mothers, teachers, and also consumers, women responded in active and powerful ways in the cause of abolition.

Women's participation included a gendered response to abolition

In addition to personal activities to achieve equality for African Americans, women organized and participated in anti-slavery societies. In December 1833, abolitionists formed the American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia, whose membership of twenty-one Quakers included four women and three black men.[27] Additional abolitionist groups in Philadelphia included the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, the Philadelphia Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, and the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society in which five women served on the executive committee. By 1838, women established more than one hundred female anti-slavery societies.

At the beginning of the Civil War, the anti-slavery societies advocated for abolition in non-violent ways. Abolitionists disagreed over the best course of action, but for the most part believed that they should achieve emancipation non-violently. Because of the societies' pacifist views, Quakers continued to participate in anti-slavery societies outside their meetings.

Once the war began, Quakers responded as they had during early military engagements and individually and collectively opposed the war. These activities included everyday resistance such as refusal to pay war taxes, bear arms, pay commutation fees, build military structures, and work in military hospitals. They also organized larger collaborative actions such as the establishment of solutions at yearly meetings and the participation in peace societies.

The Society of Friends' refusal to enlist or pay the commutation fee demonstrated powerful acts of civil disobedience against the state and federal government. While many states held constitutional clauses exempting conscientious objectors on the basis of religious scruples, the Enrollment Act passed on 3 March 1863 mandated that all able-bodied males between ages twenty and forty-five "perform military duty in the service of the United Sates when called out by the President," and did not allow

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[26] Lucy Stone, "American Anti-Slavery Anniversary," *Liberator,* 22 May 1857, in Elizabeth C. Stevens, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Lilie Chace Wyman: A Century of Abolitionist, Suffragist and Workers' Rights Activism* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2003), 48.

[27] Marcia J. Heringa Mason, ed., *Remember the Distance that Divides Us: The Family Letters of Philadelphia Quaker Abolitionist and Michigan Pioneer Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, 1830-1842* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), xxxi.

for exemptions. The federal draft legislation allowed the payment of a three hundred dollar commutation fee; however, many Quakers, in good conscience, would not pay for someone else to fight in the war. When asked to explain why Friends refused the fee, Quaker Ethan Foster told Secretary of State William H. Seward that they "could see no difference between the responsibility of doing an act ourselves and that of hiring another to do it for us."[28] Frustrated with the agitators, Seward offered to pay the fee for Foster.

In addition to refusing to fight, many Quakers wrote letters to their respective state governments attesting to their patriotism and requesting exemption. While often ignored, some Friends received encouragement, support, and, in some instances, exemption.

Against his principles, the government drafted Quaker Cyrus Guernesy Pringle of Charlotte, Vermont, for service in the Union Army on 13 July 1863. Pringle appeared as reported to the Provost Marshal and pleaded his case that he could not fight in good conscience. The Provost Marshal instructed Pringle to appear before a review board, which released him only to insist upon his military duty a month later. While in service, Pringle addressed a letter to Virginia Governor Frederick Holbrook describing the maltreatment he received due to his religious affiliation and stated again that military service directly conflicted with his morals. Holbrook never responded to Pringle, who bore his testimony by refusing to repair roads or even clean and carry a gun.

Many Friends appealed to President Abraham Lincoln on behalf of Pringle, and on 14 September 1863 the president instructed the army to transfer Pringle and another Quaker from active duty to hospital service. Members of the Lynn Friends Meeting visited Pringle and ensured him that he might enter the hospital without compromising peace principles. Pringle, however, felt that hospital duty still violated his principles, and that he should consult his own meeting for further guidance:

> Regarding the work to be done in hospital as one of mercy and benevolence, we asked if we had any right to refuse its performance; and questioned whether we could do more good by endeavoring to bear to the end a clear testimony against war, than by laboring by word and deed among the needy in the hospitals and camps.[29]

Ultimately Pringle sided with his fellow Quaker who stated "no Friend, who is really such, desiring to keep himself clear of complicity with this system of war and to bear a perfect testimony against it, can lawfully perform service in the hospitals of the Army in lieu of bearing arms." Pringle's New York Friends continued to write letters on his behalf, and on 11 November 1863 Lincoln called for his immediate release.[30]

While in service, Pringle's actions undoubtedly agitated his officers to the point that they wished to see him paroled. He continuously refused to participate in any actions that perpetuated the war. He repeatedly voiced his objection to the violation of his faith and continued to appeal to sympathetic listeners.

[28] Ethan Foster, *The Conscript Quakers: Being a Narrative of the Distress and Relief of Four Young Men from the Draft for the War in 1863* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1883), 14-6, in Schissel, *Conscience in America*, 100.

[29] Cyrus Pringle, *The Record of a Quaker Conscience: Cyrus Pringle's Diary* (New York: Macmillan, 1918), 5.

[30] Ibid., 24, 33, 53-4, 62, 92.

The support and actions from members of the New York Friends eventually secured his release.

In addition to letter writing, many Quakers sent petitions to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton in hopes that he would discharge Quaker draftees. In a request for exemption for a Quaker nonresistant in Massachusetts, petitioners alluded to Stanton's prior compassionate gestures:

> You have already generously discharged several Quakers who have been drafted into the Army. This leads us to hope that you will not hesitate to discharge from military service this young man who is suffering from his adherence to the same principles as theirs.[31]

[T]he public remained hostile to Quaker conscientious objection

Stanton undoubtedly received hundreds of similar requests due to his sympathetic nature and position of authority. His solution to the Friends issue with the commutation fee was to propose the establishment of a Freedmen Fund. Ideally, Friends would pay the fee of three hundred dollars into the special fund for the support of manumitted slaves. Stanton urged members of the Society of Friends from Baltimore to gather a general conference of their committees to consider such a proposition.[32] His advice demonstrates the potential weight of Quaker numbers and the influence and respect they achieved within government.

The many Quaker letters and petitions, in addition to requests from other peace sects, pressured Congress to acknowledge and exempt conscientious objectors from active duty. In February 1864, national legislation allowed for alternate service in military hospitals.[33] For many absolute pacifists, however, any cooperation with the military violated their peace testimony. In opposition to noncombatant services, Friends voiced their disapproval at meetings and in print. They chided the legislation as "an assumption on the part of the government of a right to oblige the subject to violate his conscience, or to exact a penalty if he elects to obey God rather than men."[34]

The federal implementation of the noncombatant clause to the Enrollment Act demonstrates the success Quakers could achieve when active in their resistance. Quakers, however, remained unsatisfied because the new legislation still violated their higher law. At the same time, the special treatment accorded to the Friends angered non-Quakers.

While the Society of Friends maintained some supporters in their pacifist testimony, the majority of the public remained hostile to conscientious objection. The press labeled them as unpatriotic and, even worse, as condoners of slavery. While one reporter agreed that the "rights of conscience should be respected," he also insisted that a "true lover of his country should have conscientious conditions in favor of pulling down this accursed rebellion, and along with it its hell-born parent, human slavery."[35] Moreover, the reporter felt that the exemption of persons or sects on account of religious scruples was merely a "tacit acknowledgment

[31] *Congressional Globe*, XLIV, part I, 255, in Schissel, *Conscience in America,* 97.

[32] Schissel, *Conscience in America*, 96.

[33] *U.S. Statutes at Large,* 38th Cong., 1st sess., XIII, 9, in Schissel, *Conscience in America*, 98.

[34] *The Friend,* 38, no. 27, 215, in Schissel, *Conscience in America*, 99.

[35] "Exemption of Friends from Military Service," *Philadelphia Press*, 8 February 1864.

that the prosecution of the war, on our part is unjust, and accompanied by an inexcusable expenditure of blood, and that, from first to last, we should have submitted, in the most patient and submissive, manner to the insolent rule of the rebels."[36] Undoubtedly, the Quakers felt discouraged at such a misinterpretation of the religious motives and a denouncement of their patriotism. This public perception demonstrates the dilemma members faced in their roles as citizen and Quaker. Despite public chastisement, Friends continued to act against the war through personal testimony.

In allegiance to God rather than country, Alfred H. Love also rejected service in the Union army. He refused to pay the commutation fee or to sell goods from his woolen commission store to the government. On 20 April 1861, frantic Philadelphian citizens heard rumors that the Confederate army burned the bridges around Baltimore City. Officials circulated a proposition among merchants to close at 4:00PM so that employees could prepare for war. Love declined to sign the petition and remained open past six in protest. He refused to sell military goods and as a result, his business suffered: "No goods seling [*sic*] except for military purposes & as I wont sell them we have little trade.... The war news seems prepartory [*sic*] for a Struggle before long."[37] Outside of his meeting, he felt alone in his non-resistance stance. Often moved by "the spirit" during the meeting, Love shared his testimony regarding the war.

> I gave forth my testimony in favor of individual courage to stand firmly by the principles of non resistance. I repeated the earnest appeal of the North Carolina Friends against being drafted. I applied this to the course of Friends in the North refusing to fight because our Heavenly Father disapproves.[38]

Love felt comforted with Friends who shared his sentiments: "I was gratified by hearing Henry W. Ridgway on the subject of the day -- war! He was very earnestly conclusive for peace," and at the same time worried about those Friends who did not uphold the testimony: "[T]he golden rule seems now forgotten & some of our Friends waver & some have even joined the army."[39] Love's every action demonstrated his peace testimony, and both individually and with fellow members exemplified a movement for peace.[40] Following the Civil War, Love established the Universal Peace Union with Joshua P. Blanshard, Adin Ballou, Henry C. Wright, and Lucretia Mott.

In addition to the individual non-violent actions of war resisters, the reiteration of the peace testimony at yearly meetings demonstrated a collective Quaker conscience regarding non-violence. Undoubtedly, many Friends looked to fellow members regarding the best means of maintaining their roles as citizens and, at the same time, following their religious scruples. As part of the PYM in April 1865, a special anti-conscription advisory committee reported accounts of Quaker conscription to the Meeting for Sufferings and restated the necessity for all members' adherence to Quaker principles in times of war. The committee, composed of Thomas Evans, Morris Cope, Aaron Sharpless, David Roberts, and John E. Sheppard, organized efforts and secured release

[36] Ibid.

[37] Alfred H. Love, Diary #9 (25 February 1861—17 December 1862), Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Universal Peace Union (DG 038): series 2, available online http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/conscientiousobjection/co%20website/pages/stories.html.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

for Quakers that entered the military either voluntarily or involuntarily.

The PYM followed Quaker tradition in other large cities, states, and countries where members met annually to pray, contemplate, and address matters of business. Understandably, the issue of conscription and military participation was of substantial importance at the PYM in 1865. The committee's report concluded that enlisting as a combatant, non-combatant, paying the fine, or paying for a replacement contributed to the war, and therefore remained "inconsistent with religious testimony."[41] Their findings illustrated consensus, or a "Sense of the Meeting" among those in attendance. Quaker meetings relied on consensual agreement, or "Unity," for establishing solutions at meetings. If one member, due to his inner light, felt otherwise, the group could not arrive at a consensus.[42]

Even Garrison endorsed the brutal actions of John Brown

Members of the PYM demonstrated the need for Friends to act in accordance with peace principles by illustrating the personal moral consequence for those who acted otherwise. One Friend, for instance, felt justified according to his conscience to enlist for a non-combatant assignment to a military hospital. After arriving, however, he felt as Pringle did, that he "had compromised the testimony of Truth by choosing Hospital duty,"[43] and summoned the PYM committee to arrange for his release. This experience demonstrated the importance of "adhering to religious principles, without compromise."[44]

Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, 1850. Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, eds., *Active Nonviolence in the United States: The Power of the People* (Culver City, CA: Peace Press, 1977), 29.

While the basic bodies of Friends institutions —the monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings— implemented solutions against participation in the war, the meetings themselves were autonomous, and the Quaker faith encouraged members to act in alignment with their individual consciences. Some felt guided by their inner light to enlist as active soldiers. There is a danger in viewing the Quaker pacifist experience during the Civil War as a cohesive one. The historical record demonstrates the struggles and tensions members faced as Quakers in upholding their testimony and as citizens with a duty to their country.

Contemporaries labeled those who chose to fight in the war as "Fighting Quakers." This

[41] Thomas Evans et al., "Statement of Quaker Principles against Bearing Arms and Paying Fines, 1865," from the Minutes of the Meeting of Sufferings of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, in Schissel, *Conscience in America*, 116.

[42] Because "consensus" infers secularization of their Sacrament, Quakers refer to it as "Unity," or "Sense of the Meeting," which denotes the Will of God as presented within the worshiping group. See Eden Grace, "An Introduction to Quaker Business Practice," *Special Commission on Orthodox Participation in the WCC: Documents from Sub-Committees I and IV World Council of Churches* (Damascus, Syria: 2000) http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/who/damascuspost-00-e.html .

[43] Evans et al., "Statement of Quaker Principles," in Schissel, *Conscience in America*, 115.

[44] Ibid.

name attests to a public understanding that the Society of Friends generally remained adamantly opposed to the war. Often, those who became soldiers denounced their membership. General Hullock, born to Quaker parents on Long Island, lost favor for Quakerism in military school. Even though Hullock was no longer a member, the *Philadelphia Press* deemed a Fighting Quaker newsworthy and cleverly remarked, "[R]ebels of Missouri will probably find that he does not conduct war on peace principles."[45]

Those who enlisted without breaking away from the Friends faced possible disownment for their contribution to the war. In Indiana, over 200,000 men enlisted in the Union Army, and approximately 1,200 Quakers served.[46] Historian Jacquelyn S. Nelson documents the cases in which Quakers felt a duty to serve the Union cause. While the Quaker faith allowed for freedom of action as long as it complied with an individual's conscience, the yearly meetings set forth clear statements regarding the peace testimony. These Quakers faced the dilemma of either serving God or country. Like all the others, the Indiana Yearly Meeting urged Friends to guard against involving themselves in the "disloyalty and civil strife" that engulfed the country and encouraged them to continue the testimony against taking human life.[47] In 1862, the Indiana Yearly Meeting reiterated:

> We love our country and highly appreciate the excellent government under which we have enjoyed so large a share of liberty and security to person and property, and look with heartfelt sorrow upon the efforts to destroy it, but we...cannot believe that nay cause is sufficient to...warrant us in violation what we believe to be the law of our Lord.[48]

When Quakers enlisted voluntarily or involuntarily, they faced possible disownment upon their return. A soldier retained his membership if he provided an "offering" or "acknowledgment" that his actions violated the peace testimony. If, however, he denied any wrongdoing, the meeting barred him from membership.[49] Either repudiated by other members for supporting the war, or penalized by the government or society for refusing to support it, Friends struggled with complex decisions during the Civil War. The panoply of Quaker experiences demonstrates the complexities of serving both God and country. In many cases, they had to choose one or the other.

Friends objected to violence ideologically and actively

Nevertheless, a great many Friends objected to violence ideologically and actively by refusing to enlist or support the war at any cost. In addition to advising against military engagement within their own organizations, Quaker pacifist principles profoundly influenced the development of non-sectarian peace societies. David Dodge organized the first American Peace Society in New York in 1815, and Friends constituted the first thirty members.[50] Like the Quakers, Dodge condemned "all kinds of war, revenge, and fighting" as "utterly prohibited under

[45] *Philadelphia Press*, 22 November 1861.

[46] Jacquelyn S. Nelson, *Indiana Quakers Confront the Civil War* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1991), 20-5.

[47] Ibid., 13.

[48] Minutes of the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1860, pp. 14-5, in Nelson, *Indiana Quakers*, 14.

[49] Nelson, *Indiana Quakers*, 18.

[50] Brock, *Liberty and Conscience*, 459.

the gospel dispensation."[51] Simultaneously, Unitarian minister Reverend Noah Worcester established the Massachusetts Peace Society, whose membership included sectarians as well as the governor, lieutenant governor, and many Harvard professors. The constitution set forth to "promote the cause of peace by methods which all Christians must approve--exhibiting all clearness and distinctness the pacific nature of the gospel."[52] Additional peace societies sprung up in Georgia, Indiana, Maine, New Hampshire, Philadelphia, and even Upper Canada and Nova Scotia. Quaker membership remained strong and influenced many of these groups.

These groups joined together under William Ladd to form the American Peace Society in Boston in 1828. Although considered sectarian, aimed "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests to mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace."[53]

During the Civil War, however, the stances of peace societies divided over the meanings of pacifism, thus alienating many Quakers from participation and collaboration. William Lloyd Garrison shared the Quaker view that no war was legitimate, and criticized the American Peace Society for distinguishing between aggressive and defensive wars. Garrison, one of the most famous abolitionists, fought for the end of slavery, yet also denied the need for war. With the support of Quakers, Garrison broke from the American Peace Society to form the New England Non-Resistance Society. The society maintained that "the taking of the life of man, by man, under any circumstances, is a sin against God."[54] The Non-Resistance Society upheld Quaker refusal to bear arms or pay the commutation fee: "He who regards the bearing of arms as a sinful act, cannot consider the sum which he pays as an equivalent for its performance, as a trifling one—especially as it goes to swell the treasury of the man-killing system."[55] The Societies' views supported Quaker tenets regarding slavery, fighting, and commutation fees.

Like the peace societies, the abolitionists split into two distinct groups—those who remained opposed to the war, and those who believed war the only way to end slavery. In order to justify their stance, the abolitionists who resorted to supporting the fight, defined the conflict not as a "war," but as a federal police response to Southern rebellion.[56] Even Garrison endorsed the brutal actions of John Brown. On the day of Brown's execution, Garrison stated, "Give me, as a non-resistant, Bunker Hill and Lexington and Concord, rather than the Cowardice and Servility of a Southern slave plantation."[57]

The schisms within the sectarian peace societies and the anti-slavery societies discouraged the Friends from participating in efforts outside

51 David Low Dodge, "The Mediator's Kingdom not of this World but Spiritual, Heavenly and Divine," as cited in Brock, *Liberty and Conscience*, 451.

52 *A Circular Letter from the Massachusetts Peace Society,* pp. 4, 11, 14-6, as cited in Brock, *Liberty and Conscience*, 472.

53 *Advocate of Peace*, 1 (June 1837), 30, as cited in C. Roland Marchand, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform: 1898-1918* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 5.

54 New England Non-Resistance Society, *Report on the Injustice and Inequality of the Militia Law of Massachusetts, with Regard to the Rights of Conscience* (Boston, 1838), 3-12, in Brock, *Liberty and Conscience*, 95.

55 Ibid., 97.

56 The American Peace Society maintained this position. J. G. Randall and David Herbert Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Lexington, MA: Heath, 1969), 152.

57 William Lloyd Garrison cited in Merle Curti, "Non-Resistance in New England," *New England Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (January 1929): 55-6.

their Quaker meetings. Commenting upon these splits, an anti-slavery activist and Friend, Samuel M. Janney, remarked:

> In the present aspect of affairs we should look well to our steps before we become active members of any political party; for I apprehend that none of them are conducted upon our principles. We profess to be the followers of a Saviour who proclaims 'liberty to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.[58]

While the Quakers realized many small changes before, during, and after the Civil War—including guaranteeing exemption from bearing arms, paying commutation fees, and release from any type of military post—their lack of organization and unity as a centralized political block inhibited radical legislative changes during their lifetime. That the Quakers did not successfully organize nationally in opposition to the war does not make their resistance less significant. The Quaker establishment of meetings as autonomous organizations restrained an opportunity to unite in a larger collective opposition against the Civil War. Their individual actions, in addition to collective demonstration within their yearly meetings against violence, remain one of their greatest legacies, and can be viewed as one of the first American movements for peace. Their experiences set the precedent for future conscientious objection legislation and the development of organized Peace Societies.

Because the political powers who wage and win wars most often write history, pacifist participants and their actions remain unnoticed and unappreciated as an integral part of the history of conflict. Civil War history most often remembers the soldiers who valiantly fought to end slavery and preserve the Union. At the end of the war, an entire race was delivered from bondage. The public considered fighting in the war a patriotic duty, and history remembers them for that noble cause. Including the pacifists in history does not lessen the soldiers' contributions, but only provides another piece of the story. To ignore these contributions is to remain unaware of the ways in which people sought, successfully and unsuccessfully, to exist peacefully in a world of violence.

Among the first to denounce slavery, personally and collectively, the Quakers wanted to see an end to the institution perhaps more than anyone. They are not less noble for refusing to kill for the cause to end slavery, though contemporaries equated Quakers' reluctance to fight with a lack of support for their country. The federal government demanded that as a requirement of citizenship all able-bodied males enlist in military duty, ignoring the religious principles of the Religious Society of Friends. Ultimately, the U.S. government forced Quakers to choose between God and country. Identifying the conflicts between religion and citizenship and pacifism and patriotism deepens the complexity of American freedom.

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[58] Samuel M. Janney, *Memoirs of Samuel M. Janney: Late of Lincoln, Loudon County, VA: A Minister in the Religious Society of Friends* (Philadelphia: Friends Book Association, 1881; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998 electronic edition), 75.

Changing Attitudes in the Civil War

by Joshua Ryan Ornelas

A Union officer poses with his contraband servant. William Davis and Bell Wiley, eds., *Civil War Album: Complete Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York: Tess Press, 2000), 375.

Although the Civil War began as a fight to save the Union, the issue of slavery inevitably exacerbated the conflict and transformed it into a moral crusade. Despite continuing discrimination and unequal treatment, African Americans remained committed to preserving the Union. Utilizing primary materials such as newspapers, diaries, and photographs in addition to secondary sources, **Joshua Ryan Ornelas** illuminates the daily struggles blacks faced, and illustrates how white attitudes toward African Americans changed within the highest levels of government and among the average citizens during the American Civil War.

The American Civil War marked a time of change for African American participation in the army. The newly elected president, Abraham Lincoln, changed his position of arming blacks over the course of the war. The idea that it was a "white man's war," something expressed throughout the nation, encouraged the Union army to deny African Americans the chance to participate in the fight. The army used blacks as laborers and servants and did not view them as potential soldiers. Racism existed throughout the Union by means of laboring ethics, payment, quality of uniforms, and weaponry that they received. The question of whether they would commit to the Union also plagued white commanders of black army regiments. Throughout the Civil War, however, the nation slowly changed its attitudes toward African Americans and eventually understood that these men also fought to preserve the Union from Confederate victory.

The day Fort Sumter fell, Lincoln issued an urgent call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to fight. The response to Lincoln's request filled enlistment offices and generated countless support for the Union army through donations of money, goods, services, and, later, lives. The War Department did not intend to enlist blacks, as there seemed no need for them, and most men in the North, including military officers, thought blacks could not fight.[1] Arming blacks and accepting them as soldiers required their freedom, thus meriting equality to other Americans.[2] Most U.S. citizens remained unwilling to support this notion at the beginning of the war.

Fredrick Douglass, a black abolitionist leader and former slave, advised Lincoln to use black soldiers from the beginning. During the war, early proposals suggested that the Union recruit an army of ten thousand from slaves and freedmen. Douglass stated: "One black regiment alone would be, in such a war, the full equal of two white ones."[3] When African Americans first attempted to enlist, however, they received news that the war represented "a white man's war; no blacks need apply."[4] Douglass wrote in September 1861: "[T]he American flag is the flag of freedom to all who will rally under it and defend it with their blood."[5] He further urged "colored troops from the North be enlisted and permitted to share the danger and honor of upholding the Government."[6] Lincoln, on the other hand, would not approach the issue of slavery.

Throughout the president's public life, he consistently opposed the institution of slavery and advocated policies that restricted it from spreading into the West. In Lincoln's first inaugural address, he assured Southerners that he did not intend to interfere with slavery where it already existed, as he possessed no power to do so. Initially, Lincoln displayed reluctance in writing the Emancipation Proclamation because he viewed the war only in terms of preserving the Union. In 4 August 1862, Lincoln told an Indiana delegation that "[t]o arm the negroes would turn 50,000 bayonets from the loyal Border States against us that were for us." In September 1862, however, Congress authorized Lincoln to use

1 Jack Fincher, *The Hard Fight Was Getting into the Fight at All* (Nashville: Cumberland, 2000).

2 Hondon B. Hargrove, *Black Soldiers in the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1988), 10.

3 Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long* (New York: Vintage, 1980), 66.

4 Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: Longman's, Green, 1956), 15.

5 Ibid., 27.

6 Ibid.

black soldiers at his discretion.[7] He, and most others, doubted that blacks could fight as well as whites.[8] Lincoln became more sympathetic to the idea of abolishing slavery as pressure for abolition mounted in Congress and around the country.

In June 1862, Lincoln completed his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. Secretary of State William H. Seward advised the president to await a positive military development before releasing it, because announcing it during Union losses might cast the proclamation as a desperate and meaningless gesture. Following the Union victory at Antietam on 17 September 1862, an opportunity arose that allowed Lincoln to speak on his preliminary proclamation. Five days later, he issued a preliminary proclamation revealing that emancipation would take effect on 1 January 1863 only in those states still in rebellion. Within those one hundred days—between 22 September 1862 and the New Year—any state could abandon its rebellion, but if it failed to do so, the proclamation freed the slaves therein. Great debates, fiery speeches, state legislative resolutions, congressional dialogues, and citizens' group meetings ensued during those days before 1 January.

Lincoln displayed reluctance in writing the Emancipation Proclamation

No Confederate state returned to the Union and, as promised, Lincoln delivered his Emancipation Proclamation on New Year's Day. The final product differed from the first document considerably. On 6 August 1862 he agreed only to use blacks as laborers within the armies.[9] The final proclamation states that

Fig. 1. Lieutenant Colonel F. M. Bache of the 16th U.S. Infantry and fellow officers enjoy a meal in the field under the watchful eye of their black servant. Hirst Milhollen and Donald Mugridge, comps., *Selected Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1977), no. 0282.

"persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service."[10] This meant that former slaves could enlist in the Union army, and this promise became reality on 31 January 1863 when the United States military introduced the first black regiment from South Carolina.

When the Union began to recruit black troops in 1863, African Americans displayed less eagerness than in 1861. When blacks tried to enlist at the beginning of the war, Northern states and the Federal government rejected them, and their inequality reduced their

[7] Edwin S. Redkey, ed., *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 250.

[8] Ibid., 3.

[9] Cornish, *Sable Arm*, 27.

[10] Abraham Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation" in Roy P. Basler et al., eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 6:28-30.

enthusiasm for fighting.[11] Ultimately, 180,000 blacks served in Northern armies, about one-fifth of the nation's population of military-age black men.[12] African Americans at this time needed to prove themselves as worthy combatants.

Service as Servants

If blacks did not encounter discrimination and racism outside of Union regiments, they experienced it at the hands of white soldiers and commanders inside the army. In the beginning, African Americans received assignments as common servants and laborers for Union army commanders, in addition to more frequent fatigue duties—including construction, grave digging, and the like—than that of a white soldier. Those fortunate enough to achieve the label of soldier faced racism by not receiving quality uniforms, weapons, or equal pay. Blacks, in the eyes of white soldiers and commanders, did not need top-of-the-line equipment because they would not be fighting any time soon. This racism and prejudice emerges in photographs, memoirs, diary entries, and letters to families and to editors of newspapers explaining their unfair treatment. Regardless of African Americans' willingness to fight, they continually confronted racism and prejudice from Union army officers and fellow soldiers. This persisted until events altered the white soldiers' perception of the African American as a potential ally.

Photographers... unintentionally [displayed] racism and prejudice

During the war, African Americans expected to participate in field operations. In 1863, however, large units from the newly organized black regiments received assignments of fatigue details, so much so that it left them scarcely time for basic training.[13] The most degrading aspect of military life for some black soldiers resulted from their use as servants to white soldiers in the Union army.[14] They performed numerous tasks, including loading and unloading boats, serving drinks to and making food for Union officers, and exhuming and burying dead bodies. "Officers and men are having an easy time," wrote a Maine soldier from occupied Louisiana in 1862. "We have Negroes to do all fatigue to work, cooking and washing clothes."[15] Black soldiers grew frustrated and angry because they found themselves used for everything other than the role of combatant.

From the beginning of the war, only a few black men managed to join the Union in all-white regiments. They primarily served as servants to white generals rather than as soldiers. In Timothy O'Sullivan's and Alexander Gardner's 1864 photograph, "Dinner party outside tent, Army of the Potomac headquarters" (fig. 1), five Union army officers gather around a table for dinner.[16] five Union army officers gather around a table for dinner. They face downward to give the viewer the impression that the photographer did not interrupt their supper. In the background, a young African American holds a white pitcher while the Union officers enjoy tobacco and

[11] H. C. Blackerby, *Blacks in Blue and Gray* (Tuscaloosa, AL: Portals, 1979), 46.

[12] William Dudley, ed., *The Civil War: Opposing Viewpoints* (San Diego: Greenhaven, 1995), 209.

[13] Hargrove, *Black Soldiers*, 115.

[14] David Williams, *A People's History of the Civil War: Struggles for the Meaning of Freedom* (New York: New Press, 2005), 370.

[15] James McPherson, *The Illustrated Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 423.

[16] Timothy H. O'Sullivan, "Dinner party outside tent, Army of the Potomac headquarters," 1864 in Hirst Milhollen and Donald Mugridge, comps., *Selected Civil War Photographs*, 1861-1865 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1977), www.loc.gov.

discuss their day. Another picture taken in 1864, "Officers of the 114th Pennsylvania Infantry playing cards in front of tents," shows two black soldiers catering to four white Union officers. The Union officers play cards and one smokes a pipe. One black servant stands with his arms behind his back, ready for any requests. Another bears a wooden tray holding a bottle of wine. These photographs provide evidence of black soldiers' treatments as common servants rather than soldiers.

If African Americans did not serve food to white Union soldiers directly, they often staffed the kitchen. Between June 1864 and April 1865 in City Point, Virginia, a picture taken by an unknown photographer shows one such incident (fig. 2).[17] A black soldier prepares food for the Union army, gazing at two steaming pots while holding a ladle. He seems dazed and shows no emotion for his job. His jacket, bigger than he is, has a rip at the top of the shoulder, and his hat and coat are worn, which shows the substandard clothes they received from the Union. He wears a wedding band on his left hand, which means he probably joined the Union to provide for his family. There are no white soldiers present to offer help or monitor him while he cooks. White commanders often assigned Black soldiers a disproportionate amount of heavy labor and fatigue duty.[18] This, however, proved easier than manual labor, which required long, tiring hours and which their white commanders assigned in disproportionate amounts.

Labor Detail and the African American Soldier

While still expected to perform combat duty, black soldiers obtained labor and fatigue duty more often than white soldiers.[19] The army's use of black troops varied between regions and commanders.[20] Some, such as General William T. Sherman, refused to employ them at all.[21] African American used as laborers for the Union usually worked in construction or labor battalions. White commanders assigned blacks to heavy fatigue duty, to work fortifications, and garrison and guard duty.[22] Photographers captured these acts of injustice, unintentionally displaying racism and prejudice toward African Americans in these records.

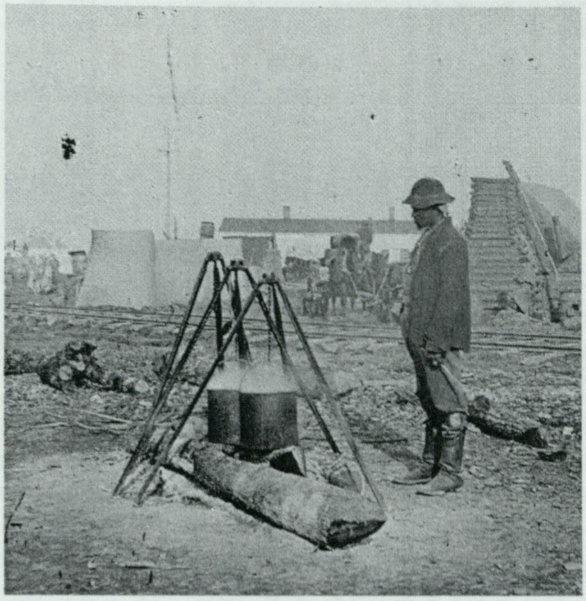

Fig. 2. This African American cook works diligently to prepare food for the army. Hirst Milhollen and Donald Mugridge, comps., *Selected Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1977), no. 0367.

In "African Americans unloading vessels at landing" (fig. 3),[23] taken by an unknown photographer in 1864, two separate groups of

[17] "City Point, VA. African American army cook at work," 1864 in *Selected Civil War Photographs*.

[18] James McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War* (New York: Random House, 1993), 198.

[19] Redkey, *Grand Army*, 6.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Hargrove, *Black Soldiers*, 116.

[23] "African Americans unloading vessels at landing," 1864 in *Selected Civil War Photographs*.

Fig. 3. African American dockworkers unload ships at port, a duty that whites frequently delegated to them. Hirst Milhollen and Donald Mugridge, comps., *Selected Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1977), no. 0363.

black soldiers unload vessels at a dock. Some argued that blacks proved better at such labor because of the unsuitable climate for whites.[24] Two soldiers carry wooden crates from a large pile of boxes and crates, suggesting that they will work at unloading for most of the day. This photo focuses on the closest group of blacks as opposed to the indistinct group in the background. One can identify the black men as Union soldiers by their attire, but only because most of them wear Union hats. Had they been a white unit, they would all be wearing standard issue uniforms. As in the photo of the cook, there are no white soldiers directing or helping them do jobs that proved long and tiring. White soldiers delegated a variety of fatigue details to newly organized black regiments.[25]

African Americans... labored under a double disadvantage

Taken in the 1860s, a photo of African Americans building a stockade in Alexandria, Virginia, conveys the idea that black soldier often performed manual labor.[26] In the picture, African Americans stand nearly knee deep, digging with their coats off and sleeves rolled up, working arduously, while white officers supervise them and wear their own, pristine coats, comfortable in the weather as they idly watch. There is a visible line where the black soldiers are supposed to stop digging, which symbolizes the separation between whites and blacks, workers and supervisors. According to Joseph Glatthaar, "Officers made feeble arguments to justify the disproportionate amount of fatigue work that black commands performed...depicting the black race as possessing characteristics naturally suited to manual labor."[27]

While some black soldiers dug trenches for the Union, others did so for other purposes. In John Reekie's photograph at Cold Harbor, Virginia, four African Americans exhume bodies where General Grant's Wilderness campaign took place[28] and a fifth sits next to a stretcher of body parts and skulls. A soldier's boot hangs from the stretcher and another skull lies on the ground. The photo depicts death and shows the ugly side of manual labor African Americans endured during the Civil War. According to scholar James McPherson, "[I]n spite of the courage and contribution of [African American] soldiers, the black troopers confronted many indignities and injustices."[29] To black troops, the government's refusal to

[24] Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 182.

[25] Hargrove, *Black Soldiers*, 115.

[26] "Contraband Laborers," 1864 in *Selected Civil War Photographs*.

[27] Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 182.

[28] John Reekie, "Cold Harbor, VA. African Americans collecting bones of soldiers killed in the battle," 1864 in *Selected Civil War Photographs*.

[29] McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 197.

fulfill its promise of equal pay represented an act of injustice and racial bigotry.[30] Throughout the Civil War, African Americans who served in the Union army labored under a double disadvantage: the South refused to recognize them as soldiers and the North refused to grant them financial status equal to white troops.[31]

Equal Work, Unequal Pay

When African Americans enlisted in the Union army, they believed they would earn the same as white soldiers. At this time, white privates received thirteen dollars a month in addition to a $3.50 clothing allowance. The 1862 Militia Act mandated that blacks receive only ten dollars a month, minus three dollars for clothing,[32] which meant that African soldiers only received seven dollars—little more than half of what white solders received. As one private of the 54th Regiment wrote his sister, "Why are we not worth as much as white soldiers? We do the same work they do, and do what they cannot."[33] The racist injustice of payment disheartened African Americans and gave them the impression that white soldier's lives proved more valuable than theirs.

African Americans... labored under a double disadvantage

Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton promised African Americans the same pay as white soldiers at the time of enlistment, but he lacked the legal authority to make such a promise.[34] When it came time for Stanton to make a decision regarding the payment for African Americans, he looked to his chief lawyer, William Whiting, for advice. Whiting based his ultimate decision on a law that applied to African Americans specifically, the Militia Act of 17 July 1862, which authorized the use of black soldiers and emancipation of former slaves of rebel masters turned soldiers. Under the act, black soldiers received pay at a rate of three dollars less than white soldiers. In June 1863, Whiting reluctantly said the law made all blacks in the army equal only to one another—no soldier of any rank collected more than seven dollars a month.[35] This meant that African American corporals or sergeants earned less than that of a white private.

The 54th and 55th Regiments of Massachusetts protested and refused to accept a fraction of what white soldiers received. Some African Americans, on the other hand, resented Massachusetts' actions, which implied that black soldiers intended to hold out for more pay.[36] Stanton pursued equal wages through Congress in December 1863 because black soldiers refused to accept a lower salary. Democrats argued that paying blacks the same wages as white soldiers degraded whites.[37] While Congress debated this argument, many African American soldiers and their families suffered severe hardships through pay discrimination.[38] Since they served with white soldiers, ate the same food, wore the same uniforms, worked, fought, and died just as whites did, they felt entitled to the same rates.[39] Black soldiers wrote to their families and to newspapers explaining how whites cheated them out of the money they deserved

30 Donald Yaconvone, ed., *Freedom's Journey: African American Voices of the Civil War* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2004), 152.

31 Cornish, *Sable Arm*, 27.

32 Ibid., 165.

33 McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 202.

34 Ibid., 200.

35 Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 230.

36 McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 201.

37 Ibid., 203.

38 Ibid., 207.

39 Cornish, *Sable Arm*, 184.

Fig. 4. Four Union officers relax during the war. The positioning of the African Americans and their lack of chairs is highly suggestive of their lesser status. Hirst Milhollen and Donald Mugridge, comps., *Selected Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1977), no. 0257.

On 10 April 1864, an unknown black soldier of the 55th Regiment of Massachusetts wrote to the editor of the *New York Weekly Anglo-African* explaining that he and other blacks enlisted for service at the rate of thirteen dollars a month; the War Department, however, only paid the black soldiers seven dollars. Northern blacks, like their white counterparts, sent most of their money home to family members for support or to save for post-war life.[40] Black soldiers, however, did not receive the money they deserved and that the terms of their enlistment promised. Because of this, their families suffered and struggled to live. In the letter, the soldier explained that if the black soldiers did not receive their full wage, their families might not survive. "We enlisted for $13 per month, with the promise (I wish the public to keep this fact before them, to see how these promises are being fulfilled) that we should be treated in all respects like white soldiers."[41] The soldiers believed they could hear the cries of their families growing fainter because of the lack of funds, despite their willingness to risk their lives to preserve the Union. The anonymous soldier explained how the War Department cheated them out of money they earned. Because black soldiers did not receive full compensation, they refused to accept any payment.

Consequently, their families often lacked proper nourishment. The soldier stressed to the editor that he and the rest of the regiments' families would not survive without the money: "Are our parents, wives, children and sisters to suffer, while we, their natural protectors, are fighting the battles of the nation."[42] His, as well as the other soldiers' performance suffered from knowing their families struggled to survive. He told the editor that if the country lives, blacks will live, however, "if she dies we will sleep with her, even as our brave comrades now sleep with Col. Shaw within the walls of Wagner."[43] This line informed the editor that although the black soldiers did not receive their promised payments, their commitment to the Union remained strong.

Discrimination in Uniform

The struggle for equality deepened when black soldiers did not receive proper equipment or uniforms in order to perform on the battlefield. Because high-ranking officers often showed little regard for black soldiers, the United States Colored Troops frequently received the worst materiel the federal government issued to its troops.[44] In some cases African American soldiers worked in mud that reached to their knees, and the constant fatigue labor wore out clothing more rapidly, giving the troops a dirty, unkempt look that diminished

[40] Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 89.

[41] Anonymous, letter to *New York Weekly Anglo-African,* 30 April 1864, in ed. and comp., Megan Kate Nelson, Historical Writing Course Sourcebook (2006), 24-5.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 185.

their appearance to outside observers and fortified prejudicial assertions.[45] African American soldiers' struggles appear in pop culture in the film *Glory*. In the movie, there is a section where black soldiers fight for proper equipment including shoes, socks, guns, and uniforms. Colonel Robert Gould Shaw waits for a response from the War Department concerning his regiment's uniforms and supply. He does not, however, realize how badly his troops need shoes and socks until he sees one of his black soldier's feet. As he looks on with disgust, he decides to take matters into his own hands and visit the War Department himself. The quartermaster withheld the shoes and socks because "provisionally speaking, [they are] extremely limited as to footwear," and "that kind of item has to be reserved for those units whose fighting readiness supersede [Shaw's]."[46] Through intimidation, Shaw obtains one thousand two hundred pairs of socks, six hundred pairs of shoes, and new uniforms to complete their attire. While historically based movies are often more fiction than fact, *Glory* provides a near-accurate portrayal of the circumstances African American soldiers faced during the Civil War. By utilizing primary sources to recreate documented events, actors play a scene that serves as a strong visual for modern audiences. Not all regiments proved this lucky, however, as some black soldiers received used or stained uniforms that usually did not fit properly.

Long days of fatigue lowered morale and wore out men's clothing. A photo taken between December 1863 and April 1864 (fig. 4) shows James M. Robertson of the 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery and his staff at Brandy Station, Virginia.[47] The front four white gentlemen—including Robertson—wear nice clothes and clean boots and three hold smoking pipes in their hands. In the background, none of the four African Americans pictured have uniforms that fit. One wears a uniform that is too big for him; another's shirt is so small, he cannot button it all the way. These soldiers possessed different uniforms and hats. African Americans received inferior uniforms that did not always suit their exact needs, and sometimes their uniforms came from corpses.

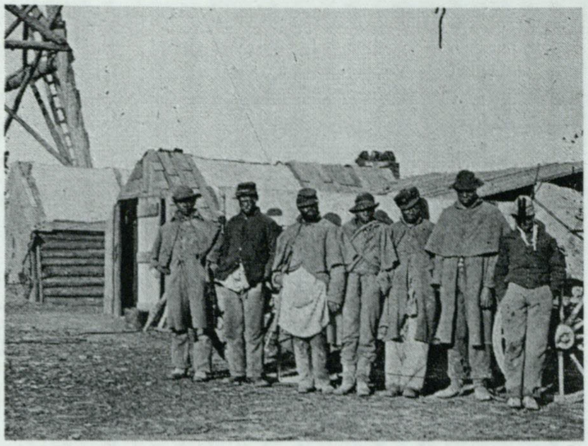

Fig. 5. This group of Negro soldiers aptly demonstrates the often inconsistent uniform quality that black Union soldiers received. Hirst Milhollen and Donald Mugridge, comps., *Selected Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1977), no. 0328.

A photograph taken between June 1864 and April 1865 (fig. 5) shows seven Union contrabands—Union-captured former slaves—standing in front of a wagon and shack belonging to the Army of the James.[48] The uniforms are visibly inconsistent in the photograph. When examining it, one sees

[45] Ibid., 183.

[46] Kevin Jarre, *Glory*, DVD, directed by Edward Zwick (Culver City, CA: TriStar, 1989).

[47] "Brandy Station, VA. Capt. James M. Robertson and staff, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery," 1864 in *Selected Civil War Photographs*.

[48] "Bermuda Hundred, VA. African-American teamsters near the signal tower," 1864 in *Selected Civil War Photographs*.

stains—possibly from blood—on a soldier's uniform. They all have different hats and coats of various sizes and styles. Four wear caplets, two wear blue coats, and one wears what looks like a trench coat. Some coats extend past their wrists, and while most of the pants appear to fit comfortably, one black soldier wears pants and a coat that are too small for his long body. African Americans, in addition to receiving second-rate Union uniforms, often acquired used or unusable weaponry.

Military authorities displayed their discrimination against black troops by providing them with deficient material. In some instances in the Civil War, African Americans received unusable, second-rate weapons to fight the Confederacy. In April 1864, an inspector condemned 340 muskets in the 2nd U.S. Colored Infantry as unusable.[49] The government issued requisitions to provide five to six hundred rifles for privates in Colored Union regiments, which frequently came in late.

The Turning Point

Despite this unfair treatment from white soldiers and commanders, African American soldiers continued to fight for victory. Blacks at this time wanted to demonstrate their worth to the Union army. The opportunity arrived when Colonel Shaw and his 54th became the symbol of the best of any troops—white or black. James Ford Rhodes wrote: "The supreme moment came his blacks fought as other soldiers fought in desperate assaults-all this moved the hearts and swayed the minds of the Northern people to an appreciation of the colored soldier."[50] After the assault on Fort Wagner on 18 July 1863, doubts evaporated about using Black troops to crush the rebellion; attitudes in the Union army began to change. This marked a turning point for the use of African Americans in the Civil War and the nation began to support blacks in the army. In late July 1863, the military organized more black regiments and doubled their size by the end of the year. Judge Advocate General and former Secretary of War Joseph Holt wrote Stanton in August 1863:

> The tenacious and brilliant valor displayed by troops of this race at Port Hudson, Milliken's Bend, and Fort Wagner has sufficiently demonstrated to the President and to the country the character of the service which they are capable of... In view of the loyalty of this race and of the obstinate courage which they have shown themselves to possess, they certainly constitute, at this crisis in our history, a most powerful and reliable arm of the public defense.[51]

In time, other Union officers came to perceive African Americans as soldiers. General Grant wrote to General Thomas on June 16 that "[The African American's] conduct is said, however, to have been most gallant, and I doubt not but with good officers they will make good troops."[52]

Looking Forward to Freedom

Thomas Nast's 1865 painting, *Emancipation* (fig. 6),[53] parallels President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Both show optimistic

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[49] Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 186.

[50] James Ford Rhodes, *A History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, vol. 4 (New York: Macmillan, 1904-6), 323-33.

[51] U.S. War Department, *The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 3, vol. 3, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1897), 696.

[52] U.S. War Department., Official Records, series 1, vol. 24, pt. II, 446-7.

[53] Thomas Nast, *"Emancipation,"* 1865, *Civil War Photographs, American Memory Collection,* Library of Congress, www.loc.gov.

possibilities, the idea of equality, and the idea of freedom and life after slavery following the Union's victory in the Civil War. Nast's illustration exhibits a before and after theme readily visible to the viewer. For example, the left (before emancipation) shows slaves enduring whippings and brandings. In the foreground, a Confederate flag waves to represent Confederate authority. On the right (after emancipation), in contrast, a freed slave receives his pay from a cashier like a true American citizen.

Another idea that the two men share in their work is the idea of equality and freedom. In the center of the painting, Nast shows the inside of a freedman's home with his family gathered around a stove labeled "Union," which sends the message that the Union is responsible for the life the family enjoys. On the top left, Nast shows Freedom guarded by Cerberus, the vicious three-headed dog of Greek mythology, and depicts African Americans fleeing the animal and running into a devastated piece of land. In contrast, on the right, a woman holds an olive branch in one hand and the scales of justice in the other. In place of a scene of devastation and destruction, there is a cottage in a peaceful landscape, below which a black mother sends her children off to public school, where an American flag, waving in the wind represents the triumph of freedom in the country.

Nast's painting reveals hopeful possibilities of earning money like a citizen. It also shows the idea of equality and the idea of freedom achievable by the newly freed and how life might change following a Union victory in the Civil War. The idea of equality, however, did not emerge until well after the Civil War. Until then, African Americans faced racism and prejudice.

Fig. 6. *Emancipation* by Thomas Nast (1865). *Civil War Photographs*, American Memory Collection, Library of Congress, www.loc.gov.

Despite discrimination in pay and duty and the constant threat of death or return to slavery if captured, African American soldiers did not desert in large numbers. During the Civil War, approximately 187,000 black soldiers and 29,500 sailors served in the Union army and navy, engaged in 449 battles against the Confederacy, and suffered roughly 2,870 combat-related deaths out of an estimated 38,000 fatalities. Whatever duties they performed, Black soldiers responded to the Union call even when war weariness and anti-African American feeling reached its height in the North.[54] Some Black veterans enjoyed wide respect and equal treatment from the North. When some black veterans returned home to the border states, however, they confronted violence from resentful whites eager to avenge Confederate defeat. Other attitudes, in different parts of the country, began to change toward African Americans in payment for their services. On 15 June 1864, Congress enacted legislation that granted equal pay for black soldiers and made it retroactive to the time of enlistment for those free as of 19 April 1861. The distinction between freemen and

[54] Cornish, *Sable Arm*, 289.

freedmen, however, created a serious dilemma for some regiments.[55]

The Civil War accelerated African Americans' drive for civil rights and desegregation in the North and, except for the sorrow of Lincoln's assassination, the mood of blacks at the end of the war proved optimistic. Some entered Reconstruction with high hopes, expecting the wealth and leisure in which they believed their former masters and mistresses luxuriated. Realistically, independence, education, citizenship, control over their labor, and a modest living came with a high cost in hard work and sacrifice. Blacks now paid taxes and some state and local governments barred them from poor relief and public institutions.[56]

Some even forbade blacks to hunt and fish, which deprived them of the necessary nourishment to survive. Whites delayed ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment, refused black suffrage, attacked them, and burned their schools and churches.[57] Ultimately, the Thirteenth Amendment—which abolished slavery—achieved ratification on 1 December 1865. The Fourteenth Amendment, approved 9 July 1868, made blacks citizens, and the Fifteenth Amendment, ratified 3 February 1870, protected their right to vote. Despite the passage of these amendments, however, freedmen still faced numerous challenges.

If African Americans only played passive roles, content with menial jobs as cooks, teamsters, or laborers, they would have delayed the process of the nation recognizing them as citizens, thus altering the outcome of the Civil War. Instead, transformation surfaced as a result of the war and African American participation in the army. President Abraham Lincoln modified his position of arming blacks and, despite the restrictions on their participation in a "white man's war," they continued to volunteer for duty. It is easy to see that racism existed throughout the Union by means of laboring ethics, payment, the quality of the uniforms and weaponry African Americans received. The question on the mind of white Union commanders remained whether blacks would commit to and sacrifice their lives for the prosperity of the Union. But they proved themselves worthy additions to the cause and forced changes in white attitudestoward African Americans throughout the Civil War and into Reconstruction. Most importantly, the Civil War proved to the nation that African Americans were not actually slaves, but human beings.

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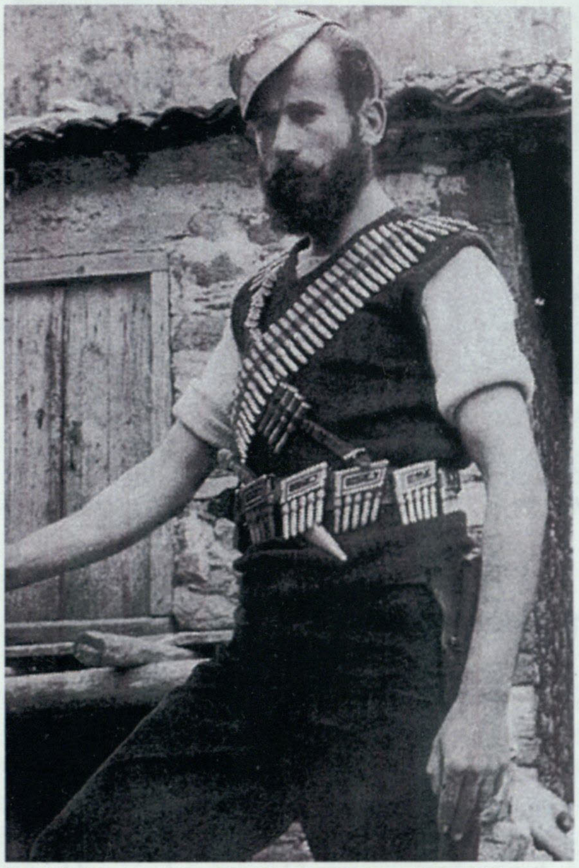
[55] McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 206.

[56] Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *Slavery in America* (*An Eyewitness History*), rev. ed. (New York: Checkmark Books, 2006), 350.

[57] Ibid.

Trouble in Greece and Turkey: The Origins of the Truman Doctrine and United States Containment Policy in 1947

by Matthew Mullen



An ELAS soldiers stands ready to defend Greece. Kōstas Kouvaras, *O.S.S., with the Central Committee of EAM: The American Secret Mission Perikles in Occupied Greece* (Athens: Exantas, 1976), 117.

In the aftermath of World War II, many European states faced power vacuums left by retreating Nazi forces. Greece and Turkey, especially, confronted expanding Soviet political and territorial designs and appealed to Western nations for assistance in limiting the growing sphere of Soviet influence. **Matthew Mullen** examines the United States' role in supporting these nations and how the threat of Communism contributed to the development of the Truman Doctrine in this early stage of Cold War political maneuvering.

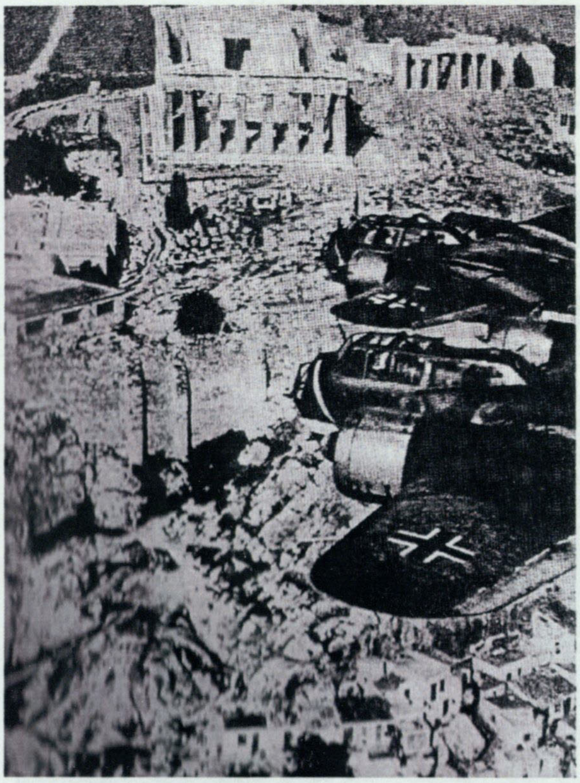
With the threat of fascism defeated at the conclusion of World War II, the United States' national administration grew concerned about the spread of communism. After the United States allied with the Soviet Union during the war, American-Soviet relations faltered as Joseph Stalin encouraged the military to extend national boundaries into Eastern Europe. As George Kennan states, "By the end of 1945 it was obvious that the Soviet-American 'honeymoon' was largely over. What followed was a year of transition."[1] At the same time, a civil war occurred in Greece between communist and loyalist forces. The incident required Western help in order for democracy to triumph.

For years, the British provided aid to Greece, but eventually proved unable to continue to supply economic assistance.[2] For months, U.S. President, Harry S Truman, received letters regarding Britain's financial troubles and the eventual pullout of personnel from Greece and Turkey. Both the Greek and British governments pressured Truman and his advisors to devise a plan, not only to assume the burden for the British in the region, but also to provide assistance to governments fighting communism worldwide.[3] The resulting aid program promoted democracy in Eastern Europe, and changed the United States foreign policy toward the Soviet Union from an alliance to a strategy of containment. This U.S. policy resulted from the civil war in Greece, Soviet involvement in Turkey, and Britain's ultimate failure to support these countries' efforts to stop communism.

[1] George Kennan and John Lukacs, *George F. Kennan and the Origins of Containment* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 4.

[2] Stephen Xydis, *Greece and the Great Powers 1944-1947* (London: Zeno, 1963), 395.

[3] David McCullough, *Truman* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 540.



Nazi bombers fly over the Acropolis during World War II. Hal Buell, ed., *World War II Album: The Complete Chronicle of the World's Greatest Conflict* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 2002), 93.

The Problem in Greece

Greece represented the first of several countries to feel a significant communist threat following World War II. The problems in Greece, however, began with Nazi Germany's occupation of the country in 1941. Threatened by the Nazis, the royalist government, led by King George II, went into exile in Cairo, Egypt. The lack of any strong central government created a power vacuum in Greece, which, ultimately, both left and right-wing resistance movements filled. The National Liberation Front (EAM), the most powerful of these resistance movements, possessed a military arm called the National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS), controlled by Communist Party in

Greece (KKE) leadership.[4] The KKE emerged in Greece in 1920 and became a recognized political party even though they never received more than 10 percent of votes cast in any election.[5] Despite the KKE's electoral failures, their military activities against Nazi occupiers eventually drew British financial support.

By 1944, Britain considered Greece a protectorate due to their significant financial and political involvement. The resistance movements, although already fighting Nazi occupation without British help, found that they required assistance to continue. The EAM "numbered in its ranks many non-communists who were eager to harass, attack, and expel the invaders. The British furnished it with the bulk of its arms and maintained close liaison with it."[6] This occurred despite the EAM's communist leanings mainly because the EAM provided the strongest resistance against the Nazis in the country. By 12 October 1944, "the Germans pulled their forces out of Athens and began their withdrawal from Greece. Six days later the Greek government-in-exile, along with a small British force, arrived in the capital."[7]

The Communist party relinquished power in Greece to the right-wing royalists

The returning government faced major problems. "Tremendous difficulties caused by the three and a half years of enemy occupation and by the new, last minute devastation wreaked by the departing Germans, confronted the government."[8] The countryside lay in ruins, the population starved, the economy remained destroyed, and its governing body lingered in a state of disarray. Essentially, the problems in Greece mirrored the problems that existed in Europe, only magnified.[9] Rebuilding proved difficult, as Prime Minister George Papandreou's reforms escaped implementation as a result of a British military clash with the ELAS in December 1944.[10] In the coming months, the economic situation degenerated further as inflation spiraled out of control.[11] Tensions continued to rise with the upcoming elections of March 1946.

With elections approaching, many right-wing radicals rounded up communist sympathizers and persecuted them. This violence, known as the White Terror, left thousands of EAM supporters in jail awaiting trial.[12] During 1945, "80,000 adherents or suspected [communist] sympathizers as well as members of left wing organizations faced prosecution."[13] In light of this situation, the KKE boycotted the elections.[14] The Communist Party relinquished power in Greece to right-wing royalists. relinquished power in Greece to right-wing royalists. The election in March 1946 went decidedly to the royalists, and King George II returned to Greece on 28 September 1946.[15] With the royalist government back

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4 Xydis, *Greece and the Great Powers*, 8, 29. The acronyms reflect the Greek names of these organizations.

5 Ibid., 8-9.

6 Ibid., 32.

7 Andre Gerolymatos, *Red Acropolis, Black Terror: The Greek Civil War and the Origins of Soviet-American Rivalry*, 1943-1949 (New York: Basic, 2004), 96.

8 Xydis, *Greece and the Great Powers*, 60.

9 Ibid.

10 Judith Jeffrey, *Ambiguous Commitments and Uncertain Policies: The Truman Doctrine in Greece*, 1947-1952 (New York: Lexington, 2000), 23.

11 Ibid.

12 Gerolymatos, *Red Acropolis*, 194.

13 Ibid., 195.

14 Heinz Richter, *British Intervention in Greece* (London: Merlin, 1986), 500.

15 Kenneth Matthews, *Memories of a Mountain War: Greece 1944-1949* (London: Longman, 1972), 14.

in power, the KKE reorganized their fighting forces under a new name: The Democratic Army. Their leader, General Markos Vaphiades, established guerrilla bases in several communist countries surrounding Greece, including Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. As guerrilla fighting increased throughout the countryside, the royalist government petitioned the United Nations for help. In January 1947, an eleven nation Commission of Inquiry arrived in Athens, but they had no actual powers and were only able to report their findings to the UN.[16]

[T]he rebel raids 'increased in audacity'

The situation escalated in early 1947 as the British pulled out of the country. Fortunately, for the royalists, the United States took over for the British in May 1947 with the passing of the Greco-Turkish aid program. While the U.S. Military organized in Greece, the rebel raids "increased in audacity, and the rebel hold strengthened on large sections of the countryside."[17] Moreover, when help from the United States eventually arrived, the Greek army failed to defeat the insurgents due to Greek generals' unfamiliarity with guerrilla tactics.[18]

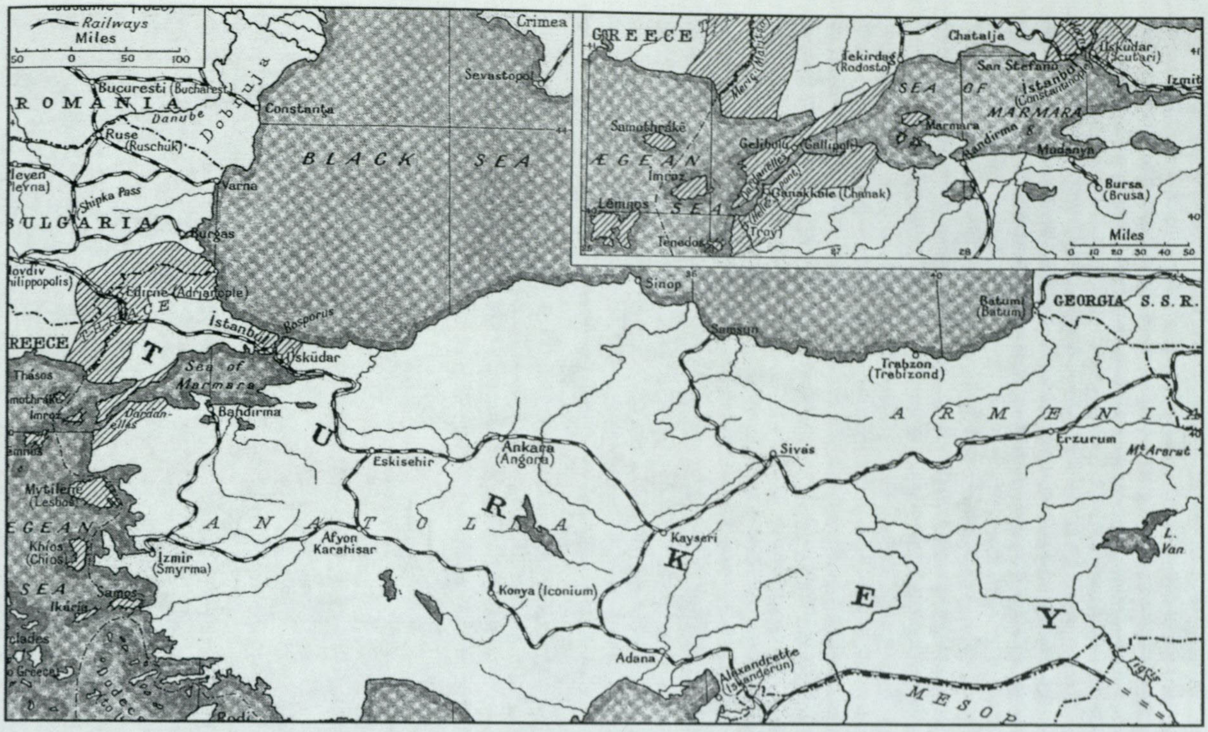
The beginning of the end for the Greek Democratic Army occurred in 1948 with a major fallout between Yugoslavian dictator Josip Broz Tito and Joseph Stalin. Stalin wanted the uprising in Greece stopped, and rebel Greeks, dependent on help from Tito, no longer enjoyed support from other communist nations. In summer 1949, the Greek Democratic Army, desperate for a military victory, switched from guerrilla fighting to conventional warfare with their 15,000 troops. By this time, however, the royalist Greek army numbered over 160,000 troops. After several major battles, the communist insurgent's radio station admitted defeat on 16 October 1949.[19] Even with the intervention of the United States, "the number killed, as a result of the civil war, [was] close to 0.5 million [with] another 880,000 disabled by disease. In other words, out of a population of just over 7 million, approximately 19 percent suffered a violent death or incurred chronic disabilities."[20] The situation in Turkey, though much less violent, displayed the severity of the implications of a communist takeover.

Turkey: A Path between the Seas

Turkey is located between two large seas: the Black Sea to the north, and the Mediterranean Sea to the south. The two main straits, the Bosporus and the Dardanelles—collectively known as the Turkish Straits—connect these major seas, and are the only entrance by water to or from the Black Sea. For the Russians, control of the straits meant a major port in the Black Sea and provided full access to the Mediterranean Sea, Europe, and Africa. Russian aspirations for control of the Black Sea began earlier than the 1940s. As Harry Truman observed, "Turkey was, of course, an age-old objective of Russian ambitions. The Communists were only continuing what the Czars had practiced when they tried to gain control of the sea that blocked Russian exit into the Mediterranean Sea."[21] Soviet aggression in the region possessed a precedent.

Soviet desires to control the Turkish Straits became apparent again in 1944 when British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill met

16 Ibid.
17 Matthews, *Memories of a Mountain War*, 15.
18 Gerolymatos, *Red Acropolis*, 223.
19 Ibid., 225.
20 Ibid., 197.
21 Harry S Truman, *Memoirs* (New York: Doubleday, 1956), 96.



This map illustrates the strategic importance of the Turkish Straits. James T. Shotwell and Francis Deák, *Turkey and the Straits: A Short History* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1940), xv.

privately with Joseph Stalin in Moscow. There, Stalin mentioned the Turkish Straits and Turkish control over them.[22] Stalin expressed particular concern with the Montreux Convention of 1936, which granted the Turks the right to close the Straits at times of war or if they felt an imminent threat of war, as occurred during World War II.[23] Churchill advised the United States of the situation shortly after his meeting with Stalin. Despite these grievances, the Soviet Union did not publish any formal proposals on the subject over the following months.

Soviet aspirations for the Turkish Straits continued after the Yalta Conference

Stalin's contentions over the Turkish Straits continued in the discussions at the 1945 Yalta Conference. Stalin wanted to revise the Montreux Convention on the grounds that the signature of the Japanese Emperor and the League of Nations made it invalid. Stalin also expressed concern over limited Soviet access to the Mediterranean Sea.[24] No decision occurred during the conference; all three foreign ministers, however, agreed to look into the situation and report at a later meeting. Churchill "reiterated Britain's sympathy for Stalin's desire, but observed no proposals for revision of the Convention."[25] Ultimately, the Montreux Convention remained unedited by the three superpowers.

[22] Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt, *The Complete Correspondence*, vol. 3, ed. Warren Kimball (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 349-51.

[23] James Shotwell and Francis Deak, *Turkey and the Straits: A Short History* (New York: Books for Libraries, 1940), 156.

[24] Xydis, *Greece and the Great Powers*, 73.

[25] Ibid.

Winston Churchill, Harry S Truman, and Joseph Stalin pose for the cameras at the 1945 Potsdam Conference. Hal Buell, ed., *World War II Album: The Complete Chronicle of the World's Greatest Conflict* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 2002), 720.

The Soviet aspiration for the Turkish Straits continued after the Yalta Conference. Soviet pressure regarding the straits, on the other hand, no longer focused primarily on foreign ministers, but shifted toward the Turkish government directly. On 7 June 1945, Turkish Ambassador to Russia Selim Sarper met with Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov to discuss a new Turko-Soviet Treaty.[26] The original 1921 Turko-Soviet Treaty called for an international agreement on any matter concerning the Straits.[27] Since Soviet attempts to convince international powers at Yalta failed, Molotov wanted to change the terms of the treaty so the Soviets could discuss the Straits with Turkey directly. Molotov also endeavored to discuss Soviet desires to acquire a military base on the waterway. Sarper lacked proper authorization to discuss such a demand, which caused Molotov to stress a need for talks regarding the Montreux Convention.[28] Sarper again informed Molotov that he lacked the power to make a decision on the matter. This meeting between Sarper and Molotov emphasized the continued diplomatic efforts of the Soviet Union to gain access to the Straits.

With diplomatic pressure still failing by summer 1945, the Soviet Union began to move troops into the region north of Turkey. "At the end of June and early in July, Washington received reports from Italy and England that Soviet

[26] Ibid., 83.

[27] Ferenc Vali, *The Turkish Straits and NATO* (Palo Alto, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), 183.

[28] Xydis, *Greece and the Great Powers*, 83.

forces were massing in-depth, north of the Turkish and Greek frontiers in a 'war of nerves' designed to brow beat the Turks into accepting the Soviet proposals on the Straits."[29] Iran also witnessed a troop build-up.[30] Meanwhile, the 'Big Three' gathered again at Potsdam. In July and early August 1945, Stalin again brought up the subject of the Dardanelles. Truman and the new British Prime Minister Clement Atlee remained adamant that the Straits existed for commercial purposes only.[31] As Truman stated, "For that reason nothing more was done about this subject at Potsdam, except to agree that each of the powers might discuss the subject directly with Turkey. This was entirely appropriate since the agreement [the Montreux Convention], by its terms, was up for review in 1946."[32]

Soviet forces [massed] in-depth, north of the Turkish and Greek frontiers

In July 1946, the Soviets officially proposed their plan for a restructuring of the Dardanelles. The Soviet plan called for Turkish territorial concessions intended to force them to give up the Straits to a new regime, "[which] would have excluded all nations except for Black Sea powers."[33] This idea, a concern for the United States and Britain, forced them out of the decision making process. It also forced Turkey to give up the Straits, as communist-ruled Russia, Romania, and Bulgaria proved capable of out-voting them. As Truman declared, "This was indeed an open bid [by Russia] to obtain control of Turkey. If Russian troops entered Turkey with the purpose of enforcing joint control of the straits, it would only be a short time before these troops would be used for the control of all of Turkey."[34] Truman continued by stating that if the United States allowed Russia to set up bases on the Dardanelles or send troops into Turkey, it "would result in Greece and the whole Near and Middle East falling under Soviet control."[35]

The Turkish government sought the advice of the United States on the issue. They proved willing to discuss a revision of the Montreux Convention but only with the United States and Britain present. The Turks, willing to fight for the 'territorial status quo,' refused to accept Soviet domination.[36] President Truman advised the Turkish government to reply to the Soviets in a "reasonable, yet firm" manner. The note sent to Russia made it clear that "if the Straits should become the object of Russian aggression, the 'resulting situation would constitute a threat to international security and would clearly be a matter for action on the part of Security Council.'"[37] The United States, willing to confront the Russians, wished to use the United Nations as the place to discuss their grievances.

The Turkish government felt encouraged by the United States' support. President Truman, however, noted that the Turkish army's willingness to fight the Soviets did not equal their capabilities. Truman stated that "Turkey's Army, though sizeable, was poorly equipped and would have been no match for the battle-tested divisions of the Kremlin."[38] The Turks contended with other problems as well. Their economy proved incapable of handling any type of war against the Soviets. A

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[29] Ibid., 85.

[30] Truman, *Memoirs*, 96.

[31] Robert Beitzel, ed., *Yalta and Potsdam: The Soviet Protocols* (Hattiesburg, MS: Academic International, 1970), 285-6.

[32] Truman, *Memoirs*, 96.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., 97.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Xydis, *Greece and the Great Powers*, 86.

[37] Truman, *Memoirs*, 97.

[38] Ibid.

report from Truman's ambassador in Ankara, Turkey, stated that "Turkey will not be able to maintain indefinitely a defensive posture against the Soviet Union. The burden is too great for the nation's economy to carry much longer."[39] In January 1947, Truman received a statement from General Bedell Smith, his ambassador to Russia. In his memoirs, Truman paraphrased the report: "There was no doubt that the Kremlin would resume its efforts to encroach upon Turkish sovereignty. And unless long-term aid was forthcoming from the United States and England, Turkey had no hope of surviving."[40]

Reports placed on Truman's desk explained the British dilemma

The escalation of events in Turkey, along with the civil war in Greece, led President Truman to consider the Soviet Union's designs included expanding their boundaries. Truman, although a new president, already noticed a precedent with Soviet territorial gains. He stated, "We had learned from the experience of the past two years that Soviet intervention inevitably meant Soviet occupation and control."[41] The situation became more urgent as the president received testimony from Britain revealing their plans to discontinue their economic support in the region. By 1947, the United States was pressured to act on the situations in both Greece and Turkey, lest they both fall to Soviet occupation and communism.

The British Withdraw

For years, the British government supported royalist democratic forces in Greece, as well as the Turks in their fights to hold off communism. By late 1946, the British Government's financial troubles—a result of years of war—inhibited their ability to continue support for these movements. Kennan writes, "Early in 1947 the British Labor government asked the American government to relieve it from the onerous task of actively sustaining the Greek government in its civil war against Communist Greek bands in the north."[42] Reports placed on Truman's desk explained the British dilemma and consideration of leaving the area of Greece and Turkey. On 20 January 1947, "the British government had issued an economic White Paper describing Britain's position as 'extremely serious.'"[43] On 3 February, the American Ambassador to Athens reported rumors that the British planned to pull out of Greece.[44] Two weeks later, Mark Ethridge, a member of the United Nations investigating committee on Greek border disputes, cabled from Athens: "Greece was a ripe plum ready to fall into Soviet hands."[45] A few days later, the U.S. government received a formal notification from the British, warning the U.S. of their eventual pullout from the region.

On 21 February 1947, "two notes from the British Embassy to the Secretary of State [were sent] informing the United States that aid from Britain to Greece was about to cease."[46] Britain intended to "withdraw forty thousand troops from Greece and all economic aid would halt as of March 31."[47] The British also recognized that the United States remained the only country Britain could ask for support for the region. They hoped that "the United States government [might] find it possible to afford financial assistance to Greece on a scale sufficient to meet her minimum needs, both civil

[39] Ibid., 97-8.
[40] Ibid., 98
[41] Ibid., 97.

[42] Kennan and Lukacs, *Origins of Containment*, 5.
[43] McCullough, *Truman*, 540.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Jeffrey, *Ambiguous Commitments*, 43.
[47] McCullough, *Truman*, 540.

and military."[48] Failure by the U.S. to replace the British efforts in both Greece and Turkey implied starvation and political disturbances as well.[49] In essence, it seemed that the U.S. was forced into providing assistance for the region because failure to do so would inevitably lead to communism in these areas.

According to historian Judith Jeffrey, "The United States involvement in Greece was a direct result of a British decision to reduce its traditional presence in the region."[50] Rather than let the region fall to communism, the U.S. government stepped in to fill the gap of the departing British troops and provide assistance in order to rebuild the region. The president, however, required Congressional approval to provide this assistance. To achieve this, he prepared a speech that changed the foreign policy of the United States for the remainder of the Cold War.

The Formation of the Truman Doctrine

The document known as the Truman Doctrine developed relatively quickly. The formal announcement from the British came on Friday and Truman asked Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson for a full report on the situation by Monday.[51] In his report, Acheson "urged 'immediate action' to provide help for Greece, and, to a lesser degree, for Turkey as well."[52] The estimated sum required for the remainder of 1947 alone reached a quarter of a billion dollars.[53] On 27 February, the president met with Congressional leaders regarding the situation. The president flubbed his opening statement, according to Acheson, and he and George Marshall had to give the presentation to the Congressional leaders.[54] George Marshall informed them: "American interests in Greece were by no means restricted to humanitarian or friendly impulses. If Greece dissolved into a full-scale civil war it was altogether possible that it would fall to Soviet control."[55] The situation in Greece was bleak, and without help from the United States, it would surely fall to communism. According to Marshall, the situation differed slightly in Turkey and "an independent Turkey was essential to the security of the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East."[56] Dean Acheson continued by stating that "Soviet pressure on the Straits… and on Northern Greece had brought the Balkans to the point where a highly possible Soviet breakthrough might open three continents to Soviet penetration."[57] Senator Arthur Vandenberg, the leader of the Republican Party, knew nothing of this crisis before meeting with the president.[58] He told Truman, "[I]f you will say that to the Congress and the country, I will support you and I believe that most of its members will do the same."[59]

The situation continued to progress quickly after the meeting, much to the chagrin of Senator Vandenberg. He remarked to the Senate, "[I]t is unfortunate when such important decisions have to be made on a crisis basis. But we confront a condition and not a theory…"[60] Despite his misgivings over the timing of the president's notification, the senator supported

[48] Jeffrey, *Ambiguous Commitments*, 43.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., 4.
[51] McCullough, Truman, 541.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.

[54] Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation* (New York: Norton, 1969), 219.
[55] Arthur Vandenberg, *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952), 338.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Acheson, *At the Creation*, 219. Emphasis added.
[58] Vandenberg, *Senator Vandenberg*, 339.
[59] Acheson, *At the Creation*, 219.
[60] Vandenberg, *Senator Vandenberg*, 340.

Truman's plans for aid to Greece and Turkey. A message from the Greek Prime Minister to Marshall quickened the pace.

In a letter dated 3 March 1947 from Greek Prime Minister Dimitrios Maximos, the president received a formal request from the Greek Government for U.S. aid. The letter states: "Immediate assistance has unfortunately become vital," and that "Greece is without funds to finance the import even of those consumption goods that are essential for bare subsistence."[61] The Greek Government felt "compelled to appeal to the Government of the United States and through it to the American people for financial, economic, and expert assistance."[62] The Greeks required assistance to obtain food and clothing, to rebuild civil and military establishments, to create means for Greek self-support in the future, and aid from experienced American administrative personnel to ensure proper utilization of the money. The letter concluded with a statement that appears later in the Truman Doctrine. "The determination of the Greek people to do all in their power to restore Greece as a self-supporting, self-respecting democracy is also great; but the destruction in Greece has been so complete as to rob the Greek people of the power to meet the situation by themselves."[63] The Prime Minister implied that the country tried to fight for democracy, but without help from the main democratic superpower, there existed the distinct possibility that democracy would fail and Greece would fall to the communists. On 7 March, the president met with his advisors regarding the situation and began to revise a draft of his speech.

When Truman met with Acheson on 7 March, Acheson told him that "the complete disintegration of Greece was only weeks away."[64] Acheson also stated that despite the British decision to pull out, they planned to remain in Greece for three more months.[65] The money for Greece marked only one part of the situation. The larger implication of the speech was that the United States was going to permanently venture into European politics.[66] As such, Truman remained adamant that the speech focus less on statistical figures and more on general policy statements. Truman stated in his memoirs that "I wanted no hedging in this speech. This was America's answer to the surge of expansion of Communist tyranny. It had to be clear and free of hesitation or double talk."[67] Five days later, he presented his speech.

The Speech that Changed the World

On Wednesday, 12 March 1947, at one o'clock in the afternoon, President Truman stood in front of a joint session of Congress to give a speech of monumental importance. Truman's presentation reached the American public nationwide via radio. The speech itself lasted only eighteen minutes, but the implications stretched throughout the remainder of the Cold War.[68] The president began:

> The United States has received from the Greek government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports... corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a

[61] U.S. Congress, *A Decade of American Foreign Policy Basic Documents 1941-1949* (Washington, DC: Department of State, 1985), 530.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] McCullough, *Truman*, 545. McCullough is paraphrasing Acheson.

[65] Truman, *Memoirs*, 104.

[66] McCullough, *Truman*, 545.

[67] Truman, *Memoirs*, 105.

[68] McCullough, *Truman*, 547.

Truman speaks to Congress. Hal Buell, ed., *World War II Album: The Complete Chronicle of the World's Greatest Conflict* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 2002), 680.

> free nation. I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.[69]

The president's choice of words showed the severity of the situation. He continued, asserting that the retreating Germans destroyed Greece's infrastructure and livestock and that Greece hovered at the subsistence level.[70] The very existence of the Greek state teetered dangerously and "there [was] no other country to which a democratic Greece [could] turn." Again, Truman's selection of words emphatically stated the desperate needs of the Greeks, while at the same time, demonstrated that the United States proved the only country capable of helping. In his speech, the president essentially forced Congress to approve his doctrine by appealing to the American public. Truman then mentioned the fact that Britain proved incapable of providing economic assistance after 31 March, as Britain intended to reduce its commitments to the world.[71]

The president's speech also mentioned the situation in Turkey with similar emotional ties. Truman stated, "The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving

The president's choice of words showed the severity of the situation

peoples of the world than the future of Greece." Assistance from the United States proved necessary for "the maintenance of [Turkey]'s national integrity. The integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East."[72] The speech then progressed into the statement that showed the change in foreign policy:

> I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.[73]

[69] U.S. Congress, *Decade of American Foreign Policy*, 531.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid., 532.

[73] Ibid., 533.

Truman's repetitive use of the word "I" showed that the president stood firmly behind his doctrine and the White House's commitment to helping those countries in need of assistance to fight off communism.

The final aspect of Truman's speech to Congress centered on the actual money required to support Greece and Turkey—a suggested $400 million over fourteen months with $350 million to go to Greece and the remaining $50 million reserved for Turkey.[74] The president also called for American civilian and military personnel to report to these countries, should they request it.[75] The conclusion of the speech contains another statement appealing to the public. "The United States contributed $341 billion toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace. The assistance that I am recommending… amounts to little more than one-tenth of one percent of this investment."[76]

The U.S. proved committed to promoting democracy worldwide

At the conclusion of the speech, the entire room rose in applause. As Dean Acheson stated, however, "it was more as a tribute to a brave man than a unanimous acceptance of his policy."[77] Despite the applause, more than a month and a half went by before the Greco-Turkish aid program passed. Senator Vandenberg, the leading Republican in Congress and the chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, asked all senators to submit any questions to him, intending to send them directly to the State Department. Of the over four hundred questions received, Vandenberg submitted only one hundred and eleven to the State Department.[78] Initial opposition to the proposal included problems due to the $400 million cost.[79]

Despite Senator Vandenberg's support for the plan, he still expressed his contentions with some of the omissions in Truman's doctrine. Senator Claude Pepper of Florida also mentioned these grievances. Their main problem revolved around the fact that Truman's policy made no mention of following the United Nations Charter. While Senator Vandenberg stated, "The Greek appeal is primarily for economic aid; and of course the United Nations is not created or equipped to deal with economic aid." The United States' willingness to bypass the UN so early after its inception bothered him.[80] Vandenberg supported the UN, despite the fact that he acknowledged its status as a new governing body.[81] He knew the plan presented significant problems, but it remained the best available. He even stated, "I think Greece could collapse fifty times before the UN itself could ever hope to handle a situation of this nature."[82] Despite his misgivings, he asserted that the proposed law needed re-writing to include a provision about following the UN Charter.

Senator Vandenberg's amendment to Truman's proposal "gave the [UN] power to terminate the program under certain circumstances."[83] These circumstances included granting the UN time to make effective laws or sanctions to aid the regions in trouble to render U.S. assistance unnecessary. With Vandenberg's amendment, the Greco-Turkish Aid Program passed the

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[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., 534.

[77] Acheson, *At the Creation*, 223.

[78] Vandenberg, *Senator Vandenberg*, 344.

[79] Xydis, *Greece and the Great Powers*, 549.

[80] Vandenberg, *Senator Vandenberg*, 340, 344.

[81] Ibid., 345.

[82] Ibid., 341.

[83] Ibid., 350.

Senate after passing by a three to one margin in the House.[84] The bill became law on 15 May 1947.

When President Truman published his memoirs nine years after he signed the law, he explicitly stated that "[the doctrine] was the turning point in American's foreign policy, which now declared that whatever aggression, direct or indirect, threatened the peace [of another country], the security of the United States was involved."[85] Truman acknowledged the vital importance of this moment in United States history. The policy of the U.S. changed so that it actively supported any country trying to resist a communist takeover. The U.S. proved committed to promoting democracy worldwide.

The formation of the Truman Doctrine and the change in United States' foreign policy directly resulted from the civil war in Greece, the struggle over the Turkish Straits, and the British government's inability to assist these countries in their fight against communism. After years of American assistance, Greece and Turkey showed considerable progress, joining NATO in February 1952.[86] No amount of money from the United States in the late 1940s and early 1950s, however, could completely forestall the Soviets or rebuild the war-shattered European continent. The Truman Doctrine marked a stepping-stone for increased foreign aid from the United States to Europe and the rest of the world. Truman's firm stance against communism at the conclusion of World War II propelled the United States and Soviet Union into a Cold War that raged for the next forty years.

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[84] Ibid., 351-2.
[85] Truman, *Memoirs*, 106.
[86] Jeffrey, *Ambiguous Commitments*, 231.

California's Press and the Pacific, 1898-1899

by Robert Miller

The Goddess of Progress leads the way into the twentieth century in imperial California. Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 275.

During the Philippine-American War, California's proximity to the proposed territorial expansion in the Pacific opened the eyes of its citizens to the possible advantages and disadvantages of emerging U.S. imperialism. Through a review of the state's newspapers, **Robert Miller** illustrates how communities transformed a national issue into a local one by portraying the war with an eye toward their own interests. He reveals an intricate presentation of the war as print media appealed to aspects such as regional conflicts, discriminatory tendencies, and—in some cases—even diverged from their own political backing in order to influence the position of the state's populace on the war in the Philippines.

Following Commodore George Dewey's victory over the Spanish squadron at Manila Bay on 1 May 1898, the United States faced a decision regarding the disposition of the Philippines. Through the fall of 1898, negotiators hammered out the Treaty of Paris, in which the United States agreed to pay Spain $20 million for the archipelago. The treaty derailed Emilio Aguinaldo's aspirations for independence and created tension that helped spark the Philippine-American War of 1899-1902. Historian Richard E. Welch Jr. found that major papers from the West expressed the highest degree of support for the administration's policies throughout the war.[1] Yet, his survey did not discuss the rhetoric employed or evaluate the West's smaller papers. The majority of California's publications favored American expansion into the Pacific because of the potential for producing local benefits. The perceived advantages of expansion shaped the media's understanding of the early stages of the war. Conversely, California's labor papers tended to oppose the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines because American workers would suffer from competition with Asian labor and the expansion of government power. The agricultural press saw a chance to reach new markets but worried about harmful insects and diseases that might arrive from the islands. California's papers based their analysis on the impact of Pacific expansion on California and the West Coast, transforming a national debate into a local issue.

[E]xpansionist papers attacked the treaty's foes

Popular histories of the Spanish-American War tend to mention William Randolph Hearst and cite the conflict as an example of yellow journalism's impact. Such explanations, however, are too simplistic. Papers nationwide attacked the press for its sensationalistic reporting. The notion that nineteenth-century Americans believed every news story demeans their intelligence. Furthermore, it ignores the fact that the major yellow papers, the *New York Journal* and the *New York World*, faced problems with their credibility. After the destruction of the *USS Maine*, many papers urged patience while the investigation took place. Despite the self-identification of many papers as independent, editors continued the nineteenth-century practice of giving support to one political party. The independent label had more to do with the unwillingness of editors to follow the party line blindly. These thoughts and the absence of a universal style of reporting make further study of these papers worthwhile.[2]

Northern California's papers showed enthusiasm and predicted greater things for the state as a result of expansion. The press predicted growth for Pacific Coast cities under the Republican policies of expansion and protectionism. Proposed construction of the Nicaraguan Canal promised to increase the Pacific's importance.[3] Papers reinterpreted

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[1] Richard E. Welch Jr., "'The Philippine Insurrection' and the American Press," *Historian* 36 (November 1973): 37, 43.

[2] George W. Auxier, "Middle Western Newspapers and the Spanish American War, 1895-1898," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 26 (March 1940): 524-5, 531, 533; see also Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001); George H. Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspaper* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 110-4; and Ted Curtis Smythe, *The Gilded Age Press* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 186-93, 203-5.

[3] "A New United States," *Stanislaus County News*, 25 November 1898, 2; "The Nicaragua Canal," *Marysville Democrat*, 3 December 1898, 2; see also *Republican Argus*, 9 December 1898, 2; Ephraim K. Smith, "William McKinley's Enduring Legacy: The Historiographical Debate on the Taking of the

the Monroe Doctrine in a way that allowed for at least some expansion beyond North America.[4] The importance of these arguments lies in the focus upon California and the West Coast. Papers did not primarily support the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines because they believed in economic benefits for the entire nation. Instead, their arguments focused on the development of the West Coast and the opportunity to match and surpass the wealth of the East Coast.

With the outbreak of the Philippine-American War, Northern California's expansionist papers attacked the treaty's foes for providing encouragement to Aguinaldo.[5] An editorial from the *Alameda Daily Argus* labeled the opposition as "cold-blooded."[6] Editorials portrayed critics of expansion as opponents of California's prosperity. This coincided with demands for the government to crack down on Filipinos. For example, the *Contra Costa Gazette* editorialized that America should give Aguinaldo and his followers "a dose of their own medicine" of arson and assassination.[7] By rejecting American authority, Filipinos delayed commercial expansion into the Pacific. Consequently, Northern California's editors possessed an additional motive beyond hoping to see America triumph in the Philippines. When early American victories failed to break Filipino resistance, Republican papers concluded that the Filipinos were fanatics. The *Argus* acknowledged the possibility that "a wild, unguided spirit of independence is a larger factor in the struggle than we have brought ourselves to believe." The *Contra Costa Gazette* dismissed Aguinaldo as a viable democratic leader due to his Spanish education. Although the *Semi-Weekly Standard* expressed some openness to self-rule in the Philippines, it doubted the capacity of Aguinaldo and his followers "of holding in check the mixed and lawless races inhabiting the scattered islands." The paper did not think Filipinos could manage this task anytime soon.[8]

[Filipinos] would throw down their arms and embrace the political and economic development

Northern California's press spoke about the superiority of American civilization. Despite their harsh rhetoric regarding the treatment of those involved in resisting American forces, papers suggested that Filipinos merely misunderstood American intentions. The *San Francisco Chronicle* postulated that "the Problem of racial adjustments is no more difficult of solution in the Philippines than it has been elsewhere in the past on this continent."

Philippine Islands," in *Crucible of Empire: The Spanish-American War and Its Aftermath*, ed. James C. Bradford (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1993), 207; and "Time for Action," *Contra Costa Gazette*, 19 November 1898, 2.

4 "Acquisition and the Monroe Doctrine," *Placer County Republican*, 1 July 1898, 2; see also "Monroe Doctrine Not Involved," *Mendocino Beacon*, 3 December 1898, 4; and *Placer County Republican*, 25 February 1898, 2.

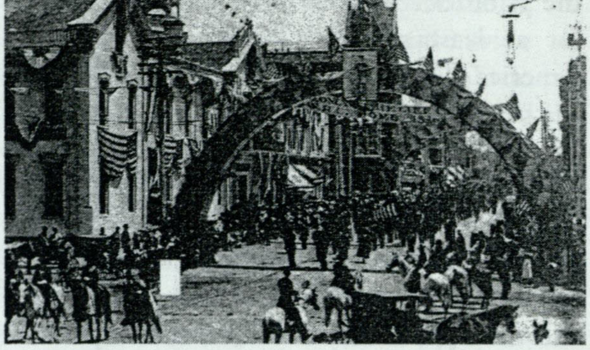
5 *Alameda Daily Argus*, 7 February 1899, 2; see also John Dobson, *Reticent Expansionism: The Foreign Policy of William McKinley* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1988), 116; *Mendocino Beacon*, 21 January 1899, 4; and "The Part of Wisdom," *Semi-Weekly Standard*, 8 February 1899, 2.

6 *Alameda Daily Argus*, 6 February 1899, 2; see also *Alameda Daily Argus*, 27 February 1899, 2; *Contra Costa Gazette*, 11 February 1899, 4; and *San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 February 1899, 18.

7 *Alameda Daily Argus*, 6 February 1899, 2; see also *Alameda Daily Argus*, 28 February 1899, 2; *Alameda Daily Argus*, 1 March 1899, 2; *Contra Costa Gazette*, 11 February 1899, 4; and *Contra Costa Gazette*, 11 March 1899, 4.

8 *Alameda Daily Argus*, 23 February 1899, 2; see also *Contra Costa Gazette*, 11 February 1899, 4; "A Duty to Civilization," *Semi-Weekly Standard*, 22 February 1899, 2; and "The Philippine Question," *Semi-Weekly Standard*, 15 February 1899, 2.

The paper claimed that the assimilation of the American Indian had "almost entirely extinguished [them] as a distinctive feature in the Nation."[9] Once Filipinos saw the benefits of American rule, they would throw down their arms and embrace the political and economic development of the archipelago. Editorials praised the country's soldiers and called on readers to support the troops regardless of their stance on the Treaty of Paris. The *Alameda Daily Argus* referred to American soldiers as "the flower of the land," giving the work of these men added credibility.[10]



Parade participants show early support for the war on 4 April 1898 in San Diego. Neil Morgan, *Yesterday's San Diego* (Miami: E. A. Seemann, 1976), 59.

Southern California's papers echoed the press from Northern California in their enthusiasm for the annexation of Pacific islands. Southern California showed great interest in the Nicaragua Canal, as evidenced by the repeated appearance of editorials supporting its construction.[11] The *San Diego Union* and the *San Diegan Sun* addressed the topic even more frequently. While the entire state would benefit from the canal, Southern California's media saw a chance to secure greater autonomy from San Francisco. Editorials from San Diego spoke about the city's future as the greatest port on the coast, implying that residents wanted more than a large city. Between 1898 and 1899, the *Union* ran at least twenty-five stories and editorials on the canal, while the *Sun* addressed it more than fifteen times. They desired to match and surpass San Francisco.[12] This regional rivalry provided the framework with which Southern Californians evaluated the impact of expansion at the local level.[13]

[9] *Alameda Daily Argus*, 7 February 1899, 2; see also "An Adjustment of Human Types," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 February 1899, 18.

[10] *Alameda Daily Argus*, 8 February 1899, 2; see also *Alameda Daily Argus*, 27 February 1899, 2; "The Case of the First Regiment," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 February 1899, 6; and *Colfax Sentinel*, 10 February 1899, 2.

[11] "The Ablest Effort of the Campaign," *Santa Ana Evening Blade*, 20 October 1898, 3; see also "Build the Canal!," *Santa Ana Evening Blade*, 19 November 1898, 2; *Fullerton News Tribune*, 27 May 1898, 1; *Fullerton News Tribune*, 8 July 1898, 1; *Fullerton News Tribune*, 23 September 1898, 1; "Help the Good Work," *Santa Ana Evening Blade*, 2 February 1899, 2; *Orange County Plain Dealer*, 4 February 1899, 4; "The Nicaragua Canal," *Anaheim Gazette*, 1 September 1898, 1; "The Nicaragua Canal," *Santa Ana Evening Blade*, 3 October 1898, 2; and J. E. Valjean, *Orange County Plain Dealer*, 23 September 1899, 1.

[12] "The Canal Crusade," *San Diego Union*, 13 July 1898, 4; see also "Conflicting Principles," *San Diegan Sun*, 24 November 1898, 2; "Great Day for San Diego," *San Diegan Sun*, 23 January 1899, 2; "The People Duped," *San Diego Union*, 8 July 1899, 4; "A Plea for the Canal," *San Diego Union*, 24 May 1898, 4; and "Reed and the Canal," *San Diego Union*, 27 February 1899, 4.

[13] Lawrence Clayton, "The Nicaragua Canal in the Nineteenth Century: Prelude to American Empire in the Caribbean," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 19, no. 2 (November 1987): 323-52; see also Lindley M. Keasbey, "The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 7 (January 1896): 28-30; Paul J. Scheips, "United States Commercial Pressures for a Nicaragua Canal in the 1890's," *The Americas* 20, no. 4 (April 1964): 333-58; and Henry Sheldon, *Notes on the Nicaraguan Canal* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1897), i-ii, 202-14.

Southern California's papers paralleled Northern California's media in its treatment of the Philippine-American War. They repeated the charge that foes of the Treaty of Paris helped instigate the rebellion and noted the joy with which Americans handled the "ingrates" who resisted their military power.[14] Southern California's press scoffed at any attempt to label Aguinaldo's "unkept [*sic*] minions" as freedom fighters.[15] The *Fullerton Tribune* charged that the only liberty Filipinos desired, was one that "permits the slitting of throats and the indiscriminate appropriation of other people's property."[16] The implication of such arguments was that the United States had to remain in the Philippines given the supposed inability of Filipinos to govern themselves. If Americans withdrew, they betrayed their duty to humanity and themselves, while losing their increased commerce.[17]

[P]ress scoffed at any attempt to label Aguinaldo's 'unkept [*sic*] minions' as freedom fighters

San Diego's papers deserve closer inspection, as both the *Union* and the *Sun* took editorial positions that contrasted with their respective political parties. This provides an opportunity to study the challenge papers faced in taking independent stances without betraying their political allies. The *San Diego Union*, a Republican paper, questioned the wisdom of territorial expansion in the Pacific and cited Washington's Farewell Address to warn against foreign entanglements while avoiding a critique of the McKinley administration.[18] The paper demonstrated skepticism regarding the annexation of Hawaii, and did not want Congress "to be stampeded" into a foreign entanglement at odds with Washington's address.[19] The *Union* warned readers not to lose their senses following Dewey's victory while labeling the notion of annexing the Philippines "unamerican."[20] Editorials attacked proponents of annexation for failing to consider the consequences that their proposed actions might have for American society, while worrying that expansionists might discard the Declaration of Independence. The publication demonstrated great reluctance to criticize the presidency, but willingly critiqued Republican Congressmen who opposed the Nicaraguan Canal.[21]

After the start of the Philippine-American War, the *Union* criticized those who believed America could make a deal with Aguinaldo.[22] This marks an unannounced departure from earlier support for the Filipino leader. In addition, the paper referred to Filipinos as "savages" and "untutored children of nature."[23] The paper disagreed with those who equated

[14] "Fighting at Manila," *Anaheim Weekly Gazette*, 9 February 1899, 2; see also *Orange County Plain Dealer*, 11 February 1899, 2.

[15] *Fullerton News Tribune*, 17 February 1899, 4.

[16] *Fullerton News Tribune*, 3 March 1899, 1.

[17] J. E. Valjean, *Orange County Plain Dealer*, 23 September 1899, 2.

[18] *San Diego Union*, 22 February 1898, 4; see also *San Diego Union*, 19 June 1898, 4.

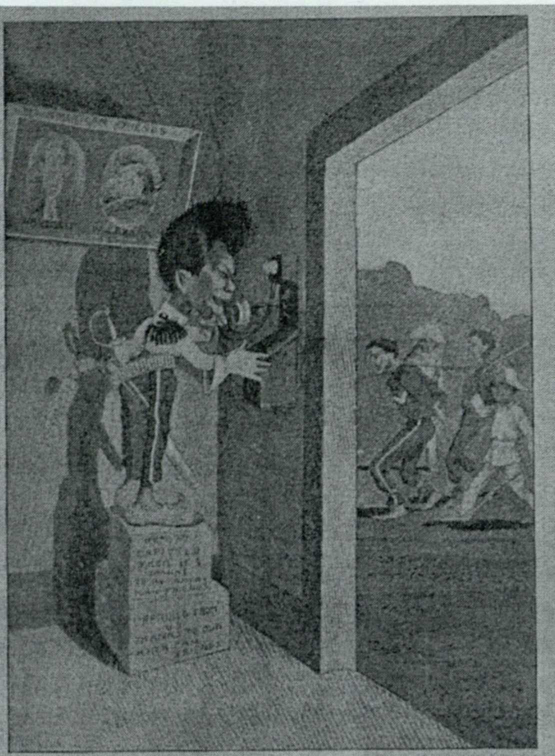
[19] *San Diego Union*, 5 May 1898, 4; "The Annexation Scheme," *San Diego Union*, 17 May 1898, 4; and *San Diego Union*, 1 June 1898, 4.

[20] "Stick to the Text," *San Diego Union*, 8 May 1898, 4.

[21] The Craze for Colonies," *San Diego Union*, 29 May 1898, 4; see also "Opposed to Annexation," *San Diego Union*, 10 June 1898, 4; "Reed and the Canal," *San Diego Union*, 27 February 1899, 4; and *San Diego Union*, 18 May 1898, 4.

[22] "Misplaced Sympathy," *San Diego Union*, 24 February 1899, 4.

[23] "Aguinaldo and Gomez," *San Diego Union*, 9 June 1898, 4; see also "The Cuban Allies," *San Diego Union*, 24 July 1898, 4; *San Diego Union*, 27 February 1899, 4; *San Diego Union*, 16 June 1898, 4; and *San Diego Union*, 28 June 1898, 4.



"TELEPHONE TO MANILA. Aguinaldo (the fleet-footed): 'Hello, Lincoln, Nebraska! Yes, Bill, I'm keeping the game going all right at this end of the line. Whoop it up, old boy, and we'll make a dish-rag of the American flag on these islands after November.'"

A typical political cartoon of the era found in the San Francisco *WASP* in November 1900. Abe Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons* (San Francisco: T'Boli, 2004), 143.

condemnation of secrecy with opposition to the president and expressed disappointment with the censorship of press reports from Manila. It denied that demands for an honest reporting of conditions in the Philippines had anything to do with disloyalty.[24] This position gave the *Union* some independence from the Republican Party without pushing it into the Democratic camp.

The *Sun*, one of the papers owned by E. W. Scripps, generally took a Democratic stance on issues and contained many editorials focused upon California, indicating some regional autonomy.[25] Though opposition to territorial expansion generally came from Democrats, the *San Diegan Sun* focused its criticism on Republican resistance to the annexation of Hawaii. The paper urged President McKinley to use his executive authority to circumvent Congress. In this, the *Sun* and the California Democratic Party found itself supporting a Republican President against his party's criticism.[26] The *Sun* did not understand why fellow Democrats lacked the paper's enthusiasm for expansion.[27] The *Sun* wished that the California Democratic Party's platform had "taken a step beyond the position that will be assumed by republicans."[28] The paper reacted hostilely to the proposal for the United States to retain only one of the Philippine islands while governing the others in a partnership with another power.[29] As Scripps targeted his papers at the working class, the use of such expansionist rhetoric is questionable given labor's hostility to the policy.

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[24] "All in the Dark," *San Diego Union*, 1 July 1899, 4; see also "That Censorship," *San Diego Union*, 22 July 1899, 4; "The Manila Censorship," *San Diego Union*, 18 July 1899, 4; and "Time to Deal Frankly," *San Diego Union*, 9 July 1899, 4.

[25] Gerald J. Baldasty, *E. W. Scripps and the Business of Newspapers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 15; see also William Smythe, *History of San Diego*, 1542-1907 (San Diego: History Company, 1907), 491-2; and Vance H. Trimble, *The Astonishing Mr. Scripps* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1992), 166, 212.

[26] "Credit for the War," *San Diegan Sun*, 18 August 1898, 2; see also "Credit for the War," *San Diegan Sun*, 23 September 1898, 2; "Democrats Approve the War with Spain," *San Diegan Sun*, 17 August 1898, 1; "Grasping Hawaii," *San Diegan Sun*, 9 June 1898, 2; *San Diegan Sun*, 6 March 1899, 2; *San Diegan Sun*, 9 March 1899, 2; *San Diegan Sun*, 13 June 1898, 2; *San Diegan Sun*, 14 June 1898, 2; and *San Diegan Sun*, 24 August 1898, 2.

[27] "Democratic Convention," *San Diegan Sun*, 19 August 1898, 2.

[28] "Territorial Expansion," *San Diegan Sun*, 20 August 1898, 2.

[29] *San Diegan Sun*, 23 August 1898, 2.

The labor press of California merits scrutiny, as it used different criteria to form its editorial policies. California's labor papers viewed expansion as a grave danger. Not even the Sailors' Union of the Pacific supported the policy with its *Coast Seamen's Journal*, even though sailors might have benefited from expanded trade. Labor journals attacked the government for using Chinese labor to make uniforms for troops departing for the Philippines. The *Voice of Labor* editorialized that "we would like to see the clothing for the American soldiers made by Americans," rather than by Chinese living in the United States. In discussing the fourth of July parade, the *Journal* noted that the troops wore mismatched clothing of many different colors, making them appear as an "emaciated serpent." It refused to drop the issue until the government took the work from the Chinese, even if that meant summoning the spirit of Denis Kearney and the Workingmen's Party of California. The *Journal* advocated "resurrect[ing]" Kearney's famous cry of the late 1870s, "The Chinese must go!" Of greater concern was a report that Chinese sailors manned ships carrying American volunteers to the Philippines, as the *Journal* labeled this a "menace" to the lives of Americans. The *Journal* declared that the city's trade unions would continue to agitate "until they succeed in abolishing Chinese labor of all kinds."[30]

This uproar was only part of a wider attack upon Asian labor.[31] Such sentiments are relevant to an

"HE'S UP AGIN THE REAL THING NOW."

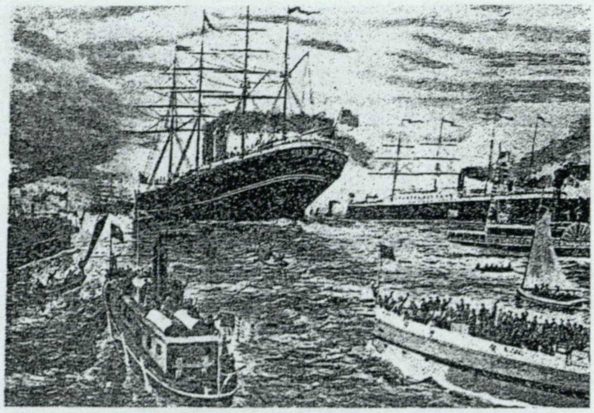
Newspapers utilized California and the United States' history of racism to present Filipinos as diminutive others. Abe Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons* (San Francisco: T'Boli, 2004), 91.

understanding of labor's fear of expansionism. The annexation of Pacific territories created a possible threat to the Chinese Exclusion Act. Without the protection of this law, labor feared a potential torrent of Asian workers and cheap goods into America from its new possessions. Furthermore, the *Journal* argued that white Americans did not stand to derive any benefits from within the colonies, as the tropics were not fit for the white race.[32] Strangely enough, California's labor papers presented editorials sympathetic to the plight of Japanese workers.

[30] "Chinese in the Parade," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 6 July 1898, 6; see also "The China's Chinese," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 15 June 1898, 6; "The Chinese Rumpus," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 29 June 1898, 7; "How's This?" *Voice of Labor*, 21 May 1898, 4; and "Huchisonia," *Voice of Labor*, 10 September 1898, 4.

[31] "To Admit Chinese Seamen," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 22 February 1899, 7; see also "A Bill Long Delayed," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 10 October 1900, 6; *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 20 April 1898, 7; *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 25 May 1898, 7; "Help the Cigarmakers," *Voice of Labor*, 25 February 1899, 2; "Help the Cigarmakers," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 1 March 1899, 7; and "Pacific Coast Exposition," *Voice of Labor*, 25 February 1899, 4.

[32] *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 25 May 1898, 7; see also *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 11 January 1899, 7; "The Issue of War," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 1 June 1898, 6; "The War," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 11 May 1898, 7; and "A Word of Warning," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 23 November 1898, 6-7.



In 1898, transports left San Francisco en route to Manila. Catherine Coffin Phillips, *Through the Golden Gate: San Francisco, 1769-1937* (San Francisco: Suttonhouse, 1938), 127.

Yet, this goodwill only applied to those who remained in Japan. California's workers could afford to show solidarity with Asian workers who did not threaten their job security or living conditions.[33] For those who crossed the Pacific, no such compassion existed. In posing a question about whether it wanted to see more "negroes and Mongolians" competing with whites for work, the *Coast Seamen's Journal* answered, "No! and a thousand times, No!"[34] Just as expansionist papers viewed the acquisition of Pacific territories through a local lens, so too did labor.

California's labor papers viewed expansion as a grave danger

California's labor papers believed that an expansionist policy would undermine the American Republic and hurt workers. The *Journal* predicted a Filipino triumph over the American people as an expanded army and corrupt government would crush the people and take the nation across its Rubicon. The roots of this argument lie in the implications of an American colonial policy. Imperial powers required large standing armies to maintain order in their possessions; thus, America needed an expanded army to rule its new colonies. A government that possessed the power to crush threats to its authority in the Philippines could also quash dissent in America. Labor feared that this expanded army would then turn against strikers.[35]

The start of the Philippine-American War did nothing to dissipate labor's criticism of expansion. The *Coast Seamen's Journal* and the *Voice of Labor* continued to denounce expansionist policies of the administration while focusing on the threat imperialism posed to American workers. The *Voice of Labor* printed a letter from Ed Rosenberg that illustrates many of these concerns. Rosenberg expressed outrage at the government's plan to muster out troops in San Francisco rather than their states of origin. The letter theorized that the policy would drive down wages and weaken local unions. Rosenberg speculated that the government wanted to keep soldiers in San Francisco to keep them silent. According to Rosenberg's theory, the scarcity of jobs in San Francisco possessed the potential to force these men to either accept low wages or rejoin the Army and return to the Philippines. Rosenberg's letter illustrated the connection labor saw between expansionism and California's workers.[36]

[33] "Civilized Slaughterhouse," *Voice of Labor*, 14 October 1899, 3; see also *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 18 July 1900, 7; "Hawaiian Labor Problem," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 25 July 1900, 6.

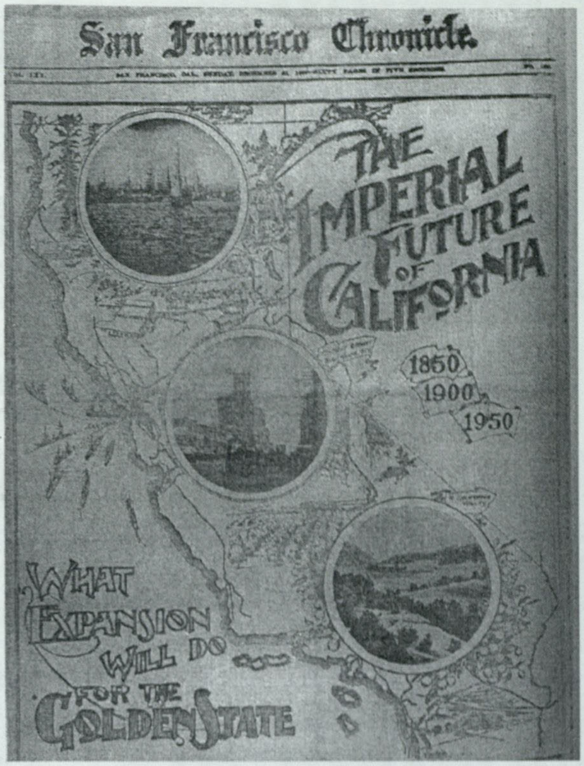
[34] *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 25 May 1898, 7.

[35] *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 25 May 1898, 7; see also "The Coming Storm," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 22 February 1899, 7; "The Law of the Sword," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 4 January 1899, 6-7; "The Main Question," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 7 December 1898, 6-7; "The Thirst for Empire," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 18 May 1898, 7; and "A Word of Warning," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 23 November 1898, 6-7.

[36] Ed Rosenberg, "Reports of Committees," *Voice of Labor*, 5 August 1899, 2.

Labor invoked religious imagery to further its attack on imperialism. One such piece praised Senator George Hoar for refusing to support the Treaty of Paris, thereby avoiding the mark of the beast. The same letter compared England to the whore of Babylon.[37] While such rhetoric did not require a Californian audience, it demonstrated the lengths to which labor went to denounce expansionism.

Unlike labor papers, the *Pacific Rural Press*, an agricultural paper from San Francisco, saw opportunities in expansion. The war promised to temporarily cut off Spain as a source of competition for California's agricultural products, thereby helping the state. The *Pacific Rural Press* reacted with joy to Dewey's victory, commenting that it helped to compensate for the demoralized condition of California's drought-afflicted farmers. [38] The *Pacific Rural Press* prophesied, "From our shore the light of free institutions and popular enlightenment will shine out for the elevation of all Pacific countries." California's ports insured that economic progress would travel across the Pacific, giving the state a key role in the nation's future.[39] Presumably, expansion would hasten the construction of the Nicaragua Canal. California's agriculturalists needed the canal to provide a means of rapidly transporting their produce to eastern markets without involving the much-despised railroads. The railroad's opposition to the Nicaragua Canal gave farmers further proof of its necessity for the state's agriculture.[40]



A map of California outlines the benefits of United States' expansion. Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 186.

California's farmers had one concern about the new Pacific territories that separated them from others within the state. California's Quarantine Officer for the State Board of Agriculture, Alexander Craw, wrote a piece about new insects or diseases that might arrive from the Pacific. While Craw had extensive knowledge of Hawaiian insects, his information

[37] "The Question of Imperialism," *Coast Seamen's Journal*, 8 March 1899, 1-2.

[38] "'Contraband of War,'" *Pacific Rural Press*, 7 May 1898, 300; see also *Pacific Rural Press*, 14 May 1898, 306; and "The War and California Products," *Pacific Rural Press*, 14 May 1898, 306.

[39] "The Week," *Pacific Rural Press*, 28 May 1898, 338; see also "The Week," *Pacific Rural Press*, 13 August 1898, 98.

[40] Edward Berwick, "California's Share in Annexation," *Pacific Rural Press*, 25 June 1898, 414; see also Edward Berwick, "Engineering Difficulties in Construction of the Nicaragua Canal," *Pacific Rural Press*, 14 May 1898, 316; Edward Berwick, "Fruit Growers and Nicaragua Canal," *Pacific Rural Press*, 30 April 1898, 274; and Edward Berwick, *Pacific Rural Press*, 11 March 1899, 159.

regarding the Philippines was sparse. Craw hoped for the passage of state legislation to allow the inspection and quarantine of plants. California needed this legislation, as Philippine annexation placed ships from these islands outside the jurisdiction of customs officers. Craw believed inspections prevented unknown pests from entering the state and causing thousands of dollars in damage.[41] California eventually received permission from the Secretary of Agriculture to inspect all shipments arriving from the Philippines and Hawaii containing fruits or plants.[42] The *Pacific Rural Press* portrayed this as a great victory for the state, once more bringing a local perspective to a national issue.

A closer examination of California's press reveals that the state's supporters and critics of American annexation of Pacific territories relied upon the impact of these actions upon California. In doing so, they transformed a national issue into a local one. Supporters saw a great commercial future for the state that promised parity with the Eastern United States. Consequently, proponents of expansion viewed critics as threats to prosperity. California's critics of expansion understood the policy as a doorway for Asiatic labor to swarm over the state while allowing the government to crush reform. The agricultural press saw many potential benefits in expansion but it sought a legislative remedy for the one threat the policy posed to their industry. Continued research into this field will provide further illumination upon Americans who experienced or expected a direct impact from American expansion into the Pacific.

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[41] Alexander Craw, "Our New Possessions and Necessary Horticultural Legislation," *Pacific Rural Press*, 10 December 1898, 381-2.

[42] "The Week," *Pacific Rural Press*, 1 September 1900, 130.

Murder to the Movies: Hollywood's Better-than-Fiction Oesterreich Murder

by T. Robert Przeklasa Jr.

Left to right: Attorneys Harold L. Davis and Meyer M. Willner, Mrs. Oesterreich, Attorney Jerry Geisler, Deputy District Attorney Thomas Russell, and Deputy District Attorney James P. Costello, 1930. The Los Angeles Public Library, available at http://jpg3.lapl.org/pics17/00028163.jpg.

The Oesterreich murder is a unique and bizarre case in Southern Californian history. It is a tale of forbidden love and betrayal in which the District Attorney charges a wife of killing her husband. **T. Robert Przeklasa Jr.** explains the distinctness of the case in its own right and compared to other trials involving female killers. By delving into the primary and secondary sources that covered the crime, he shows its popularity during the time and why it continues to capture the public's imagination today.

On the night of 22 August 1922, shots rang out from the home of Fred and Walburga "Dolly" Oesterreich on Andrews Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Alarmed, neighbors called the police, who arrived to find a husky Fred slumped on the floor, a bullet in his head and two more in his chest. They searched for the origins of the loud wailing heard down the hall, which led them to a closet where Dolly sat locked inside, unscathed. Thus began one of the most protracted and bizarre murders of the Roaring Twenties in Los Angeles. The crime went un-prosecuted for nearly eight years until the noir tale of love and betrayal brought down one of Los Angeles's most infamous black widows, and the public learned the strange truth of the events.

Mr. and Mrs. Oesterreich in 1922, reproduced in 1930. The Los Angeles Public Library, available at http://jpg3.lapl.org/pics18/00028922.jpg.

The unusual Oesterreich story has carried on since then due in equal parts to the murder itself and the trial that followed. The tale became so sordid and twisted that it seemed no writer in Hollywood dared to pass it off as a script to his studio. Yet, despite this, in 1995, Neal Patrick Harris starred in a film adaptation of the story with Anne Archer.[1] Before that, in 1968, Shirley MacLaine starred in a comedic take on the whole fiasco.[2] *Fallen Angels: Chronicles of L.A. Crime and Mystery*[3] and *For the People: Inside* the *Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office, 1850-2000*[4] both feature the case and they depict it as one of the premier criminal cases in the history of Southern California. Going into the archives, one finds hundreds of articles spanning many decades on it in the *Los Angeles Times* alone.

Thus began one of the most... bizarre murders of the Roaring Twenties in Los Angeles

The primary and secondary sources help reveal why the Oesterreich story became so famous. Modern articles on crime reference the proceedings, and its film adaptations set it apart from most other murder cases from the same time. Yet, the theatrical proceedings are both unique as well as typical for a murder in which the District Attorney charges a wife with killing her husband. A comparative analysis of similar crimes and statistics as well as media coverage of the incident, primarily through the *Los Angeles Times*, show why it remains infamous to this day.

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1 "The Man in the Attic (1995) (TV)," Internet Movie Database, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0113754/.

2 Shirley McLain, perform., *The Bliss of Mrs. Blossom*, Internet Movie Database, 5 January 2000, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0062739/.

3 Marvin J. Wolf and Kathrine Mader, *Fallen Angels: Chronicles of L.A. Crime and Mystery* (New York: Facts on File, 1996).

4 Michael Parish, *For the People: Inside the Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office 1850-2000* (Los Angeles: Angel City Press, 2001).

However, the primary sources of this case are dwindling. Upon research at the Los Angeles Hall of Records microfilm archive, it became evident that the original case documents may be forever lost. Time and improper handling have washed out and blurred the "preserved" microfilm, and they are now illegible. This limits the primary sources of the Oesterreich murder case to the archived articles of the *Los Angeles Times*, a book by Mrs. Oesterreich's attorney, Jerry Giesler—which contains selected courtroom transcripts—and the catalog of historic photographs of the Los Angeles Public Library. While the material available on the case is not as voluminous as such world famous courtroom exposés as the Orenthal James Simpson trial or the Nürnberg Trials, there are at least some secondary sources available on the case, though they are mostly only useful as narrations of the story of the murder and the sensational trial that followed.

'I have never heard of a weirder case'

In examining the Oesterreich case, it is easy to forget that one is reading historical documents and not a cheap, tawdry romance novel. The incident was so strange that Jerry Giesler began his chapter on the Oesterreich murder with the words: "In all my life I have never heard of a weirder case than the case of the little fellow in the Attic."[5] Giesler, a high profile attorney at the time, provided legal services for Errol Flynn, Lana Turner, Clarence Darrow, Charlie Chaplin, and Bugsy Siegel. In reality, the crime is stranger than fiction and received its fair share of attention from the decade in which it clung to the headlines. It differs from others in its theatrics and scopes of interest in the local media, but also shares similarities with the average female homicide of the same period.

[5] Jerry Giesler and Pete Martin, *The Jerry Giesler Story* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), 40.

Who Wrote This? "Fiction Outdone Again"

On 10 April 1930, the editors of *Los Angeles Times* ran a story titled "Fiction Outdone Again."[6] The article became one of the later pieces in the *Times'* series on the Oesterreich murder, since the actual crime took place nearly eight years before. The story began much earlier, in 1908 Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at the garment factory owned by Fred Oesterreich. He received a call from his wife, who told him that her sewing machine broke down and requested that he send a repairman.[7] Enter young Otto Sanhuber, an orphan then aged seventeen. When Oesterreich's wife, Dolly, answered the door, she reportedly wore nothing but stockings and a silk robe.[8] After a few days, it must have seemed that Sanhuber could do nothing to repair her sewing machine during his numerous house calls.

Perhaps a more attentive husband would have simply bought Dolly a new sewing machine and removed any possible excuse for sending a stranger into their home. Fred, however, was obsessed with his work. He spent most of his time at the factory and drank heavily, often ignoring his wife.[9] The fact that Sanhuber knew Raymond, the late son of the Oesterreich's, most likely became a factor in his employment.[10] Upon the death of her son, Dolly became lonely and sought out the companionship of the young Sanhuber on a more frequent basis.[11] Sometime during these visits, while Fred was at

[6] "Fiction Outdone Again," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 April 1930, sec. A, p. 4.

[7] Giesler and Martin, *Jerry Giesler Story*, 40.

[8] Parish, *For the People*, 54.

[9] Max Haines, "News Columnists," *Toronto Sun*, 30 October 2005, sec. A.

[10] Giesler and Martin, *Jerry Giesler Story*, 40.

[11] Ibid., 41.

Mrs. Oesterreich and Attorney Meyer M. Willner inside the courtroom, 1930. The Los Angeles Public Library, available at http://jpg3.lapl.org/pics18/00028933.jpg.

work, something clicked and the sordid sexual affair began between the minor Sanhuber and older Oesterreich.

[T]he sordid sexual affair began

During one of their lustful meetings, Fred came home unexpectedly, forcing the slight Otto to flee to a small room in the attic to conceal himself. Little did he know that this attic would serve as his new dwelling for the next twenty some years.[12] So attached were Dolly and Otto that when the Oesterreichs moved to Los Angeles, Sanhuber moved with them and even helped to find a house with a suitable attic in which he could dwell.[13] The image of Sanhuber following the Oesterreichs out west is quite a contrast to the rugged pioneers with their handcarts and wagons several decades before.[14]

According to his testimony, Sanhuber, who emerged to do various household chores after Fred had gone to work, became a virtual slave to Dolly. "There was the scrubbing to be done and the cleaning to be done, dusting, and each day I have service to do for Fred—Mr. Oesterreich."[15] Otto would do nearly everything around the house, making Fred's bed as well as cleaning his bathroom and dishes. Not only did Otto maintain Fred's house, but his wife as well. Otto had an ongoing sexual relationship with Mrs. Oesterreich, which became a key point in the case. Otto described himself as Dolly's "sex slave,"[16] with fasting as the only form of resistance because it made him seem pitiable to her, at which point "she would begin to feel sorry for me."[17]

Despite the domineering behavior of Dolly Oesterreich, Otto viewed himself as her protector, a notion that perhaps arose one night while he was stirring around the house when the Oesterreichs were out. Someone attempted to rob the house by breaking a window. Fortunately, the owlish Otto was there to spook the burglar. Otto took to sitting at the top of the stairs, waiting for Dolly to return home, clutching two small .25 caliber pistols he had purchased for his own protection in Wisconsin.[18] On one particular night, Dolly and Fred came home arguing; Dolly apparently slipped on a rug and cried out. Sanhuber, believing that Fred was drunk and beating her, rushed down to confront her attacker. Fred whirled around at the sound of Sanhuber's voice and immediately recognized the young man he had not seen in many years. Fred lunged at Sanhuber who fought desperately to free himself as they grappled on the floor. Sanhuber managed to fire three rounds into Fred, killing him.[19]

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[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., 42.
[14] Glenda Riley, *A Place to Grow: Women in the American West* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1992), 89.
[15] Giesler and Martin, *Jerry Giesler Story*, 58.
[16] Parish, *For the People*, 54.
[17] Giesler and Martin, *Jerry Giesler Story*, 63.
[18] Ibid., 42.
[19] Ibid., 43.

At that point, Sanhuber quickly rushed Dolly upstairs and locked her in a closet, leaving the key in the lock and hiding himself in his attic abode.[20] The police arrived to find Dolly passed out and locked in the closet, thus eliminating her from immediate questioning, but with no clues left on which to go. Detectives, however, remained suspicious of Dolly due to the odd sternness of her answers to initial questions as well as the wealth she stood to inherit.[21]

Once she had time to get her head together, Dolly quickly told Otto to destroy the guns with which he had killed Fred, and he smashed them to pieces with a hammer. Later she wrapped the pieces of one of the guns in some cloth and had her new public paramour, a young actor named Bellows, dispose of them in the La Brea Tar Pits.[22] She had a neighbor bury the second gun in his yard.[23] Upon the dissolution of their relationship, Bellows thought it prudent to alert the police to the bundle he believed to be lost forever in the primordial mastodon filled ooze. To great surprise, the police found the cloth and the remains of the gun only a few feet from the edge of the tar, where it would have been lost forever.[24] Slowly the pieces began to fall together, and the Los Angeles Police Department arrested Dolly for the murder of her husband. At that point, she begged her lawyer, Herman Shapiro, to take some food to her "retarded brother" who lived in her attic. Shapiro, curious, obliged only to hear the whole story from the young man in coke bottle glasses as he emerged from his nest.[25]

Left to Right: Otto Sanhuber, Bailiff Chas Bryant, and Attorney Orville Rogers standing outside of the old Oesterreich home, 1930. The Los Angeles Public Library, available at http://jpg3.lapl.org/pics17/00028166.jpg.

At first, Shapiro decided to keep the whole thing a secret since he had begun a romantic relationship with Dolly. Once he heard of Dolly's arrest, Shapiro followed Bellows's lead and told the whole story to the police. According to attorney Jerry Giesler, even the shockproof LAPD found the story "hard…to believe."[26]

By this time, it was 1930—nearly eight years after the murder had taken place. Sure enough, the police were able to get a confession out of Sanhuber, who had since then moved to San Francisco, which matched the story Shapiro had told them.[27] This set the stage for the beginning of one of the most sensational trials

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20 Ibid.

21 Denise Noe, "Man in the Attic Case," *Crime Library: Criminal Minds and Methods*, http://www.crimelibrary.com/notorious_murders/classics/otto_sanhuber/1.html

22 Wolf and Mader, *Fallen Angels*, 55.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., 56.

25 Ibid.

26 Giesler and Martin, *Jerry Giesler Story*, 52.

27 Ibid., 51.

ever to hit the front page of the *Los Angeles Times*.

A passage from "Fiction Outdone Again" helps to explain the Oesterreich case's popularity over the years and its sensationalism in the 1920s and 1930s:

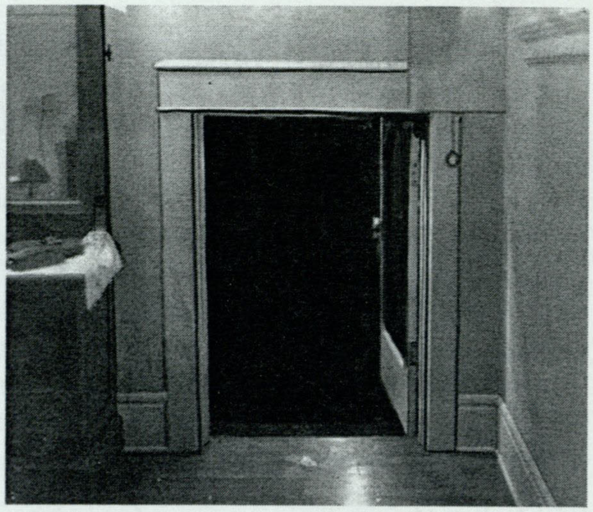
> Nothing in fiction is more dramatic than the story of the sudden quarrel in the hallway, the popping out of an armed jack-in-the-box, the struggle, the slaying, the locking of Mrs. Oesterreich in a closet with the key outside and the mysterious disappearance of the slayer back into his cubbyhole.[28]

Indeed, as the paper flashed the unbelievable headlines of "Famous Death Case Revived" and "Secret Room May Solve Famous Murder Puzzle,"[29] while printing pictures and diagrams of Sanhuber's secret hiding place, interest intensified in the case they had almost left for dead years before.

Media Frenzies

Major newspapers of the Southland splashed the Oesterreich murder case across their front pages. The case was a media frenzy with daily updates in the paper, and schematics and diagrams of the juicy details of Sanhuber's hiding place. In the early part of the twentieth century, the public became obsessed with female killers, and Dolly Oesterreich's story of deception, forbidden love, and murder fed right into the desire for juicy news.

Studies on crime continue to cite the Oesterreich case, and newspapers and movies persist to recite the story today. As for why,



The "secret room" where Sanhuber lived in the Oesterreich's Los Angeles mansion,1930. The Los Angeles Public Library, available at http://jpg3.lapl.org/pics18/00028969.jpg.

one needs to simply read an account of the murder, such as the one just given above, to understand its sensationalism. The Internet is an amazing piece of modern technology that makes transmission of knowledge and tawdry stories such as the Oesterreich murder all the easier. Today, one needs only to type in the name Oesterreich, weed through several million pages about Austria, and the viewer can find hundreds of Web sites that have some passing reference to the sensational murder over eight decades old. Web sites show up with things ranging from pictures of and directions to Fred Oesterreich's crypt (number 820, Great Mausoleum, Begonia Corridor, Forest Lawn Memorial Park)[30] to the Los Angeles Cacophony Society's Death and Scandal Tour, which takes interested (or morose) citizens on a tour of famous murder sites, including the house on Andrews Boulevard.[31]

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[28] "Fiction Outdone Again."

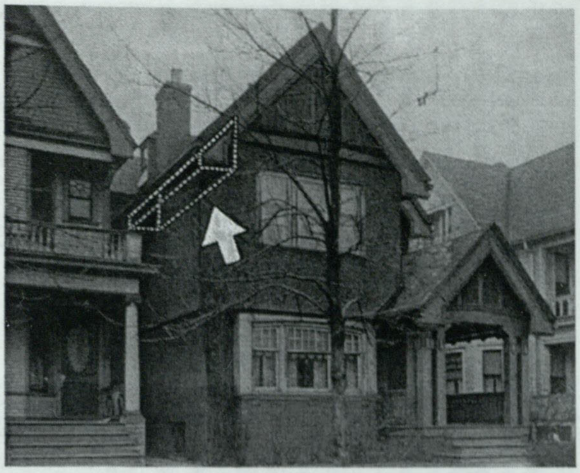
[29] "Secret Room May Solve Famous Murder Puzzle," *Los Angeles Times*, 8 April 1930, sec. A1.

[30] "Fred Oesterreich," Find a Grave, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=8976

[31] "The Death and Scandal Tour," *The Los Angeles Cacophony Society*, http://losangeles.cacophony.org/deathscan.htm.

Despite all this strange evidence, there is, perhaps, no better proof of the staying power of the Oesterreich case than *Man in the Attic* (1995) and *The Bliss of Mrs. Blossom* (1968). The strange story of Otto Sanhuber and Dolly and Fred Oesterreich, is the basis for both films. The made for television movie, *Man in the Attic,* starred Neil Patrick Harris—famous for his role as TV's most beloved adolescent doctor, Doogie Howser, MD in the early 1990s—as Otto Sanhuber. The legendary Anne Archer brought her special talent to the film to play Dolly, leading Video Movie Guide 2002 to state, "Good performances make it all seem plausible."[32] Hailed as "a charming period film,"[33] The Bliss of Mrs. Blossom took the matter in a much lighter manner, with its ending not even matching the real occurrence. Although neither of the films were blockbusters nor groundbreaking Oscar winners, the films, backed by their star power, ensure that the strange story of Otto Sanhuber living in Mrs. Oesterreich's attic will live on.

So, what was it about the Oesterreich murder that led to the creation of these films? Christine Holmlund asserts that "Hollywood sees female violence as erotic,"[34] and no other real murder case combines eroticism with murder better than Fred Oesterreich's. The strangeness of the story grasped the public's attention and left a lasting impression. Mention of the case even figured into obituaries of several people involved in the trial,[35] and Dolly's second marriage some thirty years later was news



The Oesterreich home in Milwaukee; dotted lines indicate Sanhuber's alleged hiding place, 1930. The Los Angeles Public Library, available at http://jpg3.lapl.org/pics18/00028938.jpg.

enough for the front section;[36] even her death less than a month after that made the front page [37]

Was It All That Strange?

Roughly one year before the murder of Fred Oesterreich, the *Los Angeles Times* ran an article entitled "Why Feminine Crime Increases,"[38] prompted by the recent acquittal of two notorious murderesses and the general rise in female murder and manslaughter convictions, or lack thereof.[39] The article was critical of the acquittals of two high profile female killers, one who even admitted to committing the

[32] Mike Martin and Marsha Porter, *Video Movie Guide 2002* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001), in Noe, "Man in the Attic Case," *Crime Library*.

[33] Wintle, "Bliss of Mrs. Blossom."

[34] Christine Holmlund, *Moving Targets: Women, Murder and Representation*, ed. Helen Birch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 128.

[35] "Services Set for Oldest LA Police Veteran," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 January 1965, sec. B.

[36] "Woman in 'Bat Man' Slaying Case Marries: Mrs. Walburga Oesterreich, Freed after 1930 Trial, Wed to her Business Manager," *Los Angeles Times*, sec. I, 25 March 1961.

[37] "Woman Who figured in 'Bat Man' Case Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, 15 April 1961, sec. I.

[38] Alma Whitaker, "Why Feminine Crime Increases; Law's Leniency to Murderesses, Love of Pretty Clothes, and Growth of Drug Habit are Blamed for Wave of Slayings and Thefts by Women," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 July 1921, sec. II.

[39] Mara L. Dodge, *Whores and Thieves of the Worst Kind* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), 102.

Mrs. Oesterreich standing in front of a jail cell, 1960. The Los Angeles Public Library, available at http://jpg3.lapl.org/pics18/00028943.jpg.

crime out of self-defense. "Law's leniency to murderesses, love of pretty clothes, and growth of drug habit are blamed for wave of slayings and thefts by women,"[40] said the subtitle. The article underscores the popularity of the subject of the rise of the 'murderess' in the public eye and hints at the frenzy that would grow in the coming decades with murderess cases like Clara "Tiger Woman" Phillips,[41] Madalynne Obenchain,[42] and Louise Peete.[43]

The first case that the article addressed was that of Clara Smith Hamon, accused of killing her lover and employer, oil magnate Jake Hamon in Oklahoma in 1920.[44] Even after her acquittal by a single vote,[45] litigation to settle the oilman's vast estate hounded Clara[46] while journeying to Southern California to speak at various Evangelical churches in an effort to warn "other girls…before deviating from the straight and narrow way…that they may profit from her mistakes which are to be unfolded on screen."[47]

The similarities between her case and the Oesterreich murder are noticeable. In both cases, those involved became a part of daily conversations, reaching into the everyday lives of the common person, sitting in his easy chair, reading the evening paper. Both cases also involved vast sums of money to be inherited from wealthy, murdered husbands, which corresponds to the statistics of the conviction of white female murderesses which, more often than not, involved money as a factor.[48] Their trials ended in similar fashion, with the exception of Hamon's being a clear acquittal and Oesterreich simply having a hung jury. During his closing remarks, Hamon's defense attorney, Mr. Champion, brazenly said, "Girls like this have ever been acquitted, girls like this ever will be acquitted so long as the spirit of God lasts."[49] It seems like the spirit of God was having a bit of trouble near the end of Dolly Oesterreich's case.

Champion's remarks, however, were not baseless. Female murderers, even ones with the

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Parish, *For the People*, 60.

[42] Ibid., 58.

[43] Ibid., 178.

[44] "Girl Near a Collapse; Describes Hamon's End," *Los Angeles Times*, 16 March 1921, pg 2.

[45] "Clara Smith Hamon Is Acquitted of Murder," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 March 1921, pg 2.

[46] "Settle Hamon Estate Fight," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 May 1921, sec. II.

[47] "Clara Hamon's Here to Fight," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 April 1921, sec. II.

[48] Dodge, *Whores and Thieves*, 102.

[49] "Hamon Is Acquitted," pg 2.

celebrity status of Mrs. Oesterreich, had a long track record of "getting off easy" in the first half of the twentieth century and prior, especially in Los Angeles. In 1881, Lastencia Abarata gunned down her fiancé, Chico Forster, in the streets of Los Angeles.[50] After a rather quick trial, the jury acquitted Abarata of murder on the grounds of insanity,[51] which was argued by way of her premenstrual syndrome.[52] However, the Forster-Abarata case was different from the Oesterreich case in several key aspects. One of the most glaring was the fact that Lastencia faced an all male jury whereas Dolly Oesterreich's trial was one of the first to see a panel of equal numbers of male and female jurors.

'[G]irls like this ever will be acquitted so long as the spirit of God lasts'

The jury selection was a major part of the Oesterreich case and is perhaps one of its most historically significant aspects. In 1909, the Los Angeles Superior Court called the first woman juror for a trial,[53] though this was soon labeled a "costly error."[54] Throughout the next decade, the *Los Angeles Times* would run stories highly critical of female jurors with titles such as: "Knowledge of Men Saves Widow in Portland"[55] and "Women Jurors Lenient."[56] However, the jury of the Oesterreich case would baffle legal journalists of earlier decades. The fierce battle over the jury ended at the beginning of August 1930, during which Deputy District Attorney James Costello had several women dismissed because they opposed the death penalty.[57] In the end, the prosecution and defense selected a jury of six men and six women.[58]

The trial of Dolly Oesterreich ended with a hung jury after three days of deliberation at the end of August 1930.[59] The jury was unable to vote for a conviction, though that was clearly their leaning. The *Times* reported that "[a]ll six women finally [emphasis added] voted for conviction."[60] What led the women to vote guilty remains a mystery, although speculation claimed that the three-day hubbub about their views on the death penalty, or the recent criticism about their leniency, influenced their decision. On the other hand, two men, George Dickerson and Arthur C. Burlingame held to their belief in Dolly Oesterreich's innocence.[61]

The Oesterreich case differed from most other cases of its day. The trial of Katie Cook of Westminster, CA, who shot her husband for cheating on her, was diametrically opposed to the Oesterreich case since the husband, Tom Cook, began to welcome other women to his bed.[62] The public supported Katie because it appeared that Tom simply received what he deserved, and the jury acquitted her of

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50 Gordon Bakken, ed., *California History: A Topical Approach* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2003), 95.

51 Ibid., 99.

52 Ibid., 97.

53 "First Woman Juror Drawn Says She Wants to Serve," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 October 1909, sec. II.

54 "Woman Juror Costly Error: Retrial of Case Ordered To Be Conducted," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 November 1909, sec. II.

55 "Knowledge of Men Saves Widow in Portland," *Los Angeles Times*, 21 December 1911, sec. I.

56 "Women Jurors Lenient," *Los Angeles Times*, 25 February 1912, sec. I.

57 "Murder Jury Uncompleted," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 August 1930, sec. I.

58 "Sexes Equal in Jury Chosen for Oesterreich Murder Trial," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 August 1930, sec. I.

59 "Attic Murder Jury Dismissed," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 August 1930, sec. I.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Bakken, *California History*, 99.

all charges on Christmas Eve 1899.[63] Dolly however, was on the other side of her affair. Poor Fred, as drunken and neglectful as he may have been,[64] was the one cheated on and killed by his wife's secret attic lover. While Katie's depression and strange antics played to her favor, leading her to "not know right from wrong,"[65] only once in the Oesterreich trial did her attorneys attempt to present Dolly as drunk at the time of the killing.[66] Her sobbing and hysteria on the witness stand seemed to be negated by the eight years between the murder and the trial as well as her numerous lovers since then.

'Hang this woman'

In *The Jerry Giesler Story*, Giesler left the impression that he easily won the trial, but examination of the testimony, as well as how the jury reached its verdict seems to paint a different picture. Two of the twelve votes hung the jury—not a very promising margin for the defense, and it looked as though Dolly Oesterreich grew closer to being convicted of having "procured murder to be done."[67] What makes her proximity to actual conviction on "conspiracy, leading to the murder of her husband"[68] even more noteworthy than the rarity of female murder convictions is that the District Attorney's Office pursued the death penalty.

"Hang this woman,"[69] were the last words spoken by Deputy District Attorney Costello in the trial of Dolly Oesterreich. Those were very harsh words to utter in 1930s California, which, by then, had executed only three women since its admittance to the Union in 1850: A Hispanic woman named Juanita, hanged in Sierra County in 1851 for murder, and Mary O'Cammon and Kate McShane, both hanged in 1890 in San Francisco.[70] Dolly Oesterreich would have been the first woman executed in California in the twentieth century, and among only fifteen men executed in 1930, of which only three were from Los Angeles.[71] Since the trial resulted in a hung jury, women would remain clear of the gallows in California until the execution of Louise Peete for murdering a woman in 1941.[72]

Though Costello branded Dolly Oesterreich "black as sin,"[73] at least two members of the jury could not let go of the manslaughter conviction brought down on Otto Sanhuber, the actual killer of Fred Oesterreich. Perhaps it was Jerry Giesler's extracted confession from Sanhuber that he induced Dolly into a sexual relationship, and not the other way around, that swayed the two dissenting jurymen.[74] Whatever the reason, the judge dropped the case, declared Dolly Oesterreich innocent, and ordered her release. Any notion of a retrial dropped in December 1930 after Deputy District Attorney Costello admitted that the state did not have sufficient evidence to warrant a new trial.[75] One deputy district attorney said, "We are pretty certain the shooting occurred as Mrs. Oesterreich described it. We have been unable to discover anything additional, which would have a tendency to show conspiracy.

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[63] Ibid., 102.

[64] Haines, "News Columnists."

[65] Bakken, *California History*, 100.

[66] "Mrs. Oesterreich Scored," *Los Angeles Times*, 8 August 1930, sec. I.

[67] Giesler and Martin, *Jerry Giesler Story*, 69.

[68] Ibid.

[69] "Death on Gallows Asked for Mrs. Oesterreich as Attic-Murder Trial Reaches Finale," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 August 1930, sec. I.

[70] "California Executions," http://users.bestweb.net/~rg/execution/CALIFORNIA.htm.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] "Death on Gallows," sec. I.

[74] Giesler and Martin, *Jerry Giesler Story*, 70.

[75] "'Attic Murder' Case Dropped," *Los Angeles Times*, 9 December 1930, sec. I.

Accordingly, obtaining a conviction did not seem possible."[76]

The Oesterreich story is a rare example of a truly stranger than fiction tale, as well as the basis for two Hollywood motion pictures. Numerous books and articles mention the murder, and it remains a part of Los Angeles local noir to the present day. The novelty and strangeness of the case ensured its survival as a topic of research as well as conversation and entertainment for years to come, as well as remaining a significant mark on the lives of most of those involved.

The Oesterreich case remains unique in its position as a female murder trial for coming very close to sending the defendant to the gallows at a time when such a thing seemed inconceivable. Surely, the Oesterreich murder is one for the history books, unique in comparison and in and of itself. At Dolly's trial—which immediately followed his own—Otto Sanhuber was asked how it had all gone so far; how he could live in an attic for more than ten years and eventually kill Fred Oesterreich. To this he replied, "By George, she was an attractive woman,"[77] which perfectly illustrates the power of sex and the criminal mind.

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[76] Giesler and Martin, *Jerry Giesler Story*, 71.

[77] Jim Stingl, "Legend of the 'Man in the Attic' Is Very Real," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 22 November 2003, http://www.jsonline.com/story/index.aspx?id=187193.

Building the Education Enterprise: The Establishment of the Longquan Village Education Center

by Daniel Phillips

Longquan Village government headquarters. Photo by author.

Following a research trip to China's Henan province where he collected the oral histories of villagers, **Daniel Phillips** provides a thorough analysis of the expansion and improvement of a rural village school system since communist rule started in China. On the heels of three decades of recent local industrialization and utilizing policies that encouraged capitalistic economics, Longquan Village (Dragon Springs)—the subject of Daniel's research—exemplifies how local leaders created and financed a recognized village education center that provides students with K-12 education. Of paramount significance in understanding the local education center's success are Longquan's highly integrated political, economic, and social characteristics.

Longquan (Dragon Springs) Village demonstrates how the recent economic advancement and industrialization of China's countryside positively affects local capabilities and decisions regarding rural education advancement. Over the past three decades, the discrepancies in state investment and household income between China's east coast provinces and its inland areas are one of the more salient features of the country's economic reform and development. While east coast cities prosper, the central government continues to leave rural communities to fend for themselves with local incentive and investment as practically the only means by which social services and institutions are improved. Jonathan Unger points out that with regard to education, rural China is further divided into "two nations," with the most impoverished regions of the west standing in contrast to those of the southern and central agricultural heartlands.[1] Yet, even within the central and southern regions, stark local discrepancies exist.

A recent factor that separates a prosperous rural community from an impoverished one is the ability to transition from an agricultural- to an industrial-based economy. For the communities that successfully industrialized, surplus capital allowed for local investment into the betterment of social services and institutions. Information obtained from one such village in rural Henan province details the effect that this transition had on the development of the local school and village education system.

First, discussion focuses on the transformation of the Longquan Village school system from its post-1949 conditions to its present day status as a viable village enterprise. This includes an analysis of central government policy regarding rural education from 1949. Second, the village investment and advancement in education resulted solely from a local voluntarism due to a strongly integrated political, economic, and social village structure. In contrast to several studies provided on rural villages that suffered disintegration and a social breakdown of law and order as a result of de-collectivization and industrialization, Longquan's consistent leadership and social involvement kept the village structure and community highly integrated. This is a key factor to consider when discussing the improvement of rural China's local institutions and social services.

Methodology

The author collected the majority of the information used in this study from research conducted in Longquan Village, Henan, China during a three-week period in June 2006. During that time, the team conducted thirteen oral histories with current and former school administrators, teachers, and students. They also interviewed the village vice-party secretary and the county superintendent. They toured the county key (gongban) school, held discussions with administrators, and visited the township and surrounding villages. A translator and graduate of nearby Zhengzhou University, He Wenyan, assisted with all interviews. The team researched on behalf of the ongoing "Dragon Springs Oral History Project" for the Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), California State University, Fullerton.

Summary of Economical and Educational Progress in Longquan Village

Longquan Village is located in Qiliying Township of Xinxiang County near Xinxiang city, China's Henan province. Dragon Springs

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[1] Jonathan Unger, *The Transformation of Rural China* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002), 183. In addition to education, Unger points out that a large discrepancy also exists in the quality of medical care.

measures 2,880 mu (480 acres)[2] and as of 2004, contained a population of 3,470 making up 800 households. In stride with the economic reforms in China over the past three decades, it made the transition from an agricultural economy to an industrial one. As of 2005, the village ran eighteen collectively owned enterprises with paper recycling and production as its primary industry. As of that year, less than 2 percent of the village revenue came from agriculture.

With the economic and industrial development of the village came a need for a better-educated and skilled labor force. This became most apparent in the early 1990s when the village attempted to upgrade their poor paper quality and production to that of a technically more advanced white paper. Meeting this need with the appropriate supply of skilled and educated labor proved formidable, and village education reform became a top priority for the party and village committees.[3]

[V]illage education reform became a top priority

Because of state financial shortcomings, the village turned to the *minban* (people-run) school model as a way to locally finance the high school and a majority of the middle school teachers; only one-third of the current 180 teachers employed at the Longquan Education Center are public teachers funded by the state. The remaining two-thirds are private teachers funded by the village. Dragon Springs offsets these costs by enrolling outside village students and charging them tuition fees, thereby making use of the current market system and the state law promoting private education. For a price, Longquan meets a higher peasant demand for education than what the state can currently provide. Although fee-paying students offset the private teachers' salaries, it does not address the question and cost of establishing the schools' buildings and facilities. Solely the village itself made this investment with earned capital from the industrial and economic advancement of the prior years.

The current system offers complete kindergarten through twelfth grade education to village students almost free of charge, a surprising accomplishment for a village in China's contemporary rural countryside. From 1996 to 2004, Longquan Village invested around ten million Yuan (1.25 million USD) in the construction of the village school grounds and facilities.[4] As it stands today, the Dragon Springs Education Center is one of the village's many viable enterprises with an enrollment of over three thousand students. Of those, two thousand are fee-paying students from other rural villages. Since 1996, the county recognized the middle school as an advanced "model school" and in 2001, the Xinxiang City Education Committee judged it as a top-rated school providing comprehensive education quality.[5]

The economic forces released from the market reforms of the past three decades transformed rural agricultural village systems into viable industrial economies. Hence, these transforming and evolving industries require a higher level of educated peasantry capable of adapting to frequent technological changes

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[2] Roughly six mu equal 1 acre.

[3] Vice-Party Secretary Sun Laixiao of Longquan Village, interview by author, trans. He Wenyan, 10 June 2006, Longquan Village, Henan, China, tape recording, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton.

[4] *The Historical Procedure and State of Development for Longquan Middle School, Xinxiang County* (Xinxiang xian Longquan zhongxue lishi jincheng he fazhan zhuangkuang), school document, 3 March 2004, 3.

[5] Ibid., 4.

Rural residents construct public works during the commune era using only hand-held farm tools. Photo by author.

and upgrades. It is due to these conditions that village governments like those in Longquan took the initiative and invested their recently earned economic capital into local education with the goals of meeting their economic demands and creating a morally, well-rounded citizenry.

Post-1949 Education in Longquan

Describing his educational experience in the days prior to the 1949 Communist victory, Sun Laixiao recounts how, on his first day of attendance while wandering the temple grounds, he witnessed a teacher beating a fellow student. Frightened, he returned home after only a half-day of class and never went back.[6] "It was common in the old days," Mr. Sun further states, "especially before the 1949 liberation."[7] Dangerous and unstable days of civil war kept the future village vice-party secretary at home. The countryside abounded with robbers and, on one occasion, he recalls how, in 1948, roughly one hundred of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang (KMT) troops looted grain in the neighboring village of Litai. "Up to this point there hadn't been any fighting nearby. The KMT were strongest in the city so the battles happened there."[8] Yet, this time the fighting reached the doorstep of Longquan Village. Mr. Sun continues, "The Communist army came from outside, from the south. They came at night and were a very big force." To his recollection, the ensuing fight resulted in

[6] Sun Laixiao, interview, 10 June 2006, COPH.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

only one local casualty and left a portion of the neighboring Litai Village damaged from fire.[9] The Communists won the day and, as history demonstrates, the war.

> **Elementary education in Longquan Village extended from first through fourth grades**

Sun Laixiao returned to school in the days following the civil war and found that things had changed. For one, the teachers seemed quite different and they no longer allowed physical punishment in the village school. In addition, whereas before 1949 the village school employed private teachers, in the years following liberation, both became completely free when the government sent teachers to the village.[10] Yet there remained limits to the amount of free education in those years. Elementary education in Dragon Springs extended from first through fourth grades with fifth and sixth grades held in the neighboring village of Litai.[11] Vice-Party Secretary Sun passed the county entrance examination and completed a high school education. In his opinion, 70 percent of the students at that time did not go past elementary school.[12] In 1957, Longquan finally retained teachers for the fifth and sixth grades.[13] For the majority of the villagers, the end of sixth grade constituted the pinnacle of their academic achievements. As Mr. Li Qingyan, a former principal of the village school, plainly states, "In those days most students finished elementary school and just stayed at home."[14] This remained the case for many of the surrounding villages; in 1956, only one county middle school existed.[15] Xinxiang city, on the other hand, fared significantly better with upward of seven.[16] As the collective era under Chairman Mao Zedong gained momentum in the later half of the decade, more and more localized middle schools formed in various surrounding villages under the minban model.[17]

In the decades following 1949, national policy toward education fluctuated between two ideological lines of thought. The first adhered to the idea of a centralized, national public school system funded through the state budget and looked after by the Ministry of Education. The second, promoted by Mao—who rejected the notion of control by an administrative elite—followed the Yanan formula of mass education that focused on a decentralized, locally-funded system that stressed practical learning for peasants above formal academic instruction. The few regularized state schools represented the former model while the establishment of

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] A later interview with Song Kewu, a former teacher who helped establish the village's first middle school in 1963, confirmed this information. One point of difference is that Mr. Song stated that the village private school in pre-liberation times transformed into a common school in the 1940s before it changed into an elementary school in the 1950s. Song Kewu, interview by author, trans. He Wenyan, 12 June 2006, Longquan Village, Henan, China, tape recording, COPH.

[12] Sun Laixiao, interview, 10 June 2006, COPH.

[13] *Historical Procedure*, school document, 3 March 2004. Song Kewu claims that teachers for fifth and sixth grades were added in 1954-5 but during these years he was away attending the city school. Song Kewu, interview, 12 June 2006, COPH.

[14] Li Qingyan, interview by author, trans. He Wenyan 11 June 2006, Longquan Village, Henan, China, tape recording, COPH.

[15] Liang Guoxi, former principal and co-founder of Longquan Village Middle School, interview by author, trans. He Wenyan 11 June 2006, Longquan Village, Henan, China, tape recording, COPH.

[16] Song Kewu, interview, 12 June 2006, COPH.

[17] Liang Guoxi, interview, 11 June 2006, COPH

the localized minban schools embodied the latter.[18]

The minban, a locally funded school under the authority of the local township or village government, served as a means to achieve mass education as embodied in the "Yanan spirit," particularly concerning literacy. As a grassroots initiated school, it charged fees to students in an attempt to cover facilities and teaching costs. Usually chosen from among the highest educated and most literate group of politically qualified villagers, minban teachers held classes in a village storeroom, house, or temple.[19] Although the Ministry of Education reluctantly adopted the minban concept, the combination of populist impulse for mass education and the fiscal weakness of the state allowed for its acceptance and endurance.[20]

The state's fiscal weakness toward rural educational investment depended mostly on the economic plan adopted at the time. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) followed the Stalinist model of industrialization based on investing in heavy urban industry and came at the expense of rural expenditures. In order to assist this plan, the state concentrated educational spending solely in urban centers.[21]

[T]eachers wrote on a board with chalk made from mud

Since minban schools received no central government assistance, they were inferior to the state-run gongban schools located in the cities and market towns, about which scholar Glen Peterson writes, "They made up the skeletal public school system inherited by the communists from the Nationalist government. State schools were blessed with superior facilities and assured state funding."[22] The pre-existing and superior facilities of state schools made them less of a financial strain on the central government than anything established in the countryside. With limited funds to go around, state investment in urban gongban schools at the expense of the rural peasantry resulted. This factor contributed to a bifurcated system between urban and rural schooling that exists up to the present day.

In 1963, following the economic recovery from the disastrous Great Leap Forward (GLF) of 1958-1960, Longquan set up its minban agricultural middle school. It started with two teachers who held class in the borrowed houses of local villagers.[23] The two teachers, Song Kewu and Liang Guoxi, recently graduated high school with only Mr. Song having a previous year of teaching experience. The first year, they taught roughly fifty students who were from among three groups: local villagers; those with relatives in the village but were themselves from another village; and outside students from three surrounding villages

[18] Glen Peterson, *The Power of Words: Literacy and Revolution in South China, 1949-95* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 34.

[19] In 1963, the minban middle school in Longquan was set up by borrowing houses from local villagers.

[20] Peterson, *Power of Words*, 32.

[21] Ibid., 34. Peterson points out that the 1953 State Council directive restricted educational spending to urban areas and embraced the minban model as an "appropriate solution."

[22] Ibid., 33.

[23] The two teachers who co-founded the school, Song Kewu and Liang Guoxi, gave different accounts of where they initially held class. Mr. Song states that class first met in a storeroom, while Mr. Liang states that they held class in borrowed houses. A local document entitled *The Historical Procedure and the State of Development for Longquan Middle School, Xinxiang County* also states that the middle school began by using borrowed houses. Upward of seven teachers—four public, three private—still conducted elementary school classes in the temple. Song Kewu, interview, 12 June 2006, COPH and *Historical Procedure*, school document, 3 March 2004, 1.

for whom the teachers provided and cooked.[24] Humble conditions prevailed at the time, with little money for the school. Twenty desks taken from the elementary school furnished the class and the teachers wrote on a board with chalk made from mud.[25] Mr. Liang and Mr. Song had a desk but no chair on which to sit. Given no pay for their efforts, they instead received points as laborers for work performed under the state compensation system during the collective era, by which individuals sold grain to the state and the proceeds were dispersed on a household point's total system.[26]

Both Mr. Liang and Mr. Song collected fees from the students but most could not pay much. Mr. Song laments how most of the students could only afford two or three Yuan a month. "Not even enough to buy a pack of cigarettes," he jokingly adds.[27] On Sundays, the teachers led the students to work in other villages as an attempt to earn some extra money. Mostly, this consisted of planting trees. Although officially termed an "agricultural" middle school, both teachers explain that they emphasized only academic subjects. Song Kewu states that both he and Mr. Liang did not teach any agriculture at the middle school while he taught there and that they conducted classes as if the students attended a regular school.[28]

Students at the Longquan Education Center take a break from class. Photo by author.

The two teachers divided the curriculum with Mr. Liang teaching math while Mr. Song taught Chinese. Foreign language instruction in Russian later switched to English, a language in which neither of them had experience. To compensate, the two of them attended an English class at another school and then returned to teach the lesson to the village students. The following school year, 1964-5, Mr. Song Kewu left the middle school to teach as a public teacher in the elementary school of the neighboring village of Litai. As a result, the Longquan middle school added two more teachers: Mr. Li Qingyan, another recent senior high graduate, and Ms. Song Songlan. In addition, they added another class of students.

Dragon Springs did not set up the first minban middle school in the area. Other villages set up minban schools after 1956, but following the economic hardships of Mao's GLF, many ceased to operate. In fact, both Vice-Party Secretary Sun Laixiao and former principal Liang Guoxi mention how their plans for higher education spoiled due to the economic and political conditions of the GLF. As their contribution

[24] Song Kewu, interview, 12 June 2006, COPH. Mr. Song explains how he could steam bread but felt incapable of making good noodles for the students. To help with the cooking, they compensated a hired cook with night soil.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Unger, *Transformation of Rural China*, 75-7; Jonathan Bryant Starr, *Understanding China: A Guide to China's Economy, History, and Political Culture* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 111.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid. It should be added that even if agriculture was not taught in the class, the teachers exposed the students to labor, as previously mentioned, in planting trees to earn extra money for the school. This adhered to the central government's policy as laid down by Liu Shaoqi in 1958 for a "double track" education system with minban schools emphasizing local production learning. Peterson, *Power of Words*, 125.

during the GLF, Longquan students traveled to a village some thirty kilometers away to take part in steel making.[29] Longquan established its middle school following the disaster and during the recovery in 1963.

At the national level, the years of recovery following the GLF saw a return to the liberal economic policies of President Liu Shaoqi and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping. Educational emphasis moved back toward academic achievement and successful examination results. Beginning in 1959, they established elite Keypoint schools, mainly within urban centers.[30] The state heavily funded these schools and provided the most promising students with superior resources and teaching. Having lost influence due to the GLF, Mao attempted to regain his status and moved to ward off any capitalist tendencies in the countryside by initiating the Socialist Education Movement (SEM) in 1962-3. The movement strived for a return to politics in peasant education and a renewed push for the creation of minban schools.[31] In response to this movement, Longquan set up its middle school. The following year, the Four Cleanups campaign—the political stage of the SEM—came to the village.

The Four Cleanups campaign aimed to reduce corruption

The Four Cleanups campaign aimed to reduce corruption in the actions of leading rural government cadres. They implemented it by work teams sent down to each village to watch and correct the actions of local officials. According to Vice-Party Secretary Sun Laixiao, the rural leaders took a big hit during the Four Cleanups. Another aimed to organize the populace into literacy study groups in order to learn and recite the writings of Chairman Mao. To accomplish this, the minban school became an effective way to channel the political indoctrination of the peasant youth. As a result of the pressures exerted on the local leaders due to the Four Cleanups and the SEM, the Longquan government paid more attention to education and worked to improve the schools' facilities.[32] This included relocating the middle school to the west side of the village—its current location—in a newly constructed building.

Of the Cultural Revolution that gripped the nation in the latter half of the 1960s, Vice-Party Secretary Sun Laixiao describes it as a "unique" time in China's history very different from the current day. Beginning in late 1965, Mao and his faction attacked "revisionists" in the party and government establishment. By summer 1966, the movement gained such momentum that, in August, the Central Committee expanded the attack to all aspects of Chinese society. Led by youthful student Red Guards, a nationwide attack upon intellectuals and teachers ensued in an attempt to destroy the "Four Olds" of society: old ideas, culture, customs, and habits. As a result, the entire formal educational system shut down. Village Vice-Party Secretary Sun tells of a time when, throughout China, students stopped attending class and traveled to each others' schools to have action and beat on the teachers. Mobs took over the schools and beat principals.[33]

In Longquan, the separation between student and teacher did not seem divided down such

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[29] Sun Laixiao, interview, 10 June 2006, COPH.

[30] Peterson, *Power of Words*, 135-6.

[31] Ibid., 137-8; and John King Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), 308-9.

[32] Li Qingyan, interview, 11 June 2006, COPH.

[33] Sun Laixiao, interview, 10 June 2006, COPH.

dramatic lines. As the newest member of the middle school teaching staff, Li Qingyan never felt separated from the students and says that he maintained a good relationship with them. He admits that while a few serious moments occurred in some surrounding villages, Dragon Springs is unique in that it stayed unified. In fact, he and Liang Guoxi both describe situations where they led students outside of the village to take part in the movement.[34] In Mr. Li's instance, he helped lead them, albeit reluctantly, to nearby Kaifeng city to take part in the movement there. His fellow middle school teacher, Mr. Liang Guoxi, describes leading a small group of Red Guard students from neighboring Litai village on a journey to Beijing in November 1966 in an attempt to find and meet Chairman Mao.

Between August and November 1966, Mao made use of his populism by holding six rallies in Beijing for student Red Guards. To facilitate a large turnout, they provided free train rides to students throughout the country willing to make the journey. Mr. Liang describes spending a week touring the university campuses and camping outside Tian'anmen Square. Finding their way to the front of the rally around Chang'an Jie (Long Peace Street), Mr. Liang describes seeing such national leaders as Lin Biao, Zhu De, and Zhou Enlai. Mr. Liang also recalls how white President Liu Shaoqi's hair was at the time.[35]

From 1968 through 1975, a very relaxed educational system followed concerning academic standards. In addition, the status of teachers continued to suffer greatly. The current principal of the Longquan Educational Center, Mr. Song Yunzhong, equates the status of teachers back then to that of local barbers.[36] He describes a time completely opposite from the current expectations. Back then, if the teachers taught the students in a strict manner and achieved good academic results, they were judged negatively. As a matter of fact, the elimination of the University Entrance Examination was one of the hallmarks to Mao's Cultural Revolution.

Principle Song Yunzhong, head administrator of the Longquan Village Education Center. Photo by author.

The philosophy for education at the time paid more attention to practice and therefore was connected with labor. Students spent more than half of their time outside in the fields instead of in the classroom.[37] Class labels were also strongly emphasized at this time. Song Yunzhong describes the poor class as the most respected, and honorably labeled "Red Root" for being very straight and strong. Of the urban students sent down to the area, most worked in

[34] It may be worth noting that both Li Qingyan and Liang Guoxi were comparatively young at this time. Both in their mid-twenties, they only recently became teachers in 1963. Also, the middle school was a minban, which may have served as a conduit for more political content, especially once the outside students arrived. In fact, Mr. Liang's story shows a very proactive stance toward the movement at the time.

[35] Liang Guoxi, interview, 11 June 2006, COPH.

[36] Song Yunzhong, principal and party secretary of the Longquan Education Center, interview by author, trans. He Wenyan, 16 June 2006, Longquan Village, Henan, China, tape recording, COPH.

[37] Ibid.

the fields while only a few well-educated ones taught part-time in the schools.[38]

With the transfer of the school's location to the west side of the village completed in 1968, incremental additions and expansions occurred throughout the 1970s. In 1974, the village constructed a second floor to the northern-most building and from 1976 to 1977, built more rooms. In 1980, it expanded the campus to the west by taking up some field land and added even more rooms.[39] Yet, as the quantity of classrooms increased, the quality of the buildings was much to be desired.[40] When Li Deshun, a current teacher, began teaching middle school in Longquan in 1973, he remembers the campus building consisting of five rooms with no heat and the teaching staff numbering less than fifteen.

Even with the expansions of the 1970s, conditions remained quite humble and many public (gongban) teachers were reluctant to teach in Dragon Springs.[41] These additions, small as they may have been, became possible primarily because of the industrial success of the village's flour and brick factories constructed in the early 1970s. As the village increased its industrial output, more revenue became available for local expenditures such as education. Longquan opened its first paper mill in 1977 and, although not immediately successful, marked the precedent of an industry that later had big consequences on its educational system. First, increased village income due to paper production sales allowed for the financial investment required to build new school facilities. Second, the increase in technically sophisticated forms of paper production required Longquan's employees to be educated better and more skilled at dealing with technical upgrades. This convinced the village leaders that big investments in local education was required if they wanted to maintain its economic development.

[T]eachers once again focused on proper teaching methods for success

Education and Village Structure in the Reform Era

With Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping's influence exerted at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CCP in December 1978, a reform oriented government emerged that significantly impacted the Chinese state. The reintroduction of the Four Modernizations, a program that stressed reform and advancement in the fields of agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defense laid the framework for a national plan that emphasized "expertness" over political "redness." The instituting of a contract responsibility system (household responsibility) led to the de-collectivization of the agricultural areas and promoted "capitalist" material incentives; once a farmer met his state quota at the fixed price, he could sell all surpluses on the free market for his own personal enrichment.

In the educational field, the pendulum once again swung back toward a re-emphasis on academics. In the opinion of the current Longquan principal, Song Yunzhong, the reform era following the Cultural Revolution saw the revival of education to a more regularized curriculum that paid more attention

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[38] Ibid.

[39] *Historical Procedure*, 1.

[40] Both Li Qingyan and current middle school teacher Li Deshun stress the humble and unsafe conditions of the buildings during the 1970s in their interviews.

[41] Li Deshun, Chinese teacher, interview by author, trans. He Wenyan, 16 June 2006, COPH.

to academic quality.[42] Principal Song, who began his teaching career in 1979, mentions how the status of teachers increased during the reform era and that teachers once again focused on proper teaching methods for success.[43] The rigorous examination system again became the top criterion for university admission. In addition, class labels were done away with, along with the emphasis on class struggle. All around China, this had quite an effect on the status of the minban school due to the fact that, in addition to spreading basic and practical literacy, they were initially conceived as important conduits through which political education and Mao Zedong thought could be disseminated amongst the peasantry.[44] In the Deng Xiaoping reform era, the minban served solely as a stopgap measure of inferior education until the state could afford to provide adequate funding.[45]

Longquan maintained a highly integrated village structure

In addition, the de-collectivization of the rural commune system weakened the social system that previously contributed to the expansion of minban schools. As rural communities organized into smaller units, the local services and the integrated structure that facilitated them broke down. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s many rural villages suffered from political and social disintegration leading to an absence of local services and functions that existed during the collective era.[46] With an end to political action and a reduction in collectively based economic responsibility, many village cadres simply turned to making money for themselves and their families. This included using their positions of power to accumulate wealth. Favoritism also played a major role in the dissemination of a village's resources and property. With the national government's plan focused on building up agriculture, state banks and credit cooperatives made large amounts of capital available for villages and rural production brigades.[47] This allowed village cadres to take out large loans on village lines of credit for their own private enrichment. Such abuses were hidden from local villagers due to the confidentiality of the public accounts, and many rural residents had no idea just how much debt their respective village was in.[48]

For Longquan Village, the disintegration that took place in many rural communities did not occur. On the contrary, Longquan maintained a highly integrated village structure. To understand the recent development of its school system in the reform era, it is important to consider the highly integrated political, economic, and social conditions that form the basis for such advancement. All three

[42] Song Yunzhong, interview, 16 June 2006, COPH.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Jean Robinson, "*Minban* Schools in Deng's Era," in *Chinese Education: Problems, Policies, and Prospects*, ed. Irving Epstein (New York: Garland, 1991), 162-3.

[45] Ibid., 163.

[46] For examples of studies that discuss village disintegration in the reform era see Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger, *Chen Village under Mao and Deng*, 2d ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 294; Yunxiang Yan, *Private Life under Socialism: Love, Intimacy, and Family Change in a Chinese Village 1949-1999* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003); and Sun-pong Yuen, Pui-lam Law, and Yuk-ying Ho, *Marriage, Gender, and Sex in a Contemporary Chinese Village* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharp, 2004). Though located in different parts of the country all three studies detail surprisingly similar cases of village disintegration along with a sharp decline of social and especially moral order.

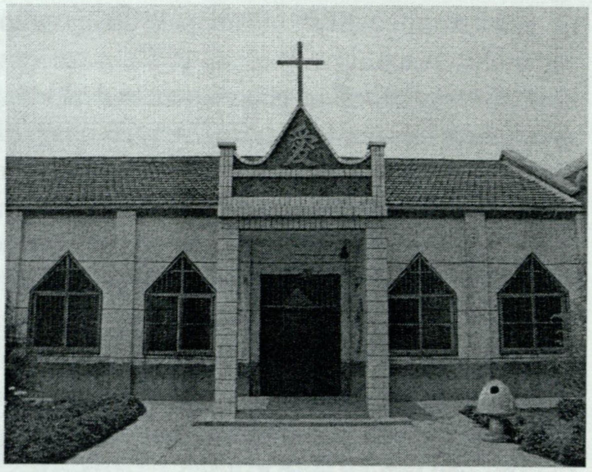
[47] In 1978, 25 billion *Yuan* was put at the disposal of rural production brigades. June Teufel Dreyer, *China's Political System: Modernization and Tradition*, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 2000), 145.

[48] Yunxiang Yan, *Private Life under Socialism*, 31.

aspects play a crucial part in the educational transformation that occurred as seen in school management, financial investment, and academic philosophy.

Politically, Dragon Springs retained the same village leadership for over the past twenty years. Whereas many rural villages since the reform era experienced a high turnover in leadership, the Longquan party secretary, Mr. Liang Xiuchang, is credited with providing long-term leadership and stability for the village. Song Kewu, the former middle school teacher, later served in the county government before becoming county manager while in his mid-forties. In his opinion, in comparison with other villages in the county, Longquan has a strong leadership core that has the spirit to serve the people.[49] Mr. Song reiterates that while other surrounding villages often changed leadership, Mr. Liang has been continuously in charge in Longquan.[50] Praise for the village leadership was consistently mentioned in every interview conducted while in Longquan.

Economically, Longquan maintains a traditional collective system based on the opening of collective factories known as township and village enterprises. Encouraged by central government reformers as a means to employ labor surpluses and increase manufacturing, these enterprises are collectively owned and are managed by the township or village governments. In fact, up until 2006, Mr. Liang served as both the village party secretary and CEO of the Longquan collective group. Apart from individual and privately funded enterprises, Dragon Springs maintains an integrated system of eighteen village enterprises that aim to benefit all village residents. The slogan of "Getting Rich Together" is well known and trumpeted throughout the village.


The Christian church of Longquan Village. Photo by author.

This was the case up until recently, as joint-stock ventures are expanding in certain areas of Longquan industry, showing signs of more private ownership.[51]

Socially, Longquan residents work to maintain a cohesive communal identity by keeping local organizations functioning throughout the reform era. The village committee remains in operation and village party meetings have been held consistently for the past forty years. In addition, there are numerous associations and committees including a village party discipline committee, the Communist Youth League, an elderly association, a women's association, and a take-care-of-next-generation committee. These committees and associations are grouped under the village "Comprehensive Management Office."

Furthering social village integration exemplifies cultural freedoms that more villagers are experiencing with regard to religion. The

[49] Song Kewu, interview, 12 June 2006, COPH.
[50] Ibid.

[51] For further discussion of economic transformation in Longquan, see Ryan Shaffer, "The Industrial Revolution in Dragon Springs: Economic Development from 1978," Dragon Springs Oral History Project, 2006, COPH.

village has both a Buddhist temple (known as Grandma's Temple) and a Christian church with the Chinese character for love displayed over the entrance.[52] Village philosophy focuses on the creation of a moral and spiritual civilization. The revival of Confucian relationships, filial piety, and clan lineage also occurred.[53] Every year since 1992, a community event known as "the quilt display" takes place in the village to make sure that members of the younger generation are caring for their older relatives properly. The event occurs on an unspecified day whereby all the elders' quilts are taken out of the homes and put on public display. A dirty quilt is seen as a sign of neglect for which the younger family members should feel ashamed.

The village vice-party secretary also serves as the head of the village committee and is in charge of overseeing all aspects of education throughout the village. Since 1992, Vice-Party Secretary Sun Laixiao has written materials for which, on twelve separate occasions throughout each year, village residents and workers receive lectures concerning law, morality, psychology, and health education. The lectures are divided among and given by twenty-three people. The group consists of the six worker group leaders, fourteen enterprise managers, two from the village school, and one lecturer from the village hospital. The event lasts roughly two hours and focuses on helping the villagers learn how to be

Village philosophy focuses on the creation of a moral and spiritual civilization

Inside the Christian church of Longquan Village. Photo by author.

good and moral people who can communicate well with others.[54] In Sun Laixiao's opinion, "education is the basic foundation for the entire village. Without it, economic spirit can not do well."[55] He makes clear that all village leaders share the same opinion as he does.

Longquan is one of the many villages throughout China designated as a "model village." Although the designation of something as being termed a "model" in China seems at times overused, (i.e., a model village, industry, school, etc.) the marketability of such a distinction is not lost on its recipients. In fact, during the summer of 2005, President Hu Jintao paid a visit to Longquan and received a village tour. Naturally, pictures from his visit are on display in the village. The marketing of reputation is another important factor to consider when discussing the Dragon Springs Educational Center. As a minban, the high school must rely strongly on its reputation in order to attract high quality, fee-paying students. Part of the solution includes

[52] Several villagers displayed posters of animated depictions of the Christian cross in and around their homes

[53] The Confucian revival deals with modified forms of relationships that focus mostly on creating harmony between the parents and daughter-in-law in order to maintain a prosperous and civilized family. Confucian relationships also involve the village school with regard to the duties between teacher and student.

[54] Sun Laixiao, interview, 10 June 2006, COPH.

[55] Ibid.

the pursuance and development of a style of education that is unique to Longquan and that can then be marketed to attract both high quality students and teachers.

Longquan Education Development in the Reform Era

During the late 1970s, the village school grounds and buildings were still quite humble. In 1980, the campus expanded further to the west by taking in land from a nearby field. Upon this land, the village constructed seven additional classrooms. With an elementary and middle school already established, the 1980s became a time of economic development in Longquan as they worked to expand the number of paper mills and increase production.[56]

[E]ducation reform needed to be a top priority

The central government worked to expand basic education throughout the country. In 1986, new legislation passed that called for nine years of compulsory education for all children in China. The program was to be implemented gradually and according to local conditions. The policy aimed to standardize the educational systems throughout the country, improve teacher training and effectiveness, and increase educational funding.[57] The effect this had on the Longquan school system concerned the status of the minban middle school. Up to this point, the middle school teachers and some in the elementary levels were private teachers funded locally.

Due to increased national government funding, the new compulsory education program provided the Longquan private teachers with the opportunity to become public employees. In order to meet the qualifications for this, the private teachers needed to earn a college degree from a nearby training school. In 1991, several village teachers, including Principal Song, traveled by bike during the winter and summer breaks to attend class at the college. They did this for three years before earning their degrees, thus becoming public teachers.[58]

Resulting from this increased spending on education, Longquan's minban middle school transitioned into one with publicly funded teachers. As middle school education expanded throughout the county in the late 1980s and up through the 1990s, senior high school admission remained extremely competitive with few spots for the increasing number of middle school graduates. Principal Song describes the situation by comparing it to the neck of a bottle where only so many students are able to pass through.[59]

In 1988, Dragon Springs invested in the construction of a white-paper-making factory but up through 1992, the quality of production was still quite poor due to a lack of skilled employees. To help with the problem, the village invited five professors and four lecturers from the Tianjin Industrial Institute to lecture and teach for six months in Longquan on the proper procedures for white paper production.[60] In 1993, because the professors explained the

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[56] As profits hovered consistently lower than village expectations, an attempt at private ownership of one of the paper mills by a former village party secretary occurred in 1985. The villagers did not accept the privatization of the mill, so it was re-collectivized in 1987. Later that year, with Mr. Liang Xiuchang as party secretary, the leadership and villagers agreed to establish themselves as an economic unit group with Mr. Liang serving as CEO. Shaffer, "Industrial Revolution"; and *Historical Procedure*, school document, 3 March 2004, 1.

[57] Robinson, "*Minban* Schools," 166.

[58] Li Deshun, interview, 16 June 2006; and Song Yunzhong, interview, 16 June 2006, COPH.

[59] Song Yunzhong, interview, 12 June 2006, COPH.

[60] Sun Laixiao, interview, 10 June 2006, COPH.

procedure as highly technical and specialized, the village began sending more than twenty workers and students to different colleges in order to build up a qualified and knowledgeable workforce.

The local leadership critically assessed its school system due to the low qualifications and abilities of many villagers to work in an increasingly evolving industry. With roughly 99 percent of the residents working in the village enterprise system, in addition to receiving preferential treatment with regard to hiring, education reform needed to be a top priority.[61] When the effectiveness of sending a small number of workers and students to study in colleges and institutes proved limited, the leadership decided that the education system inside Longquan needed to produce better-educated and well-rounded workers.

[T]he middle school went from...sixteenth to first in the county

The first change implemented was the reform of the school's management. In 1994, after a year of oversight by the vice-party secretary, they decided to replace the principal and enlarge the school leadership group from three to five members.[62] With the change in school management, came positive academic results. In the course of two years, the middle school went from a ranking of sixteenth to first in the county—where they have remained ever since.[63]

As a result of the reform's success, the village government decided to go ahead and invest in the construction of new facilities. In 1996, it built a new middle school, and once again began hiring private teachers and enrolling fee-paying students from outside villages due to its continued success. The middle school received much praise and many awards over the next few years at both the county and city level with the most prestigious award the one given to them during the 2001-02 school year as a "model" school at the city level. The Xinxiang City Education Committee gives this award to one school every three years, and Longquan is the only county school to receive it.[64] The City Education Committee—based upon numerous details such as a school's teaching equipment, campus, learning environment, teachers, and teaching results—judges the recipient of this award comprehensively. The importance of this award, as Principal Song explains, is the acknowledgement that Longquan's middle school provides their students with an education comparable to that of a city level school.[65]

As a measure of proof in Longquan's recent educational success, is the increasing number of middle school students who score high enough on the entrance examination to enter the county key high school. In 1999, the village sent only eleven students, but in 2005 that number increased to ninety.[66] With the continued success of the middle school, the village government decided to increase

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61 Ibid.

62 Ibid. The current school leadership totals seven members.

63 Ibid.

64 Song Yunzhong, interview, 6 June 2006, COPH.

65 Ibid.

66 Song Xianglin, principal of Longquan Middle and Elementary School, interview by author, trans. He Wenyan, 14 June 2006, Longquan Village, Henan, China, tape recording, COPH. Mr. Song says that the high rate of students entering the county high school has much to do with the number of advanced students who pay to attend the Longquan middle school. After completing elementary, all outside students wishing to come to Longquan take an entrance examination whereby only the highest scoring students are admitted. He estimates that 80 percent of the students in the middle school come from outside the village.

investment and expand the education system through the twelfth grade by opening a high school in 2001. Dragon Springs invested roughly ten million Yuan in the expansion and construction of the village school grounds and facilities over an eight year period beginning in 1996.[67]

According to Vice-Party Secretary Sun, the financial investment was not the most difficult portion of creating a village high school. The real difficulties involved creating and managing a successful high school. He further states that, for competitive reasons, the county high school did not think highly of the Longquan plan and was not as cooperative in helping train management as the village wanted. Instead, the county tried persuading them to expand only the village middle school into a base from which the county high school would have more qualified students to select.[68] Even though the village did not receive support or financial assistance from the county, little could be done to stop the project from going ahead due to the national policy supporting and promoting the establishment of private schools, particularly those of the minban type. The State Education Commission made such decisions in a series of documents first issued in 1987 and 1988.[69]

[T]he villagers went ahead with the investment and opened the high school

Under state policy protection, the villagers went ahead with the investment and opened the high school. Through the advice and employment of retired teachers, combined with a strict management team, the Longquan set out to create a unique senior high school that provides students with the best hardware and facilities while improving the quality of students from the very basics of education.[70] This entails the teaching of moral education and responsibility.[71] As explained by the middle school principal, Mr. Song Xiang Lin, the administration of the village school believes in the slogan that "to be an educated person you first have to be a good person."[72] This emphasis on moral education is taught to the students through three different methods of instruction. The first is a Monday morning flag ceremony where, on a weekly basis, the principal calls a general assembly and lectures the students on certain aspects of morality and behavior. Second, that afternoon, students

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[67] *Historical Procedure*, 1.

[68] In the interview, the county superintendent expresses the unpopularity of the Longquan high school decision. He states that in his opinion, too many high schools exist in the county already. Yet, looking at the numbers he supplied, there is a narrowing effect the higher one goes. They are as follows: The county population is over 300,000 with 57,000 students in the education system—8,000 in kindergarten, 25,000 in elementary, 15,000 in middle school, and 9,000 in high school. The county contains twenty-nine middle schools and seven high schools—five public and two (including Longquan) private. Primary school is from first to sixth, middle school is seventh to ninth, and high school is tenth to twelfth grades. A significant factor to take into account is that the high schools are already at full capacity. Longquan already has upward of seventy students per classroom and one high school history teacher tells of his class size numbering eighty. What is not yet clear is the effect that the one child policy will have on school enrollment numbers over the next several years. A decline is most likely, but how much is not certain. Xia Pinggang, County Superintendent since 2002, interview conducted by author, trans. He Wenyan, 20 June 2006, COPH; and Zhang Quanxiang, high school history teacher, interview, 21 June 2006, COPH.

[69] Peng Deng, *Private Education in Modern China* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), 121-2. Peng Deng writes that probably the first openly labeled "private" school in China since the 1950s opened in 1992 in Sichuan by an entrepreneur named Qing Guangya.

[70] Sun Laixiao, interview, 10 June 2006, COPH.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Song Xiang Lin, interview, 14 June 2006, COPH.

attend a class whereby the head teacher speaks and provides them with lessons of morality. After the teacher finishes his or her lecture, student leaders of the classroom meet with other students and hold discussions on what they learned. Each week the topics change, covering a wide variety of issues ranging from lessons on hygiene to family issues.

The administration's goal regarding moral education is to teach the students how better to communicate and cooperate with each other and their surrounding social environment. This is in response to China's one child policy, whereby many children grow up as the center of attention in their families and thus find it difficult to adapt to the competitive school environment. Principal Song clearly points out that all schools in the rural countryside take part in teaching moral education to their students, although some care more than others. He further admits that some are better at this than Longquan.[73] It is the teaching of moral education that the administration works to associate with the whole atmosphere of the school. They hope to create a unique environment that is different from other schools and gives theirs a marketable advantage.

'[T]o be an educated person you first have to be a good person'

Also part of the village's ambitions, is to provide its students with modern facilities. In 2000, the school opened its first computer lab with thirty computers. With the opening of the high school the following year, the number of computers doubled. Currently there are 110 computers that can access the Internet for the students on campus. Other advances include the use of multi-media rooms—added in 2005[74]—with projectors and screens. Currently the school has eight such classrooms where teachers can put lessons or teaching content on a disc and present it to classes. To promote education in the west of the country, the central government recently invested in distance learning media whereby lessons from famous schools in China's cities are recorded and broadcast to the less advantaged areas of the country. Longquan uses several classrooms equipped with such televisions to show these materials.

With kindergarten through twelfth grade, the Longquan Education Center is an enterprise with a student body totaling over three thousand students.[75] Because the village finances approximately two-thirds of the teachers' salaries, the administration maintains more control over instructor performance and pays accordingly. The village offers financial incentives for those teachers whose particular dedication to their students obtains high results. For others with poor performance, the village can more easily replace them than if they were paid by the state.

Yet, the Longquan Education Center is finding out that high quality teachers come at a price. As Principal Song explains, one of the most difficult tasks for the high school is finding and retaining highly qualified teachers. If the school wants recognition, it needs to employ more qualified teachers.[76] This would result in increasing fees for students in order to pay higher teacher salaries.

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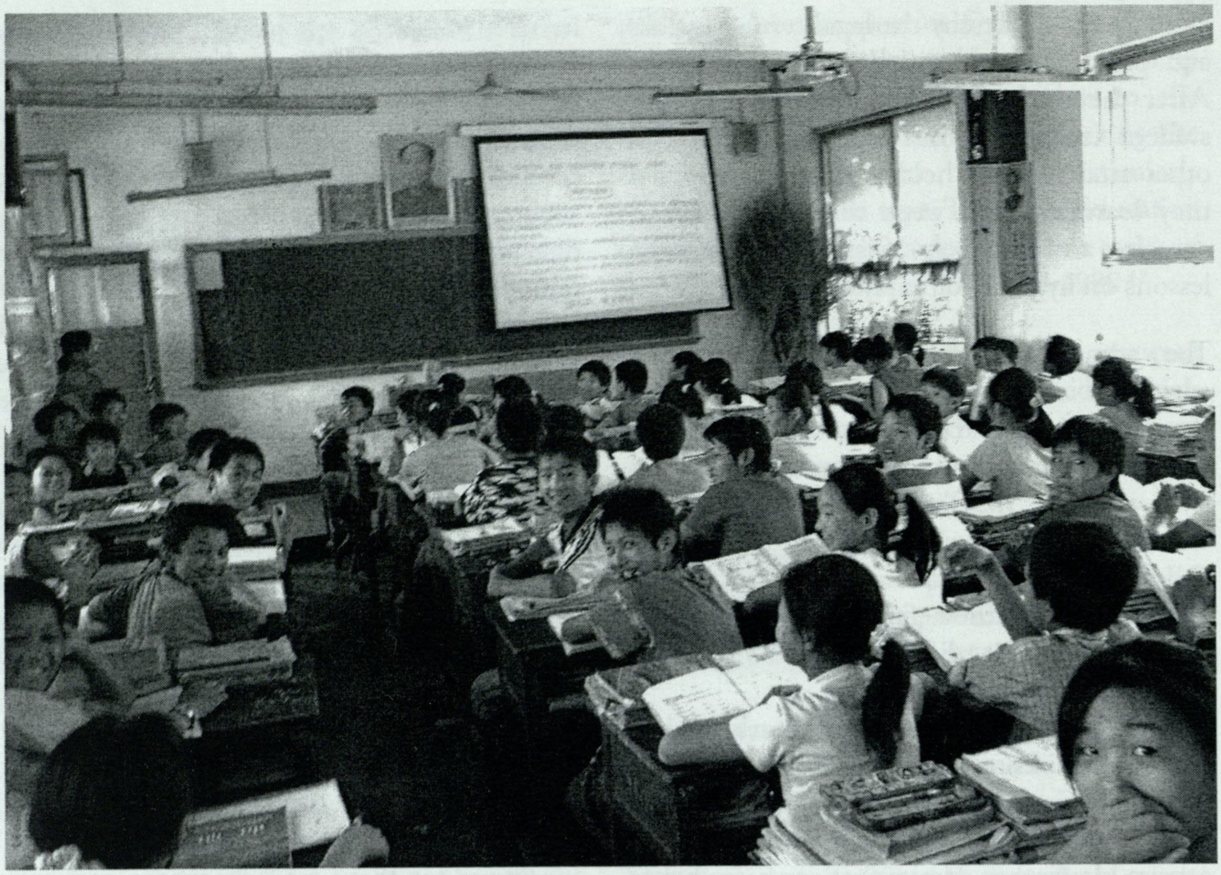
73 Song Yunzhong, interview, 12 June 2006, COPH.

74 Song Yunzhong, interview, 16 June 2006, COPH.

75 Song Yunzhong, interview, 12 June 2006, COPH.

76 Ibid.



One of the middle school's multi-media classrooms. Photo by author.

Another issue that needs to be addressed at the school is the overcrowding of students. Currently, the Education Center is already at full capacity with classrooms numbering from sixty-five to seventy students. The national average is forty-five to fifty.[77] The dorm rooms currently have twelve students cramped together in a single room making for uncomfortable conditions. The administration's goal is to reduce the number of students closer to the national average and raise tuition fees to attract better teachers. Seeing how much demand there is for high school education in the countryside, this should not be too difficult to accomplish. Yet, the prospect of turning students away due to economic factors poses a dilemma for the current administration.

Conclusion

The economic development and industrialization of the Chinese countryside affected rural educational decisions and development. Although the issue of education for rural needs has not yet been completely solved, the local governments of industrialized villages find themselves in much better economic positions to invest in the basic education of their rural population. In Dragon Springs, for example, development of rural industry and a need for more technically advanced workers at the white-paper factory sparked education reform and investment within the village. The result became an opportunity for all of Longquan's

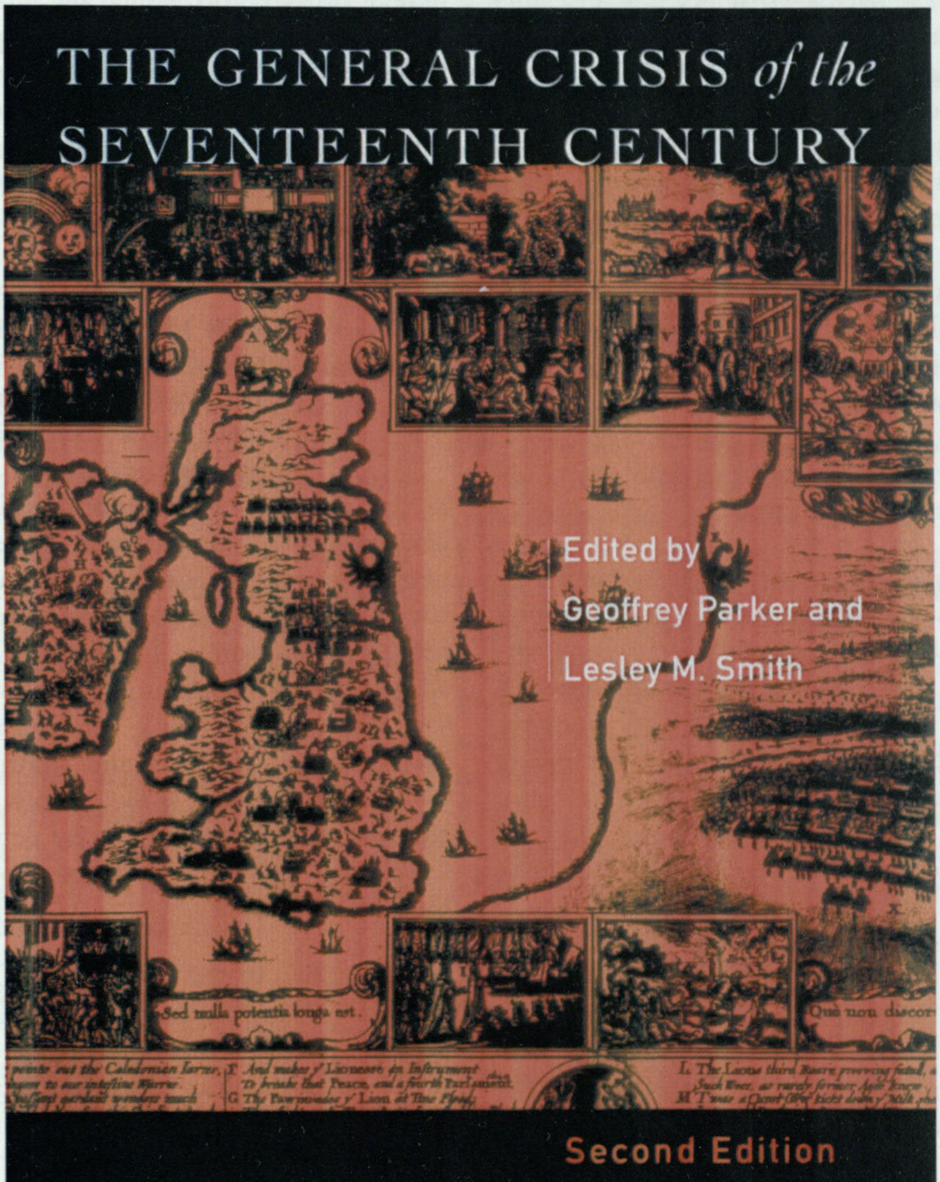
[77] Ibid.

children to receive kindergarten through twelfth-grade education within the confines of their own village. This is a remarkable achievement considering the fact that the current village leaders were some of only a handful who received a high school education in the previous years.

While overall issues of education in China plague students, such as constant exam pressures and an emphasis on rote learning, the number of students receiving basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills is increasing in the rural countryside due to villages such as Longquan. In addition, the Dragon Springs administration utilizes state policy promoting private education and marketization to accomplish its goals. Due to a strongly integrated political, economic, and social collective village structure, Longquan has successfully established, at the grass-roots level, a modern day education enterprise.

The General Crisis of the Seventeeth Century

a book review by Albert D. Ybarra



The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century by editors Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith is a compilation of articles and lectures that render a historiographic picture of scholarship as it developed throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. Upon further examination, the book divides into three areas or themes. The first comprises a series of scholarship that focuses primarily on Europe, while the second incorporates the eastern and southeastern spheres of Asia. The final theme reaches beyond the terrestrial realm and encapsulates the influence of the celestial bodies as it relates to and influences the Earth and its inhabitants. This work is a complete and thorough compilation of scholarship from significant intellectuals within academia. It is a source of information for advanced students and seasoned professionals, which brings one up-to-date in the historiography of the seventeenth century.

Western scholarship... 'tells only half the story'

General Crisis opens with an introduction by the editors and then proceeds to the first article by Neils Steensgaard titled, "The Seventeenth-Century Crisis" where his focused research centers primarily on political and economic factors. Steensgaard's conclusion, while limited to the "major European powers," remains valid and indirectly provides insight into the broader global context and theme of the book (2). Three important criteria form the basis of his conclusion. First, he argues that the crisis remained localized and varied from region to region; second, it "hit" every facet of the European economy; and third, it had no "one" starting point. These major factors provide the skeletal framework for subsequent sections.

The next selections challenge the limited range of Steensgaard's 1962 position. In "Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis," Sheilagh Ogilvie contests Steensgaard's theory and restrictive model and concludes that Germany did not accurately reflect the mainstream paradigm of the "crisis." Ivo Schoffer continues in the trend of investigating the impact of the crisis against seventeenth-century Holland. His analysis is congruent with Ogilvie in that the model or criteria used to evaluate the disaster did not consider the "golden age" that those in the North Atlantic Dutch region experienced. Research by both historians illuminate the broader European situation, leading the external observer to wonder whether or not a "true" catastrophe existed in seventeenth-century Europe.

A. Lloyd Moote challenges the notion of the crisis in Europe. In his 1973 article published by the *Canadian Journal of History,* Moote takes the position that what "we should try to avoid is the glib use of question-begging labels like 'revolution,' or that even more honored term of our time, 'crisis'" (148). His analysis checks the very nature of a crisis against other models for revolution. The Forster-Green and Koenigsberger models provide the foundations for his research while emphasizing and promoting the integrity and contribution of Chalmers Johnson. It is the position of Moote that historians look beyond mere definitions of "crisis" and "revolution" by focusing on external examples as evidence.

In "The Crisis of the Seventeenth-Century in Southeast Asia," Anthony Reid considers the economic variables that propelled the downturn of the Mediterranean economies. His analysis incorporates a synthesis of both economic and environmental factors. Reid argues that during the latter half of the seventeenth century a cooling trend experienced in the southern portion of Europe significantly contributed to the reduced economic prosperity in Spain and other Mediterranean societies. He contends that from this environmental perspective, there is ample evidence to denote how Holland and Japan experienced "golden-ages." As evidence, Reid cites expanded trade of Southeast Asian exports with both the Dutch and Japanese, contending that the concentration of Western scholarship and its limited perspective of the seventeenth century "tells only half the story" (222). William S. Atwell expands on the Japanese golden age by integrating environmental evidence from China, the Philippines, and Japan. His research on volcanic dust provides the basis for his explanation of the expanded economic prosperity of Japan.

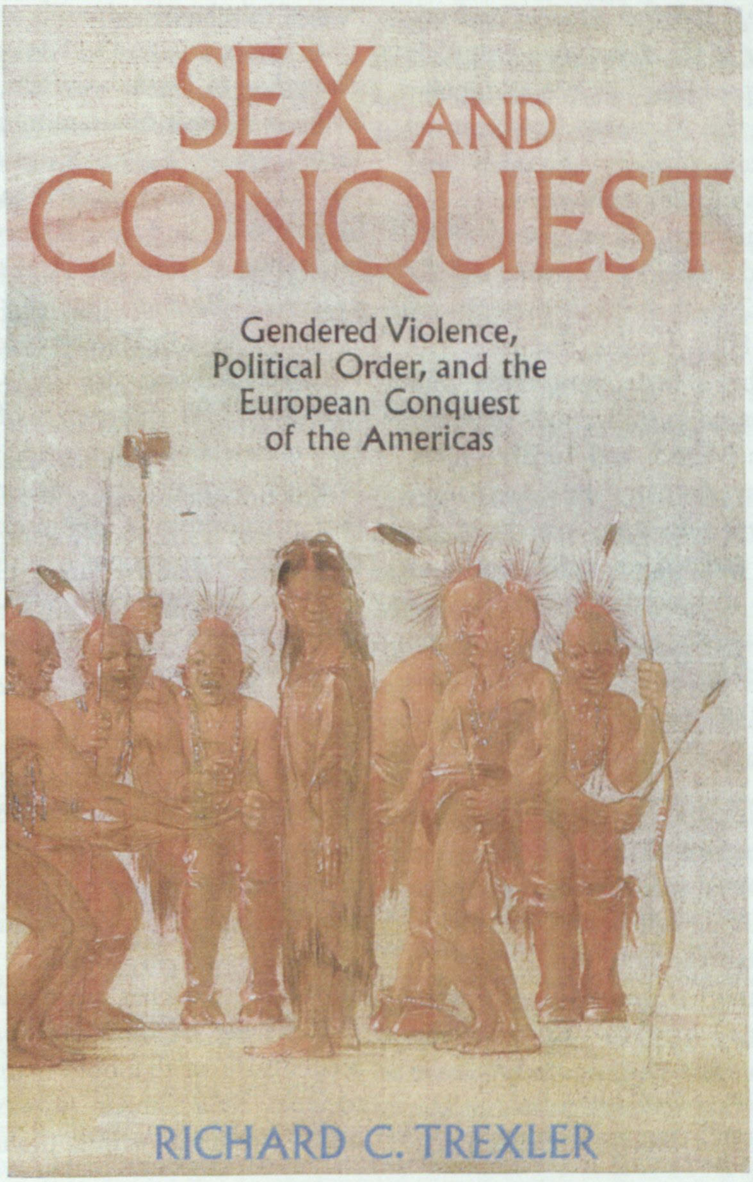
In the final section, the study of the "Maunder Minimum," John A. Eddy details how sunspots and their near non-existence during the latter half of the seventeenth century provide insight into the crisis. His statistical research reveals that for the years 1672 and 1704, almost no single sunspot existed on the northern hemisphere of the sun. Moreover, sunspot appearances from 1645 to1715 account for less than the average for an entire single, normal year. Eddy's conclusion is that the natural environment includes the influence of the celestial atmosphere playing a significant role in the shift of the global economy. While the earth provides the statistical evidence for the nature of the shift, Eddy begins to examine the root cause behind that evidence.

To characterize the seventeenth century under one theme or heading grossly undervalues the general developments during the early modern period of European and, more precisely, world histories. Yet, earlier historical research vainly attempted to accomplish exactly that. Through the restricted lens filtered by Eurocentric ideology, previous historians' attempts to demarcate the beginnings of the modern period inaccurately reduced the global experience to that of a limited European perspective. To rectify this dilemma, new investigations broaden the scope of historical research, thus sharpening the presentation of the historical record. From about the latter half of the twentieth century, the historical framework began to expand in relation to the research that existed within scholarship, and manifested itself in various forms. Ranging from detailed statistical evidence to delicate climatic research, *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* provides a compilation of historical research that summarizes and categorizes the debate within academia.

Geoffrey Parker, Professor of History, born in Nottingham, England, in 1943, earned his BA, MA, PhD and DLitt degrees from Cambridge University. He taught for fourteen years at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, and briefly at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, before moving to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1986-93); Yale University (1993-96); and then Ohio State University (1997-present). In total, he has written, edited, or co-edited thirty-two books, and published over ninety articles. He received numerous awards and recognitions including a knighthood from the king of Spain for his work on Spanish history. Lesley M. Smith studied history at the universities of St. Andrews and Oxford, where she gained her doctorate in modern history. She worked over a decade as a broadcast journalist but has since taught at New Century College. She chose to divide her time between the first-year integrative studies program and the internet and multimedia studies concentration. She has written several history books including *The Making of Britain* series.

Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order and the European Conquest of the Americas

a book review by Daniel A. Vidrio



Richard C. Trexler, a professor of history at Binghamton University, specializes in Italian Renaissance and behaviorist history. For the last three decades, historians have considered Trexler's *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* the most influential study on the subject. While researching fifteenth-century Italian history, Trexler noticed that "fathers worried that their sons…had become soft" (xi), and he found the same anxieties when he looked at the conquest of the Americas. *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas*, a title that might give the impression that it is an inquiry on the effects of the European conquest on indigenous women, concerns Spanish and Native perceptions of male homosexuality and sodomy through the views of European primary sources and secondary works. Focusing on the time between 1492 to the end of the colonial period, around 1800, Trexler discusses the American Berdache, a male transvestite, and the roles he/she played in indigenous societies, particularly in the Mexica and Inca empires. This book opens new doors for the examination of gendered violence in the Americas, the effects of warfare and sex on indigenous and European males, and similar investigations on native groups during this period. Anyone studying race, gender, and ethnicity in colonial Latin America should consider it required reading.

Trexler begins his study with an analysis and review of ancient Mediterranean and European perceptions of homosexuality as by-products of warfare and power. He makes the distinction that sodomy was a tool to exert power over another and had nothing to do with "homosexual love" (6). By reviewing these sources in the first chapter, he helps the reader understand that women were not the only ones punished or violated through sex. He argues that many European fathers feared that opposing soldiers would capture and rape their sons because it was common for males to endure anal rape after warfare or for violating females. According to Trexler, the main cause of male sodomy came from the desire of "older males [who] competed for and manifested their power by homosexually dominating younger ones" (24). These opposing soldiers admired and gave power to those individuals who forcefully engaged in anal penetration, while they assigned the status of "passive" or "weak" to the victims.

According to Trexler's sources, many Europeans living in Islamic Spain witnessed these passive males when Egyptian merchants brought boy slaves or boys dressed as women to serve as domestic and sexual servants to Islamic buyers. It is from the Arabic word for male prostitute, *Bardadj*, that the Spanish derived *Berdache* (38-43). He also briefly explains their views of sodomy and that many historians have neglected this aspect of Iberian culture. By understanding forced sodomy within Spanish society, the reader can recognize that perceptions of homosexuality placed on the indigenous people of the Americas came from the fact that Europeans only understood homosexuality within the context of what they saw or experienced.

He then looks at indigenous views of sex and warfare through European writings. Many of these accounts discuss the Berdache. In 1542, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca published one of the first accounts of the American Native people. Cabeza de Vaca claims to have seen males dressed as females, and that many of these Berdaches were married to males. Trexler's use of different Spanish eyewitness accounts shows that both Native and European societies held similar notions of subjugated males. European writers discuss the notion of gendered female males and make comparisons from their homeland. These men wrote that it was an insult to call a man passive or a woman (71, 79-80).

Many accounts discussed the practice of cross-dressing, but Trexler focuses on the debate of whether Berdaches were passive sodomites. Bartolome de Las Casas and the royal historian Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo differed in their interpretation of Berdaches. Oviedo believed that they did "women's work" and practiced sodomy. Las Casas, on the other hand, did not believe that they engaged in sexual activity at all (82-101). These debates were important during this time because many Europeans used the idea of sodomy as justification for conquest. Even though the Spanish considered cross-dressing a sin, Conquistadores did not have the right to conquer natives who dressed like women unless they engaged in sodomy. Many Europeans argued that their Christian god despised sodomy, which brought about the downfalls of the Mexica and Inca empires. For political reasons, others argued that the Native Americans were "macho" and therefore justified the conquest as a fair match. If these indigenous groups engaged in passive or feminine acts, the Spanish could not have justified the conquest of the Americas, and historians would not have looked at it in amazement (82-4, 149).

[P]arents chose whether their sons remained males or became gendered females

The Berdache is a point of reference that he uses when discussing different Native societies, however, Trexler fails to discuss whether comparisons in North America and Mesoamerica have any limitations. Instead he disputes the commonly held idea that boys or men willingly became Berdaches, but that they did so for political and economic reasons. In Mexica and Inca societies, parents chose whether their sons remained males or became gendered females (85). For example, L. Fernandez Piechailla stated in an early history of the Americas that "[the Berdaches] performed the duties of women with the robustness of men" (118). Trexler gives examples of their help with "women's work," which accumulated wealth through weaving clothes and other jobs. He also claims that Berdaches prevented the rape of women and that their parents could rent them to other men (131-40). According to Trexler's reading of the sources, lords and priests in Mexica and Inca societies used Berdaches for political and religious purposes. Lords asserted their power over passive males and priests ritually raped them to obtain the power of a deity. Though Trexler only uses European sources to reach these conclusions, Pete Sigal, a Maya historian trained in the Lockhartian school of new philology,[1] confirms many of Trexler's views using colonial Maya language writings.[2]

Finally, Trexler discusses the indigenous view of the Berdache using only European primary and contemporary sources. Like in Europe, Mexica and other Native societies looked at the passive sodomite negatively. His sources express that women hated these Berdaches because they threatened their political and economic importance. He also discusses the

[1] James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992). James Lockhart, an emeritus professor of history at UCLA, developed the "new philology" in colonial Latin American history in which they use everyday indigenous writings to interpret and write histories based almost entirely on what they had to say. Pete Sigal confirmed many of Trexler's conclusions through his close study of sexuality in colonial Maya writings.

[2] Pete Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins: The Colonization of Yucatecan Maya Sexual Desire* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 201, 216, 231.

fact that Mestizo historians of Mesoamerica deemed sodomy a sin and crime, but since many of these historians were Hispanicized native writers, one has to question whether their accounts are true Native perceptions of sodomy and the role of the Berdache (155-62).

Although there is an abundance of diverse sources for studying sodomy and the by-products of warfare among European and Native societies, Trexler relies too heavily on European accounts and contemporary secondary sources. Native written accounts would have shed more light on these interpretations, creating an overall stronger argument. He tends to rely on European accounts that state that sodomy and cross-dressing were widespread among the indigenous peoples of the Americas. He rejects Las Casas' notion that the Berdaches did not engage in sexual activity, but then uses him as a source to prove that cross-dressing occurred in the Americas. He also cites some accounts, such as Cieza de Leon's, as "the most reliable of the historians of the Andes, [but who] wished, like Las Casas, to delimit the extent of sodomy in the general population" (106), but he does not explain why or how certain accounts are more reliable than others. Trexler also states that Native societies were patriarchal and viewed women as weak (102, 134-7), but studies conducted within the last fifteen years on gender and power among the Mexica and Maya have proved that women were important parts of indigenous societies.[3] Using the term "womanly" toward a male only meant that he was an unfit man, and therefore not necessarily an insult toward women.[4]

Throughout the book, Trexler remained objective and practiced cultural relativism except toward the end when he refers to Maya bloodletting rituals as "brutality to one's own body" (180) without an explanation of why they engaged in such activity. He also draws contemporary comparisons with child molestation and the experiences of the Berdache, which are difficult to make because of Trexler's own arguments that some natives became Berdache's as adults, and also because he does not successfully connect the two with specific examples throughout the book. Also problematic is Trexler's usage of "I think," "I suspect," "my suspicion," and "I can not confirm this." For example, in a discussion of the popular nature of the Berdache, he states, "We can be confident, I think, that male prostitutes often stood alongside female ones, but with the obvious advantage for clients that they did not become pregnant" (133). Overall, the book is insightful and will allow many scholars a chance to either prove or disprove many of Trexler's views on gendered violence to assert power, though it is not for newcomers to colonial Latin American history.

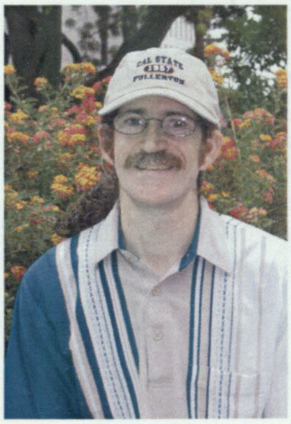
[3] Rosemary A. Joyce, *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

[4] Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, eds., *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 341 n. 2, 347 n. 79; see also Louise M. Burkhart, "Mexica Women on the Home Front: Housework and Religion in Aztec Mexico," in Schroeder, *Indian Women*, 25-54; and Susan Kellogg, "From Parallel and Equivalent to Separate but Unequal: Tenochca Mexica Women, 1500-1700," in Schroeder, *Indian Women*, 123-43.

Student Editors

John Allison, currently a student at California State University, Fullerton, attended El Camino College before his transfer. A lifelong history enthusiast, John takes a special interest in modern Europe. This is in part the result of a trip through central Europe to see the places where wars, plagues, and general mayhem occurred. He works in a bookstore where he receives payment in books and little else. This is convenient because when he is not studying history, he is usually studying something else, such as literature or film. Occasionally, he acts on stage and in motion pictures, including a handful of student films and independent movies.

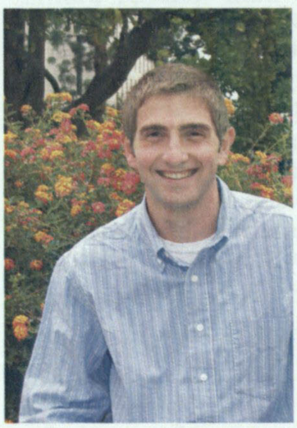
Eduardo Barrios obtained his BA in history from California State University, Fullerton, in 2004. Originally, he intended to pursue a teaching credential but instead returned to Fullerton for a graduate degree in history. His studies focus on the American West with an emphasis on the development of desert cities. He authored several articles for Professor Gordon Morris Bakken's *Encyclopedia of Immigration and Migration of the American West.* In 2007, he served as managing editor for the *Welebaethan.* As the 2006-7 president of the school's Phi Alpha Theta (PAT) chapter, Theta-Pi, he helped lead them to win the Nels A. Cleven Award. While writing his thesis, he returns to serve both PAT as secretary and the *Welebaethan* as Assistant Managing Editor. After completion of his current degree, Eduardo intends to enter a PhD program and eventually teach at the college level.



Steven Bieman is currently a senior studying for his BA in history at California State University, Fullerton. Although interested in the vast realm of historical studies, he is most fascinated with colonial and United States history and plans to explore the military background of Orange County. He enjoys visiting museums, national parks, and historical sites. A friend inspired his interest in photography and history, and Steven likes to capture breath-taking landscapes and human dramas as well as cultural perspectives through the camera lens. He participates in international folk dancing and enjoys ethnic music. After graduation, he hopes to work at a museum and advocate for historical preservation.

Edgar Esquivel began his college work at Golden West College where he received his AA. He transferred to California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2003 and finished his BA in history three years later; he is now enrolled in the MA program at CSUF where he plans to graduate in summer 2008. Edgar is a Marxist-modernist and naturalist, interested in the political history of modern Latin America and the New Left. He focuses his graduate work on both the Cuban Revolution and Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution. Edgar plans to pursue a PhD and teach at the university level. He travels throughout South America and Europe as frequently as possible.

Born and raised in Long Beach, California, **Jennifer Graham** received her BA in secondary education from Belmont Abbey College, located just outside Charlotte, North Carolina, in 2000. After graduating, Jennifer returned to California and began teaching U.S. and world histories, first at St. Barnabas School in Long Beach, followed by Aquinas High School in San Bernardino. She began the MA program at California State University, Fullerton, in 2004, and expects to graduate with a degree in history in December 2008. Currently a resident of Beaumont, Jennifer recently made a career change and works at Beaumont City Hall. She hopes to earn her PhD to teach at the college level.



Arut Kadyan transferred to California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), from Rio Hondo College in fall 2004. To the delight of his parents, he triumphantly graduated in spring 2007 with a BA in history. He is currently working toward an MA in history at CSUF. The fields that interest him most include ancient, religious, Middle-Eastern, and alternative histories. His goal is to earn a PhD and become a professor. Although Arut is educated through formal schooling, his most important learning takes place outside of the classroom where he quests for knowledge and spiritual truth. He draws inspiration from the great visionaries and unsung heroes who beautify the world with their love and wisdom.

Born in Arlington, Virginia, **Dara DeMarsh Laos** holds a degree in business administration. She currently attends California State University, Fullerton, and will graduate in spring 2009 with a double BA in history and broadcast journalism. Afterward, she plans to return to the East Coast to further her education by pursuing a double MA in history and journalism and obtaining a law degree from Georgetown University in Washington, DC. With hopes to become a corporate and civil attorney, she is particularly interested in the role of America in the global economic market and the patterns of historical policy and education. Her goals include achieving success as a foreign embassy director, owning a private law practice, and ultimately giving back to the academic community.

RuthAnn McGarry, a graduate student of European history at California State University, Fullerton, graduated *cum laude* with a BA in visual and public art, photography from California State University, Monterey Bay. She attended the Alliance Française in Paris, France (fall 2002), and studied the French language, history, and culture at the Institut Méditerranéen de Langues in Montpellier, France (summer 2003). She holds memberships in the History Student Association, Southwest Oral History Association, Golden Key Honor Society, and Phi Beta Delta (PBD) International Honors Society, where she also serves as an Executive Board member. Upon completion of her MA, RuthAnn aspires to coordinate a university study abroad program to France. Her hobbies include international travel and photography.

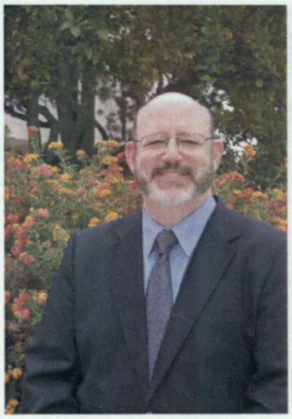
Blake McWhorter graduated from California State University, Fullerton, with a BA in history in 2007. Continuing his education in pursuit of a PhD, Blake now strives to acquire an MA with a focus on nineteenth-century American history and the development of military tactics and technology. He counts membership in Phi Alpha Theta and his previous contributions to the *Welebaethan* as author and staff among his ranking educational achievements. When not busied with study, Blake fills his time working as a *barista* at a well-known coffee purveyor, reading, writing, expanding his library, and wasting disproportionate amounts of time on video games.

Born and raised in Southern California, **Nicole Rhoton** graduated *cum laude* with a BA in history from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2006. She contributed as editor and author for the past three issues of the *Welebaethan.* Areas of historical interest include people's movements, war and society, and peace studies. She is working toward her MA in American history at CSUF, for which she will conduct oral histories of World War II conscientious objectors to supplement her thesis research. Nicole enjoys reading novels and traveling. She wants to visit one country per year; however, so far, she has only traveled to Canada and Mexico. Some of her favorite author's include Anaïs Nin, Anne Lamott, and Tom Robbins.

Tiffany Sakahara received her BA in history with minors in anthropology and English from California State University, Fullerton, in 2007. Those aspects of scholarship that she finds most interesting are cultural, social, and personal stories. More specifically, it is the similarities, differences, and interactions of these elements within and between countries that fascinate her. In particular, her maternal, Nisei grandmother influenced the course of her education with stories of the World War II internment camps. She is a voracious but particular reader and a lover of words, music, art, and theatre—but not pretentiously. Content to be both boring and nerdy, she loves to learn. Of all her life's ambitions, the most constant is to make people laugh without being the center of attention.

Christine Shook received her BA in history from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in January 2007. After a brief break, she returned to CSUF to pursue her MA in history with an emphasis in oral and public history. Growing up in San Juan Capistrano, California, her interests always revolved around history and its importance to community. Christine decided to focus on oral histories after learning of the technique through Dr. Gary Shumway in spring 2006. Since then, she conducted interviews for a paper on the government's role in policing Vietnam War protests. Once finished with graduate school, Christine hopes to help preserve family and local history using guided autobiographies.

Monty Starks received his BA in both history and ethnic studies in June 2005 and is currently a graduate student at California State University, Fullerton, pursuing an MA in public history. He is a member of Phi Alpha Theta and an editor with the *Welebaethan*. Born in Washington, DC and a former United States Marine, he resides in Santa Ana where he is a member of the African Culture Art Counsel with the Bowers Museum, promoting awareness of African arts, history, and culture through festivals and public events. He is currently working with Dr. Arthur Hansen on a local oral history project focusing on African Americans in Orange County. After completing his schooling, he looks forward to applying his knowledge and skills in capturing American history and the voices that live it.



Thomas A. Stein, a professional musician for thirty-two years, graduated from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in spring 2007 with a BA in history. A *Welebaethan* editor for two years, he won "Best Overall Paper" in 2006 from the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta Historical Society for "Lord Edward of England's Crusade, 1270-1272: The Opportunity of a Lifetime," and served as Editor-in-Chief of the 2007 *Welebaethan*. Thomas co-authored the critically acclaimed trade book *For Musicians Only: The Facts about the Art, Politics, and Business for Live Performance for People Who Want to Make a Living Playing Music* (New York: Billboard Publications, 1988) and led Orange County's most successful "Top 40" dance band for fifteen years. He plans to continue performing throughout Southern California while pursuing his postgraduate academic career at CSUF.

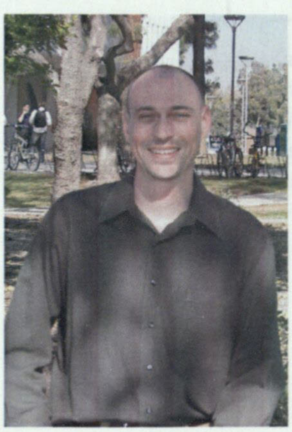
Nguyen Tran grew up in Los Angeles County where he attended Pasadena College. He moved to Orange County in 2000 and enrolled at Orange Coast College, graduating with an AA in fall 2005. He serves as a full-time Operations Analyst on Microsoft Access applications for the corporate receivables department of the Automobile Club of Southern California since joining their organization in 2001. He also moonlights as a part-time student working to obtain, for nearly a decade, a BA in history and a minor in business information systems. His recreational activities include working out at the gym and practicing a mixture of martial arts that range from tae kwon do, aikido, and ancient shaolin kung fu.

Born in Palm Springs, California, **Adan Vazquez** lived in the Coachella Valley until he enrolled at California State University, Fullerton, in fall 2004. After two years of changing majors, he decided to enlist in the United States Marine Corps on 20 June 2006 and graduated as a U.S. Marine on 15 September 2006. He currently serves as a radio operator with the 4th Light Armored Reconnaissance and plans to receive his history BA in spring 2009. After graduation, he will earn his commission as a Marine 2nd Lieutenant through the Officer Candidate School program. Adan's interests include U.S. military history, disc jockeying, off-roading, hunting terrorists, and free-market capitalism.

Student Authors

Michael Acker was born in Palm Springs and moved to Huntsville, Alabama, at the age of two. He spent most of his life wanting to return to California and in 2003, after a two-year mission for his church, he moved back. Michael graduated from California State University, Fullerton, in fall 2007 with a BA in history after fourteen years as an undergraduate. He is currently preparing for the LSAT to enter law school. Michael fell in love with history and changed his major from biological sciences just fifteen credits short of finishing that program.

Kristyn Andrade graduated *summa cum laude* with a BA in history. During her four years at California State University, Fullerton, she served as president of Christian Challenge, Associated Students assistant elections commissioner, resident advisor for CSUF housing, and secretary of the University Honors Society. A member of five honor societies, including Phi Alpha Theta and Phi Kappa Phi, she received various awards including the Nancy Fitch Women's Historical Scholarship Award. Kristyn is passionate about women's history, as evident in her Senior Honors Project entitled "More than Prostitutes: Women of the California Gold Rush," displayed during the 2007-8 academic year at the Pollak Library. She is currently working on her secondary education credential to teach social science.

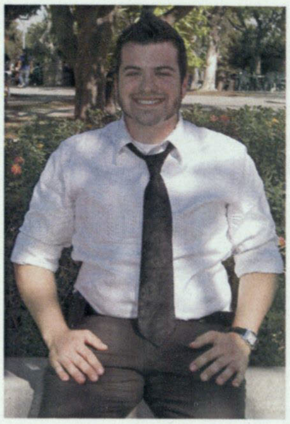


After some years as a singer/songwriter, **Richard Beck** returned to school as an undergraduate at California State University, Fullerton. His rekindled interest in history follows a family tradition, as both his grandfather and uncle earned PhDs in the subject. His interests range from ancient Egypt and Greece to modern European history. Richard's article, "The Moneylender's Trade: On the Causes of Nineteenth-Century Famines in India," received Best Asian History Paper Award for the 2007 *Welebaethan.* Richard intends to pursue a doctoral degree in British Imperial studies and teach at the university level.

Laura Fones is a European studies undergraduate at California State University, Fullerton. Originally from San Jose, and now living in San Diego, she commutes to school. She cultivates an intense interest in the Holocaust and other historical events that reveal moral extremes. After completing her BA, she plans to teach English to French youngsters in Strasbourg, France, to fund a nine-month writing binge. She hopes this effort fosters brilliant results. Laura's hobbies include Scrabble and discussions with engineers.

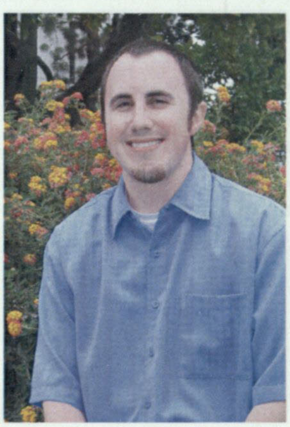
Ryan Greene is a senior at California State University, Fullerton. Since her transfer in 2006, she has maintained a 4.0 GPA and garnered recognition for her consistent position on the Dean's List. She is a proud member of the Theta-Pi chapter of the national Phi Alpha Theta history honor society and plans to pursue a graduate degree in history. Her ultimate academic goal is to obtain a PhD and become a university professor with an emphasis on the medieval Near East. Ryan lives in Huntington Beach, California, and in her spare time enjoys attending live concerts, going to the beach, traveling, and reading.

Arut Kadyan was born on 30 August 1983 in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan. In search of a better life for their children, his parents escaped Communism and moved the family to the United States in 1991. Thus, at the tender age of eight, Arut faced the challenge of overcoming lingual and cultural barriers in a foreign environment. In the midst of the constant struggle and suffering in his life, he discovered meaning and purpose. His goal is to bequeath a legacy to posterity by making a significant contribution to human knowledge. Undeterred by political pressure or forms of vilification, Arut is committed to fighting for justice, truth, peace, and love.

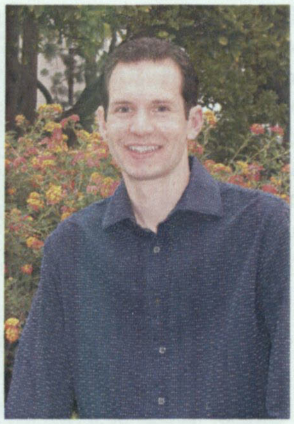


Joshua Ryan Ornelas graduated from Rosemead High School in 2002 where he won awards in science fairs, art contests, drama, athletics, and received the nomination for Boys State from the American Legion during his junior year. He began his higher education at Rio Hondo Community College in spring 2005, continuing at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). In spring 2007, he became the first in his family to graduate from college. He is currently working on a single subject credential at CSUF and hopes to become an accredited professor as commendable as his mentors. Joshua's hobbies include reading about Abraham Lincoln, teaching, going out with friends, and traveling.

Robert Miller graduated *summa cum laude* with a BA in history from California State University, Fullerton, in 2004 and an MA in history in 2006. Currently a PhD candidate at the University of California, Riverside, he also works as a teaching assistant. Several journals, including *Journal of the West*, *Military History of the West*, *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, and *Southern California Quarterly*, recently published his book reviews. He won the Phi Alpha Theta award for the first place U.S. history paper at the Southwest Social Sciences Association conferences in 2006, 2007, and 2008. He is currently researching the relationship between Mexican Americans, American Indians, and United States imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century, focusing on issues of identity.



Matthew Mullen, a recent graduate of California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), is currently working on his single subject teaching credential, with goals to teach U.S. history and American Government at the high school level. Matthew is also the current vice president of Phi Alpha Theta and president of the History Students Association at CSUF. An avid reader of biographies, he attempts to study the people behind major historical events in U.S. history. With his limited free time, Matthew plays the trumpet. His four trumpet and baritone saxophone ensemble, known as Trumpet Boredom, is popular worldwide with over six hundred thousand songs downloaded from their Web site.



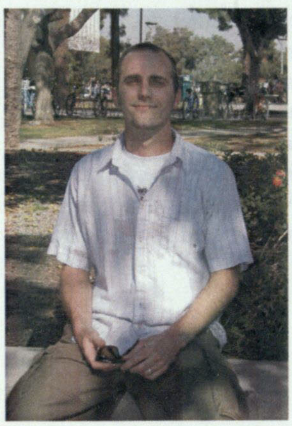
Daniel Phillips earned a BA in both music and history from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2002. Beginning in spring 1999, he served for four years as a staff singer in the Orange County Pacific Chorale and John Alexander Singers. While working on his MA in Chinese history at CSUF, he received the Wang Family International Scholarship and studied the Chinese language at Peking University during the 2004-5 academic year. He plans to complete his thesis on Chinese rural education in spring 2008 and hopes to continue his studies in a PhD program.

T. Robert Przeklasa Jr. was born in Berwyn, Illinois. He moved to Southern California in 1986 and graduated from Canyon High School in 2003. He received his AA in 2004 from Santiago Canyon College and is currently a senior history major at California State University, Fullerton. After receiving his BA, he plans to obtain a teaching credential in social sciences to teach history at a local high school. After some experience in the classroom, he will pursue an MA and eventually a PhD so he can teach at the collegiate level or enter secondary school administration. In his free time, he enjoys spending time with friends, watching independent and foreign films, and traveling.

Born and raised in Southern California, **Nicole Rhoton** graduated *cum laude* with a BA in history from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2006. She has contributed as editor and author for the past three issues of the *Welebaethan.* Her areas of historical interest include people's movements, war and society, and peace studies. She is working toward her MA in American history at CSUF, for which she will conduct oral histories of World War II conscientious objectors to supplement her thesis research. Nicole enjoys reading novels and traveling. She wants to visit one country per year; however, so far, she has only traveled to Canada and Mexico. Some of her favorite author's include Anaïs Nin, Anne Lamott, and Tom Robbins.

Tiffany Sakahara received her BA in history with minors in anthropology and English from California State University, Fullerton, in 2007. The aspects of history she finds most fascinating are cultural, social, and personal stories—and the similarities, differences, and interactions of these elements within and between countries—all of which her Japanese American family influenced, specifically her maternal, Nisei grandmother, who told her stories of the World War II internment camps. She is a voracious but particular reader and a lover of words, music, art, and theatre—but not pretentiously. Content to be both boring and nerdy, she loves to learn, and her greatest ambitions are to make people laugh without being the center of attention and to write the longest sentence in the English language.

Taran Schindler is finishing an MA in public history at California State University, Fullerton. Work and intern experiences at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and the Autry National Research Center honed her interests in Western history. She focuses on social history and the convergence of cultures, especially as expressed in land use, community history, and the development of regional identity. Her research is forthcoming as a chapter in *Icons of the American West*. She volunteers at the Grand Vision Foundation, helping to restore the Warner Grand Theatre in San Pedro, California. She is also working on a final project that spotlights the experiences of San Pedro women who worked in the Terminal Island Canneries in the 1940s and 1950s.



Bradley D. Stevens will graduate from California State University, Fullerton, in spring 2008 with a BA in history. He plans to continue his studies at Fullerton in the fall and earn an MA in history. Studying under Dr. Seymour Scheinberg, he has learned about the historical theory, rhetoric, and application of anti-Semitism. While his main focus is Chicana/o history, the Holocaust is another scholarly interest. Bradley is passionate about understanding culture and its ramifications in social and political relationships. Through his research on the *Sonderkommando*, he garnered a donor scholarship and plans to continue to study the role of culture in societal interaction.

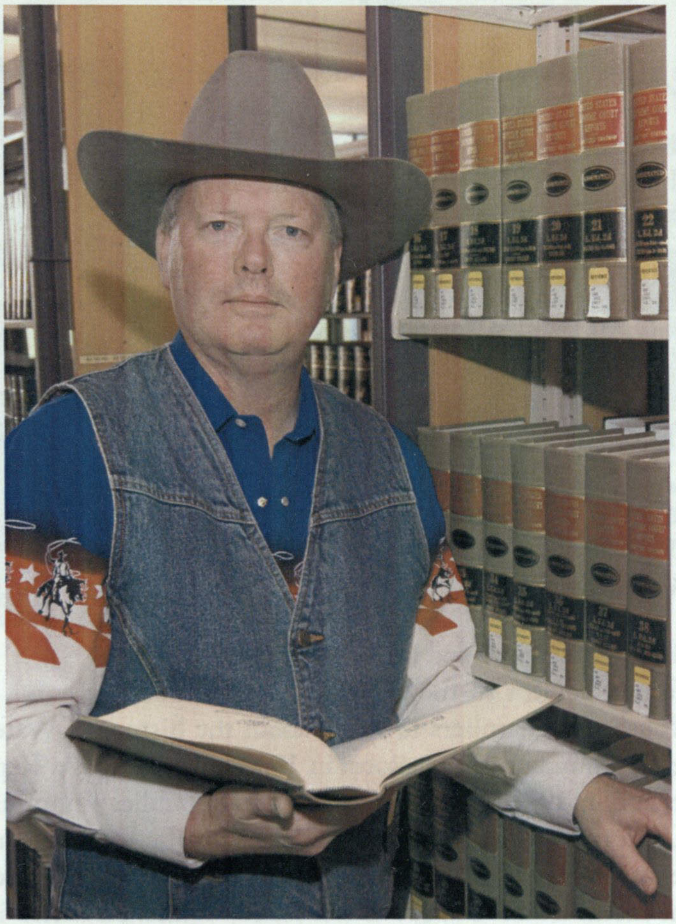
Gail Marlow Taylor brings twenty years of clinical laboratory experience and a lifetime of travel to her graduate studies in history at California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF). Growing up in Iran and Switzerland gave her an early interest in history and knowledge of the French and German languages. A licensed clinical laboratory scientist with a BS in biology, she enjoyed her hospital-centered career as a laboratory technologist and systems analyst until her recent retirement. She is enthusiastic about the way the graduate program in world history at CSUF enables her to combine writing, languages, and science. Her future goals include a PhD with a concentration in the history of science and medicine.

Daniel A. Vidrio graduated from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2007. As an undergraduate, he earned a BA in history and Chicana/o studies. Currently, he is a first year history graduate student at CSUF where he also works as a student coordinator in the Chicana/o Resource Center. He is interested in colonial Latin American history with a particular emphasis on the indigenous groups of central and western Mexico. Daniel hopes to complete a masters thesis focusing on Purépecha (Tarascan) culture and language during the colonial Mexican period, mainly in the state of Michoácan. His hobbies include reading, watching movies, and studying indigenous languages such as Nahuatl and Purépecha.

Albert D. Ybarra graduated from California State University, Fullerton, with a BA in history in 2004. He returned to Fullerton and is pursuing an MA in early modern history, concentrating on Native-American societies prior to and after contact with French colonial explorers and traders. Currently he is the president-elect of Phi Alpha Theta Theta-Pi chapter. His future plans include attaining a PhD in history, gaining a tenured position at a university, and becoming a published author. Albert's personal interests include studying ancient Persia, creating digital archives, and cycling. He also enjoys an eclectic variety of musical styles from western-based to non-western indigenous.

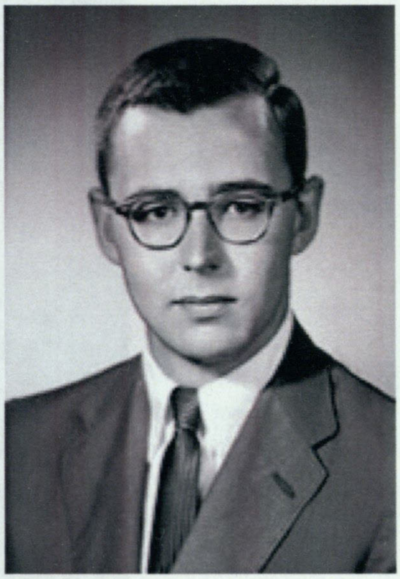
Faculty Advisors

Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, PhD, is a professor of history at California State University, Fullerton, where she teaches a variety of courses such as U.S. History surveys, Oral History, California and Orange County History, Public History, and the department's required Historical Thinking and Writing courses. She is the instructor and faculty advisor for the history honor students' national award-winning publication, *Welebaethan*, and has served as the faculty advisor for the Native American student association on campus for eight years. Among many other accomplishments, she is president of the Federation of Genealogical Societies (FGS) and has served on its Board of Directors for many years. She is an internationally known genealogical teacher and speaker and has lectured at national conferences throughout the United States since 1984. An accomplished writer and speaker, Dr. Wendy contributed two articles in the 2006 *Encyclopedia of Immigration and Migration in the American West* (Sage Publications), five chapters in the 2005 revision of *Ancestry's Redbook: American State, County, & Town Sources*, and two chapters in *Printed Sources* (1998).



Gordon Morris Bakken earned his degrees at the University of Wisconsin (BS '66, MS '67, PhD, '70, JD '73) and joined the faculty of California State University, Fullerton, in 1969. He teaches American Legal and Constitutional History, Westward Movement, American Military Heritage, Women of the American West, Women and American Law, as well as Historical Thinking and Historical Writing. He is the author of eighteen books, forty-three articles and law reviews, nineteen book chapters and encyclopedia entries, and numerous book reviews. Forthcoming in 2008: *Icons of the American West* (Greenwood Press, 2008) and *The Mining Law of 1872: Past, Politics, and Prospects* (University of New Mexico Press, 2008). Dr. Bakken is past president of Phi Alpha Theta, the National Honorary Society in History, Founding Vice President and Director of the California Supreme Court Historical Society, and a member of the editorial board of *Western Legal history*, *The Journal of the West*, and *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*. He served as Parliamentarian of the Organization of American Historians (1990-2001) and as a member of the California Judicial Council Advisory Committee on Court Records Management (1991-97).

In Memoriam: Harry P. Jeffrey, PhD



We celebrate the life of **Dr. Harry P. Jeffrey**, emeritus associate professor of history at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), by dedicating this year's publication in his memory. The Department of History lost a superb scholar and professor when Jeffrey passed 4 November 2007. It is with joy, however, that we recall the legacy he left for us at CSUF. Dr. Jeffrey began teaching at the college in 1969. Colleagues, friends, and students remember his passion for politics and American political history. As a Nixon scholar, Jeffrey oversaw the Nixon Oral History Project at CSUF and co-authored *Watergate and the Resignation of Richard Nixon: Impact of a Constitutional Crisis* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2004). In the mid-1970s he took a leave of absence to serve as director and interviewer of the Economic Stabilization Program Oral History Project, Nixon Administration, in Washington, DC.

Jeffery's enthusiasm for politics extended outside the classroom where he served as faculty advisor to the campus Young Republicans and, in 1966, arranged for two former White House staff members to speak about the history of Watergate at his seminars. He also ran for office on a number of occasions: in 1960 Jeffrey ran as a Republican candidate for the Ohio Legislature, and in 1976 he contended for the Republican nomination to the House of Representatives for California's 40th district. He worked for the Republican National Committee and as legislative aide on Capitol Hill from 1957-1976 and served as chief administrative assistant and aide for different members of Congress. Dr. Jeffrey remained active in local governmental committees in his Orange County residence of Laguna Beach where he founded the Laguna Beach Historical Society.

Colleagues also remember Jeffrey for his quirks, his ability to laugh at himself, and his distaste for historiography—a characteristic for which many history students can relate. Dr. B. Carmon Hardy remembers a semester where the department assigned Jeffrey three undergraduate sections of historiography and on one occasion Jeffrey said he actually fell asleep lecturing. His passion, Hardy recalls, "lay with life on the hustings, with the puffery and drama of men reaching for their hands and the votes of the electorate, with the nobility and the failure of office holding in a democratic society." This we think is what made him such a great scholar and impassioned professor.

Dr. Jeffrey is survived by his wife Mee-Young; son, Robert; stepdaughter, Clara; sisters Julie and Susu; and grandchildren Marieke and Lex. He is additionally survived by the CSUF Department of History—faculty and students—who thank him posthumously for his contributions as a scholar, colleague, professor, mentor, and friend.

In Memoriam: John Carlyle Webb

This year the *Welebaethan* staff honors **John Carlyle Webb**, a history graduate of California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), and an esteemed colleague and friend. He also began his MA program at CSUF but was unable to finish due to health issues. John served as president (1993-94) and vice-president (1994-95) of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. With the *Welebaethan*, he worked tirelessly as an author, layout designer (1992-93), editorial staff member (1993-94), and general editor (1994-95). After a courageous battle with brain cancer, John died in the comfort of his home on 7 October 2007. He is survived by his wife, Deborah Horowitz Webb, and daughter, Lyla Rose. John's dedication to history encourages all to persevere under the pressures of academia during the unexpected struggles in life.