WELEBAETHAN

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1996



THETA PI CHAPTER

OF PHI ALPHA THETA

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY FULLERTON



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THETA PI CHAPTER
OF PHI ALPHA THETA
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY FULLERTON

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PHI ALPHA THETA – STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Phi Alpha Theta is a professional organization whose objective is the promotion of the study of history by the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication, and the exchange of learning and thought among historians. The Theta Pi Chapter at California State University, Fullerton succeeds in bringing students, teachers, and writers of history together, both intellectually and socially. This chapter also encourages and assists historical research and publication by its members.

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The nationally known Welebaethan, named in honor of professor Shirley Weleba, is published annually and is open for publication of historical topics. Along with historically researched papers and articles, the journal also accepts book, film, and exhibit reviews, as well as oral histories and bibliographic essays. Awards are made to the best paper in each of four categories which are determined annually.

Students who are interested in submitting articles or reviews for consideration should do so by December 31st. Papers should be duplicated, double spaced throughout (including endnotes and quotations), and prepared according to The Chicago Manual of style. Generally, they should not exceed 35 pages in length. The manuscript should be accompanied by an IBM compatible disk containing the document file on WordPerfect 5.1 or 6.0 software. For more information, write to: Theta Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, Department of History, California State University, Fullerton, CA 92834.

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The Two Faces of War:

Front Cover: *An illustration of the types of small bands that formed in and around the soldiers' camps to keep the men occupied.* F. Lord, **Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War** (T. Yoseloff).

Back Cover: *Sheet music for one of the most famous tunes of the Civil War "John Brown's Body." The same tune was recycled by Julia Ward Howe and used for the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."* Lawrence, **Music For Patriots and Politicians** (Macmillan).

Inside Front Cover: *Woman volunteer comforting child after an air raid during Battle of Britain.* R. Inglis, **The Children's War** (Collins Sons & Co).



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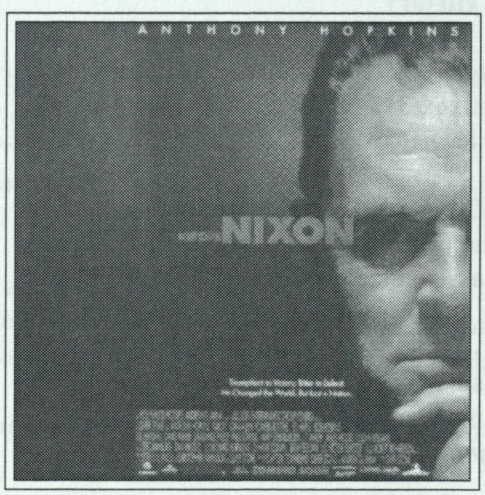

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Editor's Comment

This year's *Welebaethan* has been challenged to match the 1995 issue, which was given the Gerald B. Nash award for the best student-published history journal of any college with 100 or more majors. Its recognition as a standard-setter for student history journals across the nation was a tribute to last year's editor, John Webb, the editing class, and its instructor and faculty advisor, Dr. Lawrence de Graaf.

Hoping to produce a journal of comparable quality, the board this year reviewed forty papers and selected eighteen for publication. Four of these have again been awarded prizes as the best in their category, and three of these prizes have been named in honor of faculty who have contributed to the journal or to the History Department. The tragic death of department chair Ric Miller led the board to name the best paper in European History in his honor. The board also formalized the custom of naming the best Western History paper for the university's founding president, William B. Langsdorf, himself a Western historian. In recognition of Dr. de Graaf's contributions and dedication to the *Welebaethan*, the outstanding paper award has been named the Lawrence B. de Graaf Award.

The quality of the papers is excellent due to the scholarship of all of the students at California State University, Fullerton and the professors who challenge them. Our desire, for this year's edition, is to demonstrate different aspects of history. The special features section highlights three fields: teaching, oral history and public history. "An Analysis of the 'X' Factor: Generation X and Their Perspectives Toward Historical Study" resulted from a graduate intern's work with other students. "Detachment 101 in Burma: Interview with an OSS Agent" is representative of what the Oral History Program does. A student in one of our public history courses provided the proposal "Exciting the Imagination: A Historical Brochure for Azusa". Additionally, the mainstay of history journals, scholarly articles and book reviews, represent the world of professors and other historians.

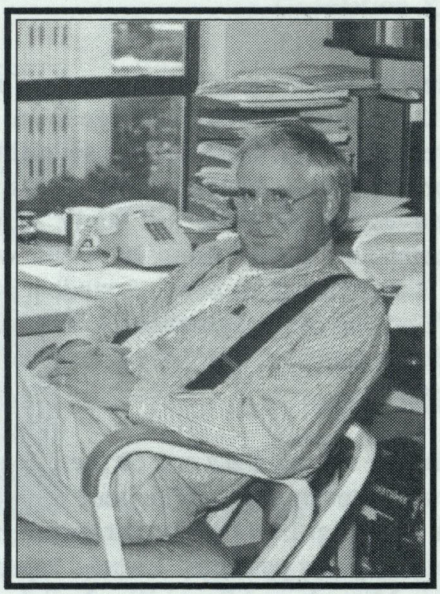
I would like to thank everyone in our editing class and on the editorial board for their persistence in producing a journal with advanced technology. This issue has been printed directly from disk by Kinko's, and all photographs were digitized by The Paragon Agency. Our thanks to Ron Weston and Doug Westfall for making this possible. I would especially like to extend my gratitude to Wendy Elliott, Donna Miranda and Penni Wunderlich in the History Department for putting up with my almost daily visits and unreasonable demands on their time. This edition would not be possible without the generous support from Instructionally Related Activities program of Associated Students. Finally, I would like to thank David Marley, Phi Alpha Theta president, for his moral support and his tolerance of my enthusiasm for a clean office.

Working on the Welebaethan and with Phi Alpha Theta has enriched my time here at CSUF. I would encourage every student to get involved; it is your education that will benefit. I hope that after reading this journal you will be inspired to contribute one of your papers.

Alex Kindell
General Editor

A Man For Many Seasons: RIC MILLER

The Christmas season of 1995 brought tragic and unexpected news to faculty and students of California State University, Fullerton, when Dr. Ric Miller, department chair and professor of Ancient History, suddenly passed away. He had joined the faculty in 1969 straight out of his doctoral work at the University of Minnesota and through the 1970s established himself as a demanding instructor, an active participant in campus affairs, and a witty addition to the fraternity of faculty who took pleasure in mixing scholarly conversation with a round of good cheer. His personality deepened and his professional involvements intensified following a near fatal illness in 1983. He emerged from this experience a deeply religious person who trained for, and secured, ordination as an Episcopal priest. He subsequently served both in a San Pedro parish and as campus Episcopal chaplain while devoting great energies to his professional responsibilities at CSUF. He became increasingly active in the Academic Senate and on several of its key committees, becoming one of the most respected articulators of a liberal arts perspective on curriculum matters. In 1990, he was elected department chair and was in his second term when death suddenly took him away. All who knew him could only share a sense of multiple loss: of a colleague, campus leader, respected companion, and devoted teacher.



Within this broad frame of memory, those who worked with Ric will remember him for a variety of more specific qualities. In his later years, particularly, he was a pastor among scholars, a person ready to extend the hand of compassion and help to those of his colleagues in need. This was especially evident in 1987 when Professor Cameron Stewart suddenly died and Ric assumed responsibility for Cam's estate and family in need of help. Some alumni will recall him as one of several faculty advisors to the Theta Pi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta who collectively helped to bring it the best chapter award in 1975-76 (an honor it has continued to win in later years). Many in other departments will recall him as the indefatigable defender of a quality liberal arts and general education component in higher education during times of budgetary stringency, when reducing such requirement seemed to some a sensible way of cutting expenses. Whatever our individual memories, all at CSUF felt a mutual sense of grief upon hearing of his passing.

Memorials are a poor substitute for life, but they are perhaps the most lasting way of expressing such feelings of loss. In this vein, the officers of the Theta Pi chapter have named the prize which is awarded annually to the best student work in European History the Ric Miller Award. I'm sure Ric would have appreciated such an association with rigorous scholarship and outstanding writing.

OLD TIME SONGS ARE NOT FORGOTTEN:

Musical Memory in the Songs of the American Civil War

John Carlyle Webb

Songs have long been a part of a society's cultural memory, and those of the Civil War provide an example of songwriters creating memories. Analyzing both Union and Confederate songs, Webb notes that writers on both sides recollected extant tunes and tied lyrics to patriotic figures and themes from the past. In these ways, Civil War songs shaped future public memory and deserve recognition as an important aspect of that period.

> Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field, and patriots grave, to every living heart and hearth-stone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.
>
> *Abraham Lincoln—First Inaugural Address*

> I wish I was in the land ob cotton, old times dar am not forgotten, look away! look away! look away! Dixie Land.
>
> *Daniel D. Emmett—"Dixie's Land"*

Recalling the poignant words of Abraham Lincoln calling on the citizens of the United States to hearken back to shared bonds—to the common mystical memory of the foundation of the nation—one finds that they are no less powerful in the construct of collective memory than the satirical, even racist words of Emmet's popular minstrel song, "Dixie's Land." While the two are from different genres, they share one powerful commonalty, that is the call upon the listener to share a common memory. Each in its own way requires those who listen to translate from his or her own memory to help make sense of the speech or song.

Although there are many issues that dominate scholarship of the American Civil War, discussions of the military aspects have held sway from the immediate post-bellum period until recent years when scholars began to highlight social/cultural aspects of the period.[1] Other recent historians have begun to

[1] Nicholas Tawa has been in the forefront of an American interpretation of mid-nineteenth century music and has authored several influential books, including *Music for the Millions: Antebellum Democratic Attitudes and the Birth of American Popular Song* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1984).

look beyond the basal political/military view of history and have moved toward a belief in which other texts in society have meaning for the historian. Marigold Linton argues, "Increasing the kinds of acceptable sources permits the viewpoints of additional populations to be represented in histories."[2]

Although Linton is primarily concerned with the inclusion of oral sources in history, her arguments validate the inclusion of lesser used texts. Among the most important of these texts is music, which, in the nineteenth century, had a great deal of cultural power.[3]

A key issue brought forth by the study of music is that of cultural memory. Cultural memories reside in many different places accessed by the public in varying degrees. David Thelen in his introduction to *Memory and American History* writes:

> Since the memory of past experiences is so profoundly intertwined with basic identities of individuals, groups, and cultures, the study of memory exists in different forms along the spectrum of experiences, from the personal, individual, and private to the collective, and public.[4]

Thelen is quite right in his analysis that memory has a profound impact on the composition of individual identity. Furthermore, he is also correct when he argues that the memories of any given individual come from a wide range of experiences and cultural phenomena. Michael Schudson points out that the act of remembering is occasioned by social situations and cues. Moreover, collective memory is created by society's markers, which include among other things books, holidays, and statues.[5] During the nineteenth century, music was a societal marker, making it an important repository of cultural memory.

At a time when other popular cultural forms of memory transmission (such as radio and television) did not exist, and during a period that saw marginal literacy rates (at least when compared to modern America), oral transmission through songs of societal beliefs and cultural memories was extremely important in building cultural literacy.[6] Susan Willis addresses the concept of cultural literacy in her essay, "Memory and Mass Culture," and argues that cultural literacy refers to the knowledge of the collective texts of society and understanding when references are made to them. Moreover, poets and songwriters tend to be more culturally literate because their trade deals heavily in cultural criticism and historical allusions. Furthermore, Willis concludes that it is easier for a society to be culturally literate if the society has an oral tradition, such as widespread use of songs.[7]

The songwriters of the Civil War were, in a sense, semi-modern story tellers who used music to construct narratives for their listeners. Walter Benjamin writes that the storyteller "takes what he tells from experiences—his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experiences of those who are listening to his tale."[8] The storytellers, and hence the songwriters, draw on their own collective

---

[2] Marigold Linton, "Phoenix and Chimera: The Changing Face of Memory," in *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience*, edited by Jaclyn Jeffrey and Glenace Edwall (New York: University Press of America, 1994), 69-70.

[3] For a discussion of the impact of music on society, see Arnold Perris, *Music as Propaganda, Art to Control, Art to Persuade* (Westport, CT. Greenwood Press, 1985), Henry Raynor, *Music and Society Since 1815* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976); John Shepard, *Music as Social Text* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991).

[4] David Thelen, "Introduction: Memory and American History," in *Memory and American History*, edited by David Thelen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), vii.

[5] Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget, and Reconstruct the Past* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 46-47.

[6] For a discussion of the literacy rates among soldiers, see David Kaser, *Books and Libraries in Camp and Field: The Civil War Experience* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1984). See also Carl F. Kaestele, *Pillars of the Republic: Common School and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

[7] Susan Willis, "Memory and Mass Culture," in *History and Memory in African-American Culture*, edited by Geneviève Fabre and Robert O'Meally (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 184-85.

[8] Quoted in Thelen, *Memory and American History*, vii.

memory while at the same time helping to shape the memories of those listening.

Furthermore, Michael C. C. Adams maintains that memory is greatly affected by popular culture. Memory is not inactive; those who listen to and those who shape popular cultural pieces use memory to elicit reaction. The past is often appropriated to suit particular purposes of songwriters; therefore, music is a powerful medium of memory.[9]

Memory, then, affects our actions in the present and the future. Indeed, as David Lowenthal writes, "equating history with fragments of popular culture familiar from memory and media... endears the American past."[10] Several contemporary studies have looked at popular media as transmitters of memory. These studies have many implications for the study of musical memory.

Songs with catchy melodies, simple words, and uncomplicated rhyme swept the soldiers' camps and the home fronts during the Civil War. Moreover, they, like other forms of propaganda, carried messages and provided the listener with more than simple diversion and entertainment. Most of the songs dealt in some way with a shared (or a perceived shared) past.[11] The songs called on listeners to remember the days of old and past personalities. The writers wrote with a preconceived notion that allusions would be understood and that they would evoke reactions. For example, songwriters would refer to the defenders of Bunker (Breed's) Hill or George Washington in hopes of eliciting a response from those listening.

Songwriters from both sides of the Mason-Dixon line claimed to be the true conservators of the thought and ideals of the founding fathers and the Constitution.[12] As a result, both the Federals and the Confederates claimed unique knowledge of presidents such as Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson. When this is connected to the regionalism of memory that had developed by the time of the Civil War, a mention of Jackson could elicit a different response

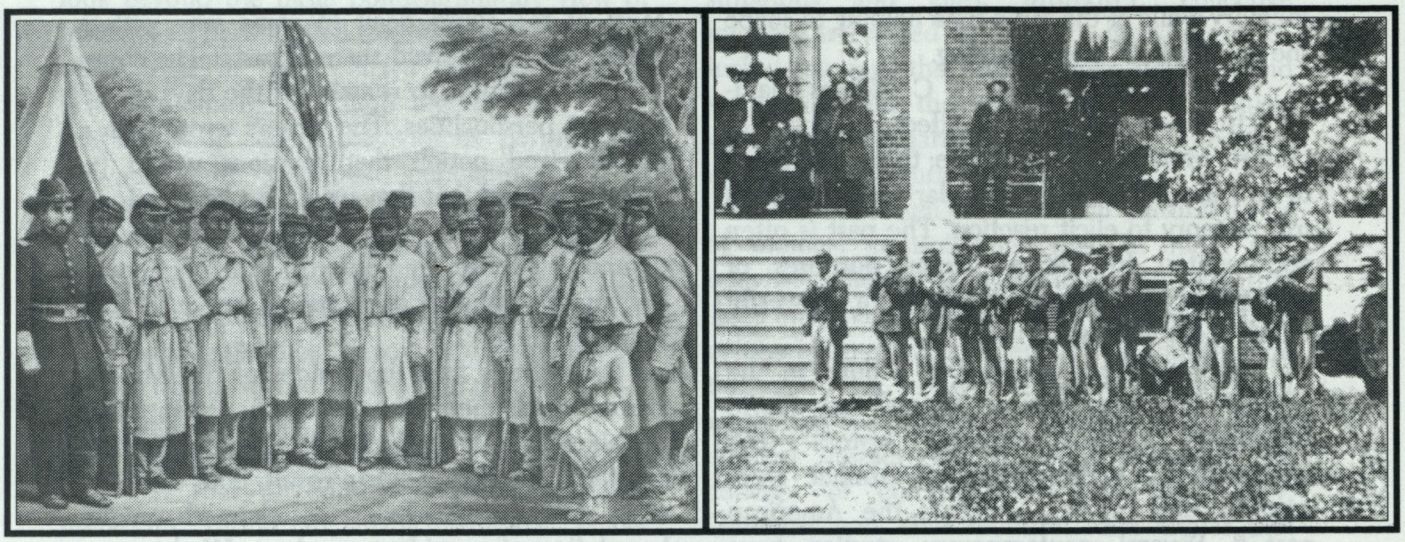
[9] See Michael C.C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), *passim*. In his analysis of World War II era films, Adams points out that much of what people remember about the war has been molded by Hollywood films. Adams' deft examination shows that the reality of the war was much different from what Hollywood presented in its version. The Hollywood war was ultra-patriotic, and America could do no wrong, yet this patriotically correct view, which is often the veteran's viewpoint as well, is not reconcilable with the reality of the war.

A further example of the inconsistencies of memory is the recent flap at the Smithsonian Institution vis a vis its Enola Gay exhibit. The exhibit, set to detail the significance of the plane and its mission, was scaled back because of the tremendous pressure exerted by veteran's interest groups which thought the exhibit showed too much sympathy toward Japan. See the *Los Angeles Times*, 2 February 1995; OAH Newsletter, November 1994; and "History and the Public: What Can We Handle? A Round Table about History after the *Enola Gay* Controversy," *Journal of American History* 82 (December 1995): 1029–1115.

[10] David Lowenthal, "The Timeless Past: Some Anglo-American Historical Preconceptions," in Thelan ed., *Memory and American History*, 138.

[11] According to James Willard Hurst, the school system in mid-nineteenth century America was used to inculcate young Americans about values commonly held. See Hurst, *Law and Markets in United States History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 92. See also Jean Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983). An interesting discussion dealing with the common heritage shared by Americans comes from J. Merton England, "The Democratic Faith in American Schoolbooks, 1783-1860," in *The American Culture: Approaches to the Study of the United States*, edited by Hennig Cohen (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), 320-29. England contends that "the authors of American textbooks emphatically believed that there was such a thing as national character and that they had a duty to preserve it." That is important because when a songwriter alluded to a story of George Washington, the listener would more than likely understand and connect the story with a common shared memory taught in texts of the time. Furthermore, Michael Frish showed that people tend to remember what the culture thinks is important, and that can usually be found in the texts that a society teaches from. Michael Frish, "American History and the Structures of Collective Memory: A Modest Exercise in Empirical Iconography," in *Memory and American History*, 1-26.

[12] For a discussion of the Confederacy's thoughts regarding conservatorship and the Constitution, see Don Stelluto, "The Permanent Confederate Constitution: An Evolutionary American Legal Document," *Welebaethan* (1993): 35-50.



Top, left: *The ubiquitous drummer boy with a black unit and its white officer.*
Top, right: *Union band used for concerts by the officers.*
Bottom: *Union band in camp, with interesting evidence of multi-racial players.*
Lawrence, **Music for Patriots and Politicians** (Macmillan).



depending on the section of the country in which the listener grew up.[13]

"The Hunters of Kentucky"

To understand the distinctive aspects of the music of the Civil War, it is important to understand its antecedents. By the time of the American Civil War, the citizens of the United States had shared a long musical history.[14] Americans had been developing their unique culture since long before the American Revolution and had come to gather a great amount of shared historical memory. Music has been connected to memory since the first songwriter alluded to an event in the past, and in America, that was no less true.

One early piece of importance for post-Revolution American musical memory came following the Battle of New Orleans, when Samuel Woodworth wrote the song, "The Hunters of Kentucky." The song became a near instantaneous hit as Noah M. Ludlow sang the song in theaters around the western United States, and then attempted in vain to have the spotlight removed from himself by releasing the lyrics to newspapers. Woodworth wrote, and Ludlow sang:

I 'spose you've read it in the print,
How Packenham attempted
To make Old Hickory JACKSON wince,
But soon his scheme repented,
For we with rifles ready cock'd,
Through such occasion lucky,
And soon around the general flock'd
The Hunter of Kentucky

But Jackson he was wide awake, and
Wasn't cared with trifles,
For well he knew what aim we take
With our Kentucky rifles;
Se he marched us down to "Cyprus Swamp,"
The ground was low and mucky;
There stood "John Bull" in martial pomp,
But here was old Kentucky.[15]

The song spread quickly as did its message. Contemporary writers tell of how "The Hunters of Kentucky" became so popular "that you could hear it sung or whistled almost any day as you passed along the principal thoroughfares of the city."[16] Furthermore, as time passed, the song became a favorite at Jackson Day dinners and from there became part of the larger culture.[17]

Viewed within the framework of memory, the song has much to offer. The song created a new public memory of the Battle of New Orleans and privileged patriotic memory as it trivialized the carnage of the battle and created new national myths. Hundreds of soldiers were killed or wounded at New Orleans, yet nowhere in the song does one find accounts of the blood that flowed. Also, the song promulgated the myth of the natural man, of the American western woodsman, and wrongly spread the fame of his great marksmanship far and wide.[18] Moreover, the song helped to create the myth of Jackson, the "Hero of New Orleans," that would eventually become a factor in his successful presidential bid in 1828.

"The Hunters of Kentucky" points to a trend in American memory: Americans take the past, shape it, and re-present the past to make it functional. Often times once this process of re-presentation is done, the event bears little

[13] For example, the residents of South Carolina held a low opinion of fellow Southerner Andrew Jackson, who issued his "Proclamation to the People of South Carolina" on 10 December 1832. The proclamation stated Jackson's disdain of South Carolina's nullification stance on tariff issues. For the text of the proclamation, see Richard Hofstadter, *Great Issues in American History: From the Revolution to the Civil War, 1765-1865* (New York: Alfred Knoph, 1958), 282-91. For a discussion of the nullification controversy, see William W. Freehling, *The Road To Disunion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) *passim*.

[14] For further reading on the musical background of the United States, see Gilbert Chase, *American Music From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1955); H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States, A Historical Introduction* (Englewood Cliff, NJ: Princeton-Hall, 1988); Grace H. D. Yerbury, *Song in America, From Early Times to About 1850* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1971).

[15] Quoted in John William Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 14.

[16] Ibid., 15.

[17] Ibid., 15-16.

[18] Ibid., 14.

relation to what actually happened. Furthermore, once reworked, the memories enter the stream of popular culture, where they are translated from generation to generation.[19]

The Civil War Era–Tune Recollection

One of the basic elements of musical memory is the tune itself. The writers of songs during the American Civil War often recycled tunes from earlier eras. This was the case for a couple of reasons, one being that many of the writers had little formal training in the area of music and were therefore ignorant of musical notation, but more importantly for the purposes of memory, the tunes were reused because they were already firmly established in the culture, and therefore, easily remembered. Moreover, because the tunes were already to be found in the framework of popular memory, they had feelings and emotions already attached to them, and if a writer wanted to have a certain context recalled from the listener's memory, he or she would simply have to call upon the appropriate tune.

Examples of this tune recollection are numerous and include one of the most famous songs of the war, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," written by Julia Ward Howe.[20] The tune was an amalgam of both black and white spirituals, but became famous when it was appropriated by the abolition movement with the name "John Brown's Body" This song evolved into what became known in the North as the "Marseilles of Emancipation," and grew very popular not only among the civilian abolitionist crowd, but also among those soldiers with anti-slavery leanings.[21]

By adopting the memory of John Brown and attaching new abolitionist lyrics, Howe created a very puissant and controversial song. Most of the country did not hold a neutral opinion about the memory of John Brown. Brown was a man who in life had stirred tremendous emotions either for or against slavery, and he continued to do the same long after his passing.[22]

The tune of "John Brown's Body" was also used for other songs that are significant for their use of memory. The song "The President's Proclamation" used the occasion of Abraham Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation to reference John Brown and hold him up as a martyr of the abolition movement. Edna Dean Proctor wrote:

---

[19] One further antebellum piece, "Remember the Alamo," adroitly illustrates this trend. The song was written as a rallying piece for soldiers remaining with Sam Houston, but transcended Texas when Zachary Taylor's men appropriated the song, and its use of memory, to rally United States troops in the Mexican War.

[20] The concept of tune recollection is a construct that refers to how a tune and its memories are appropriated by the songwriter, thereby allowing the listener to remember the original use of the tune and attribute any number of new meanings to it. For the text of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," see Paul Glass, *The Singing Soldiers* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), 4-6.

[21] Edward A. Dolph, *Sound Off: Soldier Songs from the Revolution to World War I* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart Inc., 1942), 250. Another interesting aspect of the creation of "Battle Hymn" is how Julia Howe was affected by her memory to write the song. As the story goes, Howe was visiting army camps during the winter of 1861 when members of her party began to sing songs. When they had finished with "John Brown's Body," Rev. James Freeman Clarke suggested that she put new words to the tune. She slept on the idea and rose in the middle of the night and wrote the immortal words, Irwin Sibler, *Songs of the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 10.

Also, Howe kept true to her abolitionist collective memory and incorporated in her song a strong religious undertone. Religion was a big part of the anti-slavery movement; therefore, Howe and "Battle Hymn" represent an effort to join abolitionist memory and religious collective memory together.

Another song that deftly illustrates the construct of religious memory in song is "The Year of Jubilo," see ibid., 45 for the text of the song. This was a slave song that referenced the Biblical Jewish tradition of freeing slaves every seven years. It is clear that while the majority of slaves could not read the Bible, songs were used to construct memories revolving around many biblical concepts. These memories then entered their collective slave memory.

[22] See Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984). For a discussion of the Brown memory and its effects on surviving members of his family, see Robert McGlone, "Rescripting a Troubled Past: John Brown's Family and the Harpers Ferry Conspiracy," in *Memory and American History*, 50-71.

John Brown died on the scaffold for the slave;
Dark was the hour when we dug his hallowed grave;
Now God avenges the life he gladly gave,
Freedom reigns today.[23]

These songs came to be the standards for abolitionists. Both Howe and Proctor, keeping true to their anti-slavery sentiments, use abolitionist collective memory to write the words that are intensified by the religious nature of the abolition movement. The songs are further strengthened by the incorporation of the moral aspects of religious collective memory, making them very powerful indeed.

Another, more vitriolic song to use "John Brown's Body" and tune recollection to its advantage was a campaign song from 1864, the "White Soldier's Song." The song appeared as a Copperhead response and opposition to Lincoln's decision to seek a second term as president. It is significant that the writer chose to use the tune from "John Brown's Body," for it had been traditionally used as an anti-slavery piece and was therefore conjoined with abolitionist collective memory. Its use in an openly racist piece signals its movement from a localized (abolitionist) song into the larger collective popular culture. Furthermore, beyond the tune recognition, the second stanza of the song calls on Lincoln to remember his campaign promise not to touch slavery where it already existed, and in the last stanza, the writer references the hallowed Constitution, assuming that those who agreed with the expressed anti-Lincoln view would recall those portions of the document that Lincoln had trampled upon. The song states:

Tell Abe Lincoln that he'd better win the war,
Tell Abe Lincoln what we all came out here for,
Tell Abe Lincoln 'twas the Union to restore,
As we go marching on.

Tell Abe Lincoln to let the nigger be,
Tell Abe Lincoln that we don't want him free,
Tell Abe Lincoln that to this he did agree,
As we go marching on.

Tell Abe Lincoln, the Constitution is our guide,
Tell Abe Lincoln by the laws he must abide,
Tell Abe Lincoln to let his proclamation slide,
As we go marching on.[24]

The song "Soon We'll Have the Union Back," also from the 1864 presidential campaign, updates old themes and brings them to the fore of the listener's memory.[25] The "Hunters of Kentucky" had lionized Andrew Jackson and "Soon We'll Have the Union Back" references this by using the same tune. Yet in the lyrics, Jackson is replaced with George B. McClellan. "Little Mac," as Democratic candidate, was viewed by some as just the man to save the nation from the perils of war when it seemed that Lincoln could not. Furthermore, the song positions McClellan as the savior of the Union just as Jackson had been in 1832.

Still other songs used tune recollection to access collective memory. In the presidential campaign of 1860, Jesse Hutchinson, campaigning for Abraham Lincoln, wrote the song "Lincoln and Liberty," which used a popular folk tune, "Old Rosin the Beau." The purpose behind the use of the folk tune was to highlight Lincoln's down-home character. Lincoln was hailed as the "son of Kentucky" and the "hero of Hoosierdom." What this alluded to, in an offhand way, was the power of the West, further extolling the pioneer spirit that one finds previously made into myth by such songs as "The Hunters of Kentucky."[26]

A very recognizable tune in post-Revolutionary War America was "Yankee

[23] Quoted in McGlone, "Rescripting a Troubled Past," 25. It is also interesting to note the religious imagery that runs through the song. Jesus died on a cross for mankind and in the song John Brown died on a scaffold for the slave, thus becoming the instrument of God in the abolitionist quest to free the slaves. Moreover, Proctor sees God avenging the memory of Brown through the horrors of war, making Brown's martyrdom run very deep.

[24] "White Soldier's Song," quoted in Irwin Sibler, *Songs America Voted By* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1971), 87.

[25] "Soon We'll Have the Union Back" is quoted in ibid., 90.

[26] "Lincoln and Liberty," quoted in ibid., 81. Another song by Hutchinson to use the tune was "The Liberty Ball." See ibid., 98 for the text.

Doodle." It had been popular since colonial times and was hence a perfect candidate for arrogation. A Southern songwriter used the tune in the song "Confederate Yankee Doodle," a satirical piece where Yankee Doodle is a metaphorical construct designed to poke fun at New Englanders. The lyrics state:

Yankee Doodle had a mind
To whip the Southern "traitors."
Because they didn't choose to live
On Codfish and potatoes.
Yankee Doodle, doodle-doo,
Yankee Doodle dandy,
And so to keep his courage up
He took a drink of brandy.

Yankee Doodle, oh! For shame,
You're always intermeddling;
Let guns alone, they're dangerous things;
You'd better stick to peddling.
Yankee Doodle, doodle-doo,
Yankee Doodle dandy,
When next I go to Bully Run
I'll throw away the brandy.[27]

Patriot Constructs of Memory

An inquiry into the collective memory of Civil War era music cannot ignore the power of patriotic symbolism. Symbolism is an integral part of patriotic memory. John Bodnar writes that "the symbolic language of patriotism is central to public memory in the United States because it has the capacity to mediate both vernacular loyalties to local and familiar places and official loyalties to national and imagined structures."[28] This model will be important to keep in mind because the memory of each person mediates between the two. Patriotic constructs abound in the music of the Civil War, and they continue a long tradition of American patriotism.

The dividing lines that separate one field of memory from another are not solid, and boundaries are easily crossed. The song that best represents a mixture between tune recollection and patriotic memory is "The Union Must And Shall Be Preserved." This song calls on tune recollection for memory since its tune was from the "Star-Spangled Banner," which alluded to Francis Scott Key and his patriotic poem written on the occasion of the British bombardment of Fort McHenry during the War of 1812.

Moreover, the tune goes beyond simple tune recognition in its appeal to the patriotic memory of the founding fathers of the country. Once again the memory of the "Old Hero," Andrew Jackson is alluded to. The title urged Union listeners to remember Jackson's role in the nullification crisis of the 1830s and his famous toast.[29] The remark by Jackson was a strong statement in favor of the Federal Union and was intended to elicit the same type of reaction from those listening who shared the same belief. The first stanza reads:

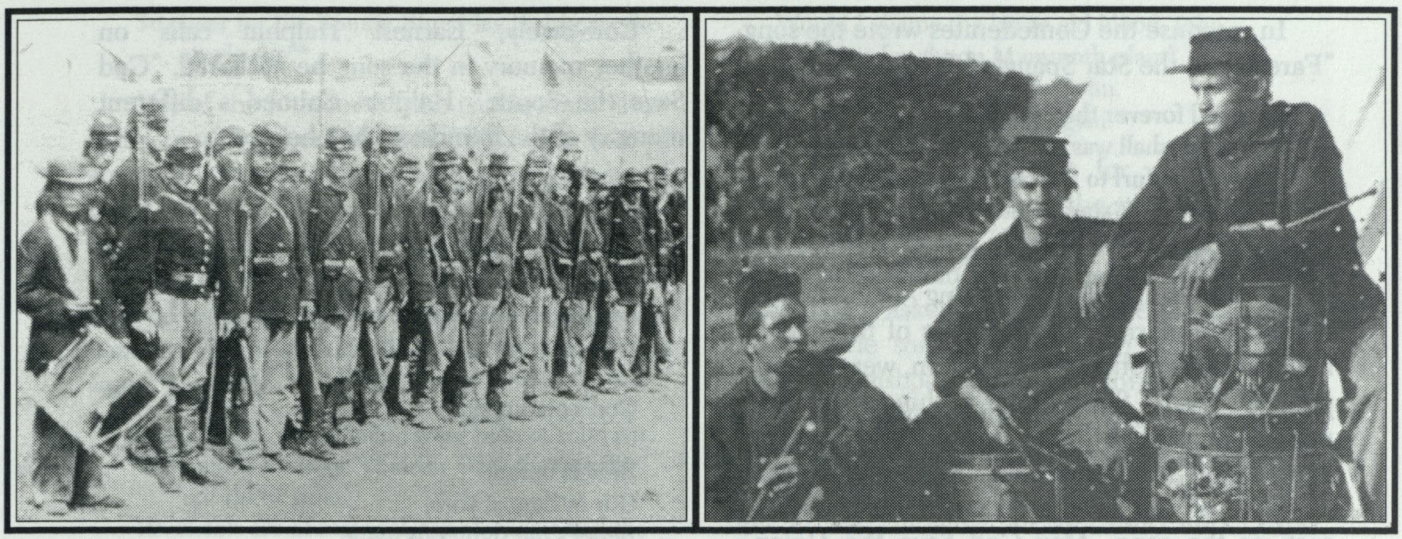
Oh! say can a thought so vile and base come
To the mind a dweller on Columbia's soil,
That the work of our fathers should now be undone,
And unwound should now be the national coil?
And that traitors should sway and rule o'er this proud land,
With tyranny's lash, and the plunderer's brand!
No never, Freeman, never! With right, our arm served,
The Union it must and shall be preserved.[30]

[27] "Confederate Yankee Doodle," quoted in ibid., 203.

[28] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1992), 13.

[29] For the text of the toast see John Niven, *John C. Calhoun and the Price of the Union* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 173.

[30] "The Union Must And Shall Be Preserved," quoted in Vera Lawrence, Music for Patriots, Politicians, and Presidents (New York: Macmilliam Publishing Co., 1975), 338.



Top, left: *The 22nd New York and drummer boy.*
Top, right: *Drummers of the 2nd Infantry in the field.*
Bottom: *Band photo of the 8th Elmira New York State Militia.*
F. Lord, **Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War** (T. Yoseloff).



In response the Confederates wrote the song "Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner."

> Farewell forever the Star spangled banner
> No longer shall was o'er the land of the free.
> But we'll unfurl to the broad breeze of Heaven
> Thirteen bright stars round the Palmetto tree.[31]

The founding fathers became a central theme for songwriters wishing to construct patriotic memories. The founders of the nation, men like Jefferson and Washington, were already popular icons.[32] Songwriters wishing to fashion memories adapted these icons to fit the patriotic motifs their songs intended. Many songs were upfront with their inferences to the founders such as the song "May God Save the Union" written by G. Douglass Brewerton which reads:

> May God save the Union! Still, still may it stand
> Upheld by the strength of the patriots hand,
> To cement it our fathers ensanguined the sod,
> To keep it we kneel to a merciful God.
>
> May God save the Union! The Red, White and Blue,
> Our States keep united the dreary day through,
> Let the stars tell the tale of the glorious past
> And bind us in Union forever to last.[33]

Brewerton uses the strong symbolism of the flag, connecting it to the "glorious past" to make its patriotic image even more powerful. Moreover, he makes a specific call on the memory of those patriots of the Revolution who died to create a Federal Union. In Brewerton's belief system, a strong, united country is what the founders had fought for; therefore, he called for a strengthened Union in his song.

Conversely, Earnest Halphin calls on another memory in the song he authored, "God Save the South." Halphin claimed a different memory of the founders when he wrote:

> God made the right,
> Stronger than might,
> Millions would trample us
> Down in their pride.
> Lay Thou their legions low,
> Roll back the ruthless foe.
> Let the proud spoiler know
> God's on our side.
>
> Rebels before
> Our fathers of yore,
> Rebel's the righteous name
> Washington bore.
> Why, then, be ours the same.
> The name that he snatch'd from shame,
> Making it first in fame,
> Foremost in war.[34]

The second stanza calls forth a different memory of the founders and of George Washington. In Halpin's view, as opposed to Brewerton's, the South was rebelling against the same kind of tyranny that Washington, Jefferson, and the other revolutionaries had fought against. In the Southern mind, they were fighting to preserve the correct ideals of the founders; chief among those ideals was states' rights.

When the Federals labeled the Confederates "rebels," Halpin drew upon the fact that Washington was also called a rebel, and an epithet became a badge of honor. The memory of Washington is further significant because he was a Virginian. The South held him up as their very own—a great military hero who was "foremost in war."

One of the more popular Confederate songs, "The Bonnie Blue Flag," continues in the same vein when Harry McCarthy wrote:

> Then here's to our Confederacy, strong we are and brave,
> Like patriots old we'll fight, our heritage to save;
> And rather than submit to shame, to die we would prefer,

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[31] "Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner, quoted in ibid., 350.

[32] For a discussion of icons and their importance for memory see Michael Frish, "American History and the Structures of Collective Memory," in *Memory and American History*, 1-26.

[33] "May God Save the Union," quoted in Glass, *Singing Soldiers*, 28-29. G. Douglas Brewerton, who was in fact a minister, like Julia Ward Howe before him, uses a religious theme in the song, appealing to an even higher level. The use of religious memory was not uncommon and is an example of the variances of memory that music brings forth.

[34] "God Save the South," quoted in Glass, *Singing Soldiers*, 30-31.

So cheer for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears the single star.[35]

Use of the founders of the nation could draw forth any number of memories, and was a constant patriotic subject of the songwriters of the Civil War. Moreover, the theme was not limited to either side of the Mason-Dixon Line. Just as both sides believed that God was on their side, so too they believed that they were the true conservators of the ideals of the founders. The song "The Union Wagon" reads:

The makers of our Union were men of solid wit,
They made it out of "Charter Oak" that would not rot or split.
Its wheels are of material, the strongest and the best,
And two are named the North and South, and two the East and West.

Our wagon bed is strong enough for any "revolution,"
In fact, 'tis the "hull" of the old "Constitution,"
Her coupling's strong, her axle's long, and any where you get her,
No monarch's frown can "back her down"—no Traitor can upset her.[36]

"The Union Wagon" reminded listeners of the "makers" of the Union who were of "solid wit," referring to the framers of the Constitution and the spirit of compromise that went into the document. The second stanza brings up the document itself and adroitly connects the planks of the Union and the Constitution to the "hull" of "Old Ironsides," the USS *Constitution* to give it added patriotic appeal.

The song "Take Your Gun and Go, John" continues this theme and adds to it. H. T. Merrill wrote:

I've heard my grandsire tell, John,
He fought at Bunker Hill,
He counted all his life and wealth
His country's off'ring still.
Would I shame the brave old blood, John,
That fought on Mammoth plain?
No! take your gun and go, John,
Tho' I never see you again.[37]

This song is significant for a number of reasons. First, it referenced the specific Battle of Bunker Hill (Breed's Hill), which had deep roots in American memory. It also mixed memory and guilt when it asked "would I shame the brave old blood." The song threatened to cast the dark shadow of dishonor upon a historical memory if one's duty to the Union was neglected. Third, the song connected memory and gender. The female exhorts her man to go off to war and defend the memory of her ancestors, even though she may lose her husband.

The song "Would You be a Soldier Laddy" continued the memory and sacrifice theme. It reads:

Do you want to be a soldier?
Now's the time to put in play
What your good old granny told you
Of Revolution day!
What had their brave jaws to chew?
Sometimes nothing,—what have you?
Jolly hardtack, tack, tack
The stuff you have to crack;
What had their brave jaws to chew?
Sometimes nothing,—what have you?
What's the jolly stuff we soldiers have to crack?
Hardtack, hardtack, hardtack![38]

This song called on the soldiers to remember the afflictions of those brave-jawed Revolutionary War soldiers. It exhorted the soldiers of the Civil War to continue to suffer their own hardships until the war was won.

Conclusion

Memory begins when something in the present stimulates an association with something in the past, and the songwriters of the Civil War denote a semi-organized attempt to

[35] "The Bonnie Blue Flag," quoted in Sibler, *Songs of the Civil War*, 65-67.

[36] "The Old Union Wagon," quoted in Lawrence, *Music for Patriots*, 390. The tune was based on the tune "Wait for the Wagon," an old folk song written by R. P. Buckley.

[37] "Take Your Gun and Go, John," quoted in Glass, Singing Soldiers, 112-14.

[38] "Would You be a Soldier Laddy," quoted in Dolph, *Sound Off*, 268-70.

reference a common patriotic past, re-present it to the public, and make it functional.[39] Therefore, the public memory of the Civil War generation, and all American generations, is not permanently defined; rather, it is continually constructed.[40]

The songwriters constructed memories by using the models of tune recollection and of patriotic memory, including the founding fathers of the country. In the framework of memory construction, and interpretation of those memories, the songwriters became very important.

A central theme that also must be dealt with is one of construction of memory, and not accuracy. A memory need not be true for it to have great power within a song or society. Andrew Jackson became a larger than life figure through the auspices of "The Hunters of Kentucky," and the founding fathers were anointed as near saints by various songs such as "May God Save the South," and "Would You Be A Soldier Laddy." Through the use of tune recollection and selective patriotic memory, the songs of the American Civil War helped to shape the public memory of generations of Americans.

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[39] Thelen, *Memory and American History*, X.
[40] Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 245.

THE MEANING OF MICKEY MANTLE

Ken De Marco

Mickey Mantle represented a confident postwar America. The kid from the Oklahoma lead mines was a natural who came to the most popular team in the greatest American sport. He went on to perform amazing feats, but from the beginning he suffered from self-doubt. His career spanned eighteen years and won him a place in the Hall of Fame in 1974. Mantle accomplished these career successes while in great pain. A psychohistorical portrait of Mickey Mantle shows that while his athletic ability was legendary, his personal life was a disappointment. He was afraid of dying young because of his family medical history. Mickey's father's death caused a bout of depression which led to his forty year battle with alcohol. Alcoholism prevented him from being a good husband and father. Years of abuse finally took their toll when, in 1995, Mantle succumbed to cancer.

"Every boy builds a shrine to some baseball hero, and before that shrine a candle always burns."

Former baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis

Mickey Mantle is a figure who is readily familiar to most men who passed through adolescence in the 1950s or early 1960s. Mantle played on baseball's most famous team in what many believe was baseball's greatest era, before cable television and the other major sports (football and basketball) enjoyed the prominence they do today. The nation's attention was fully focused every October during the World Series, and Mantle played in twelve World Series between 1951 and 1964. Furthermore, Mantle enjoyed the kind of storied career that few have: winning a Gold Glove, a Triple Crown, three Most Valuable Player awards, playing in sixteen All Star games and setting the career record for home runs in the World Series in his eighteen seasons as a

New York Yankee.[1] Mantle capped his career by being selected to Baseball's Hall of Fame on the first ballot in 1974. Sportscaster Bob Costas called Mickey Mantle the most compelling athlete of his era and Mantle is equally compelling today.[2]

Popular journalistic accounts and eulogies following his death in August of 1995 reveal Mickey Mantle as a tenacious, protean symbol appealing on multiple levels. Mantle has been represented as a hero in both rustic and sacred narratives; a symbol of white hopes when an increasing number of African Americans were entering the major leagues and challenging the long-standing white man's dominance of the national pastime; as well as symbolizing unlimited potential and reflecting the optimism of popular memories of the 1950's. More frequently, Mantle has been viewed as a symbol of masculinity as evidenced by his power and his heroism in playing with pain and the belief in his own imminent death. Following his battle with alcohol, a newer narrative emerged in which Mantle was able to discard an anachronistic style for a more culturally acceptable one by reevaluating the meaning of toughness and power. However, Mantle's conversion to evangelical Christianity in the last month of his life can be viewed as an attempt to overcome the pressures that were unique to his life as well as those specific to the way masculinity is constructed in American society. Thus it is my purpose in the following essay to explore the meanings and meaning of Mickey Mantle.

For many, Mantle is a symbol of sacred baseball. In this reading baseball's halcyon past is contrasted with the cool atheism of modern ballplayers whose approach to the game is dominated by vulgar market values. The sacred narratives are telling of the tension between work and play that has been a recurrent theme throughout the history of baseball.[3] Bob Costas noted: "I remember Mantle kneeling in the on-deck circle, that broad back, with the number 7 and the pinstripes. No one kneels in the on-deck circle anymore."[4] A popular theme in the sacred discourse is Mantle's ability and willingness to play with pain, a subject we will take up more fully.

One of the most tenacious themes in Mantle folklore regards his rustic origins. Former Yankee shortstop Tony Kubek noted: "Mick was never a contrived person. He brought a lot of Oklahoma with him to New York and never really changed.[5] Whitey Ford remembered that when Mantle showed up for his first spring training he carried all of his belongings in a straw

[1]Mantle played with the Yankees from 1951-1968, winning the MVP award in 1956, 1957, and 1962. He hit 536 home runs in his eighteen seasons and is the only player besides Jimmie Foxx to hit over 50 home runs and win the batting title (1956), though he hit less than .300 over the course of his career (.298). Injuries always played an important role in the Mantle discourses, and for good reason. He suffered his first serious injury in his first World Series in 1951 in a play involving three of the greatest center fielders of all time. Mantle tripped on a drain, attempting to avoid a collision with Joe DiMaggio on a ball hit off the bat of Willie Mays. In 1960 Mantle had a legitimate shot at breaking Babe Ruth's single season home run record but missed the last weeks of the season, leaving him with a total of 54. Mantle's teammate Roger Maris broke Ruth's record that year, hitting 61 home runs. Despite his numerous injuries Mantle still holds the record for most games played by a New York Yankee (2,401). Michael Gershman, "The Hundred Greatest Players," *Total Baseball: The Official Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball* (New York: Viking, 1995), 148. The best history of baseball from an academic perspective is generally considered to be the three volume edition by David Quentin Voigt, *American Baseball:* Vol. 1, *From the Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner's System*; Vol. 2, *From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion*; and Vol. 3, *From Postwar Expansion to the Electronic Age* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983).

[2]Bob Costas' eulogy of Mantle was reprinted in a number of newspapers throughout the country, among them *The Star Tribune*, 18 August 1994.

[3]To view the historic tensions in baseball over the problem of "professionalism" see Warren Goldstein, *Playing For Keeps: A History of Early Baseball* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989) and T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 65.

[4]Mickey Mantle and Mickey Herskowitz, *All My Octobers: My Memories of 12 World Series When the Yankees Ruled Baseball* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), xii. The introduction of this book was written by Bob Costas.

[5]Joseph Durso, "Mickey Mantle, The Great Yankee Slugger Dies at 63," *The New York Times,* 14 August 1995.

suitcase.[6] The function of the rustic narratives serves to uphold the myth of the self-made man and plays on the deference Americans have always shown to the frontier and the West.[7] The small land-owning farmer was the backbone of Jeffersonian politics, bearing the virtues and burdens of American democracy. The log cabin image became a necessity for the production of presidential timber. The transcendentalists removed themselves to Brook Farm to absorb the purity of being close to the soil. Near the end of the nineteenth century, Populists spoke of the farm as the linchpin of American culture. Frederick Jackson Turner spawned an entire generation of historians who sought the frontier as the basis of American culture. Teddy Roosevelt preached the manly virtues of roughing it, and Charles Lindbergh was praised as a simple farm boy from Minnesota. And how frequently do we witness Americans streaming down America's interstates in recreational vehicles, seeking to commune with nature and return to the soil all in air-conditioned comfort?[8] Ironically, Mantle himself becomes a sort of a frontiersman of a different stripe. In this reading, Mantle is cast as the hayseed who must learn to survive on the frontier of an urban metropolis—New York. Likewise, it seems significant that after his first seasons in professional baseball, Mantle would return to Commerce, Oklahoma and descend into the earth to work alongside his father in the zinc mines.[9]

A second part of Mantle lore surrounding his rustic origins is related to his emergence out of the Dust Bowl and consequently out of poverty, which undergirds an important American myth—the self-made man. Marshall Fishwick has noted that if democracy has become a secular religion, then the idea of the self-made man has become one its high priests.[10] The emphasis in America on self help and employment have always mixed nicely with factors like laizzez faire capitalism, the role of the frontier, Social Darwinism, and the effect of the land-man ratio in a nearly empty continent.[11] Similarly, much is made of Mantle's emergence from the Dust Bowl. Whitey Ford recalled how the Mantle family did not even have chairs in their home but instead sat on boxes.[12] Some have commented that one rather ominous function of the self-made man is as an instrument used by the middle class to smother social unrest by turning class or personal frustration into class or personal guilt, reducing the danger of social upheaval by directing working class anxiety inward.[13]

Clearly, a second, less sanguine aspect of the Mantle mythology is his appeal as a symbol of white supremacy. Mantle played in an era when to some it seemed that players from the Negro Leagues were eclipsing the white man's place in the national pastime. Racism was still very much a part of the game, even in the post-Jackie Robinson era. The National League was far quicker to integrate than the American. Between 1951 and 1961 nine of its eleven MVP's were Afro-Americans.[14] New stars from the Negro Leagues and from the minor leagues were emerging on major league rosters: Willie Mays, Larry Doby, Roy Campenella, Don Newcombe, Frank Robinson, Curt Flood, Henry Aaron, Ernie Banks, Bill White, and Jim Gilliam. Mantle's team, the Yankees, did not bring up its first Afro-American ballplayer, Elston Howard, until 1955.

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[6]Ibid.

[7]See Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in 20th Century America* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992).

[8]Richard Crepeau, *Baseball: America's Diamond Mind 1919-1941* (Orlando: University of Florida, 1980), 54.

[9]Roger Kahn, *The Era, 1947-1957* (New York: Ticker and Fields, 1993), 117.

[10]Marshall Fishwick, *American Heroes: Myth and Reality* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975), 86.

[11]Ibid, 86.

[12]Durso, *New York Times*.

[13]Fishwick, 92; T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), passim.

[14]The American League as a whole was much slower to integrate. Elston Howard was the first African American selected as the most valuable player in the American League in 1963.

Howard was selected very carefully. Sadly, the study of Howard's relationship to the Yankees is a model of what historians have called false consciousness, the idea that some persons can be so muddled by assimilation to dominant cultural discourse that they believe and behave against their own self interests.[15] Neither Dan Topping nor Del Webb, the Yankee owners, seemed to have much of a social conscience; Del Webb's construction company had built one of the concentration camps used to imprison Japanese Americans during World War II.[16] Though Howard was an extremely gifted catcher, other considerations entered into his selection by the Yankees. David Halberstam notes that: "Howard had the ability to bury within himself racial wounds inflicted by society."[17] Chosen because of his lack of aggressive attitudes on the question of race, Yankee ownership nevertheless, brought him up reluctantly. He never said anything when Yankee manager Casey Stengel referred to him as "nigger" or "eight ball." Jim Bouton, the former Yankee pitcher who had a penchant for liberal politics, painfully recalls how he and Howard's wife Arlene found themselves on the opposite side of Howard and elderly sports columnist Jimmy Canon on the question of civil rights.[18]

He came to a patch of grass consecrated by Joe DiMaggio.

David Kindred

Surely a bold appeal for Mantle's popularity on the basis of white supremacy alone is reductionistic and fallacious. One obvious appeal of Mantle is purely aesthetic. The year 1956 was the breakthrough year for Mantle. He won the Triple Crown that year by batting .353, hitting 52 home runs, and driving in 130 runs. That year established Mantle as a superstar and quelled the demons that Mantle had inherited by becoming the heir to the sacred ground that Joe DiMaggio formerly occupied. It is from this period that many of the folk narratives concerning Mantle's legendary athletic ability emerge.

In all likelihood, Mantle was the most physically gifted athlete ever to play baseball, combining devastating power with awesome speed. Even Willie Mays conceded that Mantle had greater power and speed than he.[19] His talent was eerie, his physical gifts Olympian. Former manager Casey Stengel said that Mantle ran faster than Cobb and hit further than Ruth: "There has never been anyone like this kid. He has more speed than any slugger and more slug than any speedster."[20] Infielders took no delight in this lethal combination of speed and power. If either the first or third basemen played deep, Mantle, who was also an excellent bunter, could drop down a bunt for an easy base hit. If they played in, respecting his speed, they were in danger of being maimed.

Much of this early lore is commingled with a nostalgic interpretation of the 1950s as an age of promise as well as our nation's last "age of innocence." Following Mantle's death, former Yankee teammate Jim Bouton argued that mourning Mantle was akin to mourning the 50s.[21]

Jackie Robinson's struggle and triumph represented the hard reality of the American dream in the 50s for Afro-Americans, but Mickey Mantle's power and grace let others escape into the fantasy of how far that dream could take America.[22] After a devastating

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[15]T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 3.

[16]Kahn, 189.

[17]David Halberstam, *October 1964* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1994), 233.

[18]Jim Bouton, *Ball Four: My Life and Hard Times Throwing the Knuckleball in the Big Leagues* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1970), 88.

[19]Mays did note, however, that he felt that he had a better arm and was a better defensive outfielder than Mantle in an interview with Bob Costas for NBC radio.

[20]Robert W. Creamer, *Stengel: His Life and Times* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), 242.

[21]Mark Herrmann, "The Windup: Happier Times for the Munson's," *Newsday*, 20 August 1995.

[22]The best biography of Jackie Robinson's life is generally considered to be Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment:*

depression and winning a war, Americans in the 50s looked at an country that seemed full of promise. From polio vaccination to space exploration, the spirit of the 50s was one of unbridled optimism.[23] The Cold War, McCarthyism, mass conformity and the infantilization of women were buried in a flood of nostalgia.[24] Mantle's seemingly unlimited potential reflected that optimism, and his unaffected, rural, Oklahoman, country boy manner and shock of blond hair reinforced the myth of Algerism.

> He was a presence in our lives—a fragile hero to whom we had an emotional attachment so strong and lasting it defied logic. Mickey often said he didn't understand it, this enduring connection and affection for men now in their 40s and 50s, otherwise perfectly sensible, who went dry in the mouth and stammered like schoolboys in the presence of Mickey Mantle.
>
> *Bob Costas*

A number of widely circulated Mantle stories are shrouded in the mythology of initiation into manhood. Indeed, Bob Costas remarked at Mantle's funeral:

> We knew there was something poignant about Mickey Mantle before we knew what poignant meant....Long before we ever cracked a serious book we knew something about mythology as we watched Mickey Mantle run out a home run through the lengthening shadows of a late Sunday afternoon at Yankee Stadium.[25]

Robert Bly, in his book *Iron John*, emphasizes the significance of myth to cultural understanding and is especially concerned with initiation myths. Bly emphasizes the universal elements in male initiation, identifying the universal elements in two central components. The first involves a clean break with the parents by the initiate after which the novice enters a forest, desert, or wilderness. The second component of the myth involves a wound the mentor gives the boy. Initiators do not inflict meaningless pain, but the pain reverberates from a rich source of meaning. Through the gifting of the wound the initiate finds his genius.[26]

Two important initiation myths are often told regarding Mantle's early career. Mickey Mantle related the story of how after being drafted by the Yankees he was immediately brought to the big leagues only to falter and be sent down to Kansas City in the minor leagues in the hope that he would regain his confidence. But Mantle continued to struggle and in despair called his father in Oklahoma. Mantle's father, Mutt, immediately drove to Kansas City, entered his son's room, and began throwing his son's belongings into a straw suitcase. When Mantle asked what his father was doing, his father responded: "I thought I raised a man, but you're nothing but a coward." As the myth goes, Mutt Mantle's wound was the medicine or "gift" that young Mickey needed. Mickey stopped feeling sorry for himself and went on a tear, hitting .361 before being recalled to the Yankees that August. Two months later, in October, Mantle was playing in his first World Series game.[27]

More than one commentator has observed the necessity that masculinity consistently be

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Jackie Robinson and his Legacy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

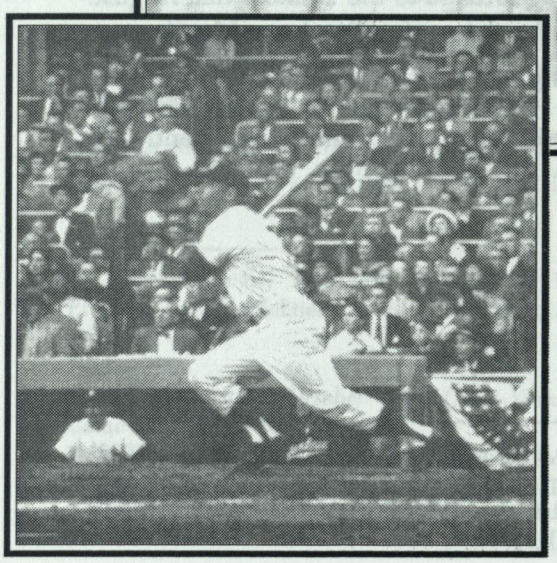
[23]David Hinkley, "Yankee Star: A Symbol of Happier Days," *New York Daily News*, 14 August 1995.

[24]On the Cold War, see Paul Boyer, *By the Bombs Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); on the infantilization of women see Betty Frieden, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963); and on conformity spawned by suburbanization, Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[25]Costas, [Eulogy].

[26]Robert Bly, *Iron John* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 28.

[27]David Halberstam, *October 1964* (New York: Ballatine Books, 1994), 91.



Top: *Mickey Mantle reflecting a time when the NY Yankees were winning.*
Left: *Mantle following through on a left-handed swing.*
Mantle, **Education of a Baseball Player, 1967**

revalidated.[28] Nowhere is this more evident than the world of professional sports, where athletes find themselves in a Sysphisian struggle to prove their worthiness. This problem would haunt Mantle his entire adult life and was particularly acute playing in New York under such enormous expectations. For Mantle, any seemingly successfully negotiation through a rite of passage is ultimately transitory.

The second important initiation myth is related by Roger Kahn and corresponds roughly to the story of Oedipus. Playing in his second World Series in 1952 against the Brooklyn Dodgers and one of his boyhood heroes, Pee Wee Reese, Mantle slid hard into Reese to break up a double play. As Reese came tumbling down on top of him, Mantle later related: "All I could think was, 'Oh my God, I've killed my idol'."[29] According to this reading, Reese functions as a father figure of sorts, and Mantle cannot come into his own as a player until he can metaphorically "kill the father." It was critical for Mantle to get beyond mere star gazing and realize that he had the ability to compete against, and triumph over, players he had idolized as an adolescent. Though Mantle had played nearly two full years in the major leagues, he had yet to even come close to fulfilling the enormous expectations that the Yankee organization had laid upon his shoulders. In his first World Series in 1951, Mantle had only five at bats after tearing up his knee in the second game. Mantle's own father died before the 1952 season of Hodgkin's disease at the age of thirty-nine. Mantle hit .345 with two home runs in the 1952 World Series.[30]

The early initiation myths of Mantle's career reveal Mantle as a role model for manhood as any number of men who grew up in the fifties would attest. Indeed, Billy Crystal acknowledged that at his Bar Mitzvah, a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood in the Jewish faith, he spoke in an Oklahoman drawl and that "to this day I still limp like him."[31]

> The first time I saw Mantle I knew how Paul Krichell felt when he first saw Lou Gerhig. He knew that as a scout he would never have another moment like this. I felt the same way about Mantle.
>
> *Tom Greenwade*

Richard Hoffer interprets Mantle as a symbol of Cold War masculinity: "in studying Mantle we see America's romance with boldness, its celebration of muscle, and a continent's comfort in power during an era when might did make right."[32]

Consequently, many of the popular memories focus on the incredible power that Mantle could generate. Ted Williams said the crack of Mantle's bat sounded like an explosion. Former pitcher Jim Kaat noted: "When he took BP (batting practice), everybody would kind of stop what they were doing and watch."[33] Other players hit home runs; Mantle hit conversation pieces. Mel Stottlemeyer recalls a Mantle home run against Chicago at Yankee stadium. The wind was blowing out slightly and Mantle thought he hadn't gotten all of it. A look of disgust flashed across his face. It appeared to Stottlemeyer that he had come very close to slamming his bat to the ground in anger, yet the ball kept going, over the centerfielder's head, over the fence, over the monuments of Ruth and Gerhig, and over a thirty foot screen some 502 feet from home plate. Mantle was embarrassed. Stottlemeyer was in awe. Recalling the look of

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[28]On the need of men to constantly reify masculinity, see Tom Wolfe, *The Right Stuff* (New York: Bantam Books, 1980). I am also indebted to Karen Lystra for her comments in the class, *The American Male*, CSUF, Fall 1995.

[29]Roger Kahn, *The Era, 1947-57: When the Yankees, Giants, and Dodgers Ruled the World* (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1993), 244.

[30]Mantle and Herskowitz, 13.

[31]Costas, [Eulogy].

[32]Richard Hoffer, "Mickey Mantle: The Legacy of the Last Great Player on the Last Great Team," *Sports Illustrated*, 21 August1995, 25.

[33]"Mickey Mantle at a Glance, " *The Orange County Register*, 14 August 1995.

disgust on Mantle's face, Stottlemeyer reflected: "If that's not far enough, what is?"[34]

Mantle was noted more for his tape measure home runs than for any other aspect of his game. As a young nineteen year-old prospect in 1951, Mantle reputably hit a home run that traveled 600 feet in an exhibition game at the University of Southern California.[35] He relished the thought that he might be the first to hit a fair baseball out of Yankee Stadium.[36] He came very close on two occasions. In 1956 Mantle hit the roof of Yankee stadium, only 18 inches short of leaving the stadium. Late in his career in 1963 he delivered what was probably the hardest blow of his career when he hit a ball off the top of the facade in right field

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There was greatness in him, but vulnerability too.

Bob Costas

The popular narratives from the later part of Mantle's career emphasize Mantle's heroism in the face of chronic pain. Mantle's prodigious blasts were heroically backlit by chronic injury and the fear of his own imminent death. Like a folk hero of another era (John Henry), Mantle believed he faced imminent death. Mantle's fatalism was derived from his family history in which the men considered themselves fortunate if they lived to see their fortieth birthday. Mantle's father, grandfather, and two uncles all died of Hodgkin's disease before the age of forty-one, and Mantle's own son was stricken with Hodgkin's disease at nineteen and died at age thirty-six.[37] Mantle would often complain: "If I had known I would have lived this long, I would have taken better care of myself."[38]

Former teammate Clete Boyer, commenting on Mantle's ability to play with incredible pain, noted: "He's the only baseball player I know who is a bigger hero to his teammates than to the fans."[39] Mantle had five operations on his right knee alone and in all suffered fifteen fractures, injuries, or surgeries. Ironically, Mantle was rejected three times for military service.[40]

Mantle's ability to play with tremendous pain was the staple of Yankee clubhouse lore. He often made light of his injuries, as during the 1965 season with then Yankee manager Johnny Keane:

Keane: How do your legs feel today Mick?

Mantle: Not too good.

Keane: Yes, but how do they feel?

Mantle: It hurts when I run, the right one especially. I can't stride on it or anything.

Keane: Well, do you think you can play?

Mantle: I don't know. I guess I can play. Yeah, hell, what the hell. Sure I can play.

Keane: Good. Great. We need you in there. Unless you're hurt—unless it really hurts you. I don't want you to play if you're hurt.

Mantle: No it's okay. I'll watch it.

Keane: Good, good. We sure need you.

Mantle and teammate Jim Bouton delighted in parodying Keane:

Bouton(As Johnny Keane): Mick, how does your leg feel?

Mantle: Well, its severed at the knee.

Bouton: Yes, but does it hurt?

Mantle: No, I scotch taped it back into place.

Bouton: And how's your back?

Mantle: My back is broken in seven places.

Bouton: Can you swing the bat?

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[34]Halberstam, 248.

[35]Ibid., 89.

[36]To get a better appreciation for Mantle's power it should be noted that in the 1995 season no player hit a home run even 500 ft. To this date nobody has ever hit a fair ball out of Yankee Stadium.

[37]See Halberstam, 317, on Mantle's family history of Hodgkin's disease. Billy Mantle died from a heart attack resulting from drug addiction to pain killers that he took to relieve the pain brought on by Hodgkin's disease.

[38]Mickey Herskowitz, "Mickey Mantle 1931-1995; Mickey Mantle Dies of Cancer; Baseball Legend, 63, One of the Greatest Players of all Time," *Houston Chronicle*, 14 August 1995.

[39]Halberstam, 71.

[40]Creamer, 244.

Mantle: Yeah, I can swing. If I can find some more scotch tape.

Bouton: Great. Well, get in there then. We need you.[41]

In a number of ways pain seemed to be a metaphor for Mantle's life—the pain that racked his body and the pain that tormented his soul. In many ways a simple country boy, Mantle was ill at ease with the demands of stardom. His father named him after former Philadelphia A's catcher Mickey Cochrane, whose nickname was appropriately "Black Mike" for the rage that filled him when slumping. Likewise, when slumping, Mantle turned ugly, a massive man filled with a black rage at himself and the world around him. The darker side of Mantle's disposition never became public until 1970 with the release of Jim Bouton's iconoclastic best-seller, *Ball Four*. By today's standards the book would seem tame. It chronicled heavy drinking, carousing, and amphetamine use by professional ballplayers. Bouton also had some unflattering things to say about Mantle:

> ...there were all those times when he'd push little kids aside when they wanted his autograph, and times when he was snotty to reporters, just about making them crawl and beg for a minute of his time. ... and I hated that look of his, when he'd get angry at somebody and cut them down with a glare.[42]

Mantle's use of alcohol began in 1952, the year of his father's death, and snowballed until he received treatment at the Betty Ford Clinic in 1994. Mantle generated income during the last years of his life by signing autographs at memorabilia and card shows. Often he would black out as a result of his increasingly heavy drinking, forgetting the day, month, even the city he was in. At an event for charity sponsored by the Harbor Club Children's Christmas Fund in Atlanta in December of 1993, Mantle could not remember the name of the minister presiding over the event and loudly blurted out, "the Fucking Preacher!!!"[43] Mantle's longtime best friend, former teammate and drinking buddy Billy Martin, was killed in a drunk driving accident on Christmas Day, 1989. Though Mantle had been Martin's best man at his wedding in 1988, he was so drunk he could not remember the wedding.[44]

Much of the pain Mantle undoubtedly felt was experienced in terrible recurring anxiety dreams. In one he would arrive at the ballpark late to find the game had started without him and he would have to find some way to get through the fence to play with his teammates. In another he would arrive at the stadium just in time to come to bat. He would hit the ball hard but was somehow immobilized at the plate and would be thrown out at first base from the outfield.[45] Mantle made little time for his family and rated himself a bush leaguer as both a father and husband. He left on a hunting trip with Billy Martin just prior to the birth of his third son, Billy (named after Martin). Consequently he felt guilty in 1985 when former teammate Roger Maris died of cancer at the age of fifty-one, in part because Maris had been so much better a family man than he. Mantle's wife, Merlyn, and sons David and Danny were all alcoholics. Mantle's relationship to his sons was as drinking buddies. Mantle would later confess:

> They all drank too much because of me. We don't have normal father-son relationships. When they were growing up, I was playing baseball, and after I retired I was too busy traveling around being Mickey Mantle. We never played catch in the backyard. But when they were old enough to drink we became drinking buddies. When we were together it kind of felt like the old days with Whitey and Billy.[46]

[41]Bouton, 48.
[42]Ibid., 30.
[43]Mickey Mantle, "I Was Killing Myself: My Life as an Alcoholic," *Sports Illustrated*, 18 April 1994, 72.
[44]Durso, *Times*, 14 August 1995.
[45]Halberstam, 368. One possible interpretation for Mantle's recurring dreams is that his style of masculinity had become irrelevant, as is evidenced by the first dream in which he can no longer get "into the game". In the second dream, his style of masculinity has immobilized him.
[46]Mantle, "I Was Killing Myself", 76.

A third son, Billy, whose Hodgkin's disease was in remission, became addicted to pain killers, was in and out of rehab for drug addiction and alcoholism, had a heart attack and died at age thirty-six only two weeks after Mantle was released from the Betty Ford clinic.[47]

In a number of ways Mantle was a prisoner of the 1950's sense of masculinity. Robert Bly might have been describing Mantle when he described the prototypical 1950s male as one who got to work early, labored responsibly, supported his wife and children, and admired discipline. The majority of men of this era, Bly argues, did not see women's souls though they appreciated their bodies. Underneath the charm and bluff there was, and still remains, much isolation, deprivation and passivity. Unless the fifties man has an enemy (we might argue someone to compete against) he isn't sure he is alive.[48] Receptive space and intimate space were lacking. Others have noted that even drunkenness had a kind of high life cachet in the 50s. It was manly and glamorous inasmuch as you were a stand up guy who could be counted on to perform.[49] In hindsight, without benefit of historical perspective, Mantle seems a grotesquely pathetic figure, a perpetual adolescent, a boor, and a lout. Beneath all the charm and swagger was a child. After all, his pals (Billy and Whitey) had little boys' names.

Come to me all you who are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn from me for I am gentle and lowly in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light.

Matthew 11:28-30

We wanted to tell him that it was OK, that what he had been was enough. We hoped he felt that Mutt Mantle would have understood and that Merlyn and the boys loved him.

Bob Costas

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[47]Ibid., 77.
[48]Bly, 1.
[49]Hoffer, 26.

The 50s standard of masculinity worked well for Mantle. Nobody questioned his drunkenness, his infidelities, his fear of intimacy, or his failings as a father. But when the cultural standards of masculinity changed Mantle, a hero of the 50s began to look anachronistic and boorish in the 90s.[50] The ability of Mantle to remain a hero was dependent upon his ability to recast himself in a more relevant style of masculinity.[51] In his interview with *Sports Illustrated* in April of 1994, Mantle confessed to failing as a father and husband, in his commitment to his sobriety and to becoming a better father, husband and grandfather.[52]

Mantle's public persona was redeemed after he checked himself into the Betty Ford Clinic following his wife, Merlyn, and son, Danny, who had preceded him by three months.[53] Boyhood friend and former New York Giant football star, Pat Summeral, who was treated for alcoholism at the Betty Ford Clinic, recalls Mantle's first halting attempts to get help:

> He started asking me about the clinic ... We talked about a lot of things from the drinking to the importance of religion. We spent a lot of hours talking and crying.[54]

Still Mantle was reluctant:

> I don't talk much, and I wasn't sure I wanted to get into a situation at Betty Ford where I'd have to talk about my feelings. I was afraid I was going to cry in front of strangers, and I thought people

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[50]It should be pointed out that though Mantle's drinking problem dated back to his years as a player on the Yankees, public knowledge of his drinking was not revealed until after he checked himself into the Betty Ford Clinic, which allowed Mantle to enjoy his status as a hero while he was steeped in alcoholism.
[51]Mark Gerzon, *A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Face of American Manhood* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982) 1-8.
[52]Mantle, "I Was Killing Myself", 69-77.
[53]Richard Jerome, "Courage at the End of the Road", *People Magazine*, 28 August 1995, 80-81.
[54]Jerome, 80.

> would think less of me. Mickey Mantle shouldn't cry.[55]

Mantle felt that much of the source of his alcoholism focused around his relationship to his father. He started drinking in 1952 after his father's death to escape the pain of his loss.[56] He later confessed that his drinking increased in the aftermath of his baseball career because he felt as though he never fulfilled his father's expectations.[57] Part of Mantle's therapy was to write a letter to his father:

> You talk about sad. It took only 10 minutes to write the letter, and I cried the whole time. But after it was over I felt better. I loved my father, although I couldn't tell him that, just like he couldn't tell me. He'd put his arm around me and hug me, but he'd be playing a joke at the same time, kicking me in the butt with his foot. But I knew he loved me...(in the letter) I said that I missed him and I wished he could have lived to see that I did a whole lot better after my rookie season with the Yankees—and I told him that I loved him. I would have been better off if I could have told him that a long time ago.[58]

Mantle's relationship with his father was profoundly ambivalent. Clearly Mantle loved his father but at some level seemed to resent his father's compulsion to make him such a great ballplayer. We find a window into the nature of that ambivalence in the relationship that developed between Mantle and his former manager, Casey Stengel. Though there are a number of parallels between Stengel and Mutt Mantle, the most important is that Stengel was the major male figure in Mantle's life following the death of his father when Mantle was but twenty. After his father's death, Mantle was determined not to allow any other man to dominate him the way his own father had. Robert Creamer has commented that the relationship between Mantle and his father was a genuine father-son relationship—that of an angry father and a stubborn son.[59] Mantle's defiance of Stengel was not open but came silently in not listening and not paying attention. Perhaps the most creative and innovative mind in baseball, and blessed with the most gifted athlete of the era, the source of Stengel's frustration was that he could never seem to reach Mantle. Mickey himself admitted: "I never learned anything." Stengel wanted to leave his name in the record books as a manager (and he did), but he also wanted to leave behind a player with his imprimatur, much like John McGraw had done with Mel Ott, doing things that no other ballplayer ever did, rewriting all the records. Mantle would not have it.

Mantle emerged from the Betty Ford Clinic committed to his sobriety and to being a better father and husband:

> I'm going to try and be a good father and good grandfather. I'm going to spend more time with them and tell them that I love them. I'd rather put a gun to my head than have another drink. For all those years I lived a life of somebody I didn't know—a cartoon character, from now on Mickey Mantle is going to be a real person.[60]

Though Mantle would uphold his promise to be a better family man and remain sober, he only lived another year.

Ultimately, "regeneration through the Betty Ford Clinic" proved to be inadequate for Mantle, and in the last month of his life he converted to evangelical Christianity with the guidance of former teammate and lay minister Bobby Richardson.[61] Ironically, Mantle disdainfully referred to Richardson as a "milk drinker" during their playing days.[62]

It is difficult to gauge the meaning of Mantle's near-deathbed conversion to Christianity. One obvious interpretation is that it

[55]Mantle, "I Was Killing Myself", 71.
[56]Ibid., 72.
[57]Ibid., 77.
[58]Ibid.
[59]Creamer, 258.

[60]Mantle, 77.
[61]Richardson also presided over Mantle's funeral.
[62]John Thorn and Pete Palmer, eds., *Total Baseball: The Official Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball* (New York: Viking, 1995), 1222. Though Richardson might have been a milk drinker, he was no milquetoast. Richardson was voted to the All-Star team seven times in his twelve-year career. Much of the tension between Mantle and Richardson was because the Yankees traded away the volatile Martin (who was Mantle's best friend) in favor of the better fielding and more serene Richardson.

alleviated Mantle's fears of death. However, another plausible interpretation is that the theology of evangelicalism with its emphasis on grace had a profound appeal to Mantle, who lived under the constant shadow of frustrated expectations. As great as his baseball career was, Mantle was dogged by the potential he was never fully able to deliver, except sporadically. For all the hype, by his own admission, he was not even the best player of his generation.[63] Indeed much of the discourse even after his death is speculative of what kind of career Mantle might have had he not injured his knee in 1951 or if he had drank and caroused less. Casey Stengel once thought that Mantle would be the greatest player that had ever played the game, yet when Stengel was asked to form a team of the greatest players of all time he excluded Mantle.[64] The expectations of his father haunted Mantle long after his death, as was evident by the letter Mantle wrote his father at the Betty Ford Clinic. The media poured an avalanche of attention on Mantle both as a player in New York and after his revelation of alcoholism, leading one commentator to argue that Mantle died groveling in repentance.[65] Mantle's appeal to transcendent religion was a statement of resignation—resignation from the stifling confines of expectation that dogged him from early youth—and is profoundly instructive of the manner in which masculinity is constructed in American society.

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[63]Mantle thought that both Willie Mays and Henry Aaron had superior careers.

[64]Creamer, 260.

[65]Chet Whye Jr., "With Garcia and Mantle Gone America Must Get Over a Last Obsession", *The Denver Post*, 17 August 1995.

THE DREAMER CONFRONTS THE NIGHTMARE:

Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Vietnam War

David John Marley

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. evolved in the early 1960s from the leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference into a national figure with visible support from the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Dr. King did not focus on the expanding Vietnam War in order to obtain presidential support for the Movement's causes. But as the immorality of the war tore at his soul, King broke with the president, denouncing the war. King continued on his anti-war campaign through 1967 but met with venom and hatred, causing him to go into deep cynicism and sadness. While King's words and actions did not affect the Vietnam War, his determination to live by his beliefs and convictions influenced generations.

Andrew Young thought it was a firecracker.

Ralph Abernathy thought it was a car backfiring.

When Abernathy turned around and looked past the open doorway, he saw King stretched out on the motel balcony floor in a growing pool of blood. He knew the day had finally come. Abernathy ran to King, held him in his arms and consoled his best friend as he lay dying. Abernathy recalled that King's "eyes grew calm and he moved his lips. I was certain he understood and was trying to say something. Then, I saw the understanding drain from his eyes and leave them empty."[1] Twenty minutes later Martin Luther King, Jr. was officially declared dead. One of the greatest leaders in America's history was gone, his greatest crusade left unfinished.

King had paid the ultimate price for following his beliefs and his calling to the utmost of his abilities. The final twelve months of his life had been spent in a struggle against President Lyndon Johnson and the Vietnam War. It now appeared that LBJ had won, or at least was going to benefit from having one less vocal opponent around to challenge his authority. King had tried in 1965 to denounce the war but backed down under pressure. His resolution to stay true to his beliefs had caused him to once again speak out. While the ultimate end of this stance was a martyr's grave in Atlanta, it also helped to strike a blow against America's blind allegiance to an ill-conceived war that had worked to marginalize the Civil Rights Movement.

[1] Ralph David Abernathy, *And The Walls Came Tumbling Down* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 442.

The Birth of Non-Violence

The flowering of King's anti-war sentiments in the spring of 1967 had roots that extended deep into his ministerial training. King's first book, written in 1958 about the Montgomery Bus Boycott, had a chapter detailing his "pilgrimage to non-violence." While attending Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania, he explained that he had gone to a lecture on Ghandi, and his life was changed. King later wrote that the ethics of Jesus had taken on a new meaning:

> Prior to reading Ghandi, I had about concluded that the ethics of Jesus were only effective in an individual relationship. The "turn the other cheek" philosophy and the "love your enemies" philosophy were only valid, I felt, when individuals were in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and nations were in conflict a persuasive approach seemed necessary, but after reading Ghandi, I saw how utterly mistaken I was.[2]

Even at this early stage, a full decade before King denounced Vietnam, his anti-war stance was open to public scrutiny. Later in his studies, King read Henry D. Thoreau, Paul Tillich, and Reinhold Niebuhr. These men had a great influence on King. In fact, "Thoreau's 'Essay on Civil Disobedience' concept of not cooperating with an evil system so fascinated young King that he re-read the essay several times."[3]

King's ethic of nonviolence transcended the personal one-on-one relationships of blacks at a lunch counter or at segregated schools. Nations, he believed, could contend with each other as people did. The anti-war sentiment that King had developed in his college years could not be suppressed when his mind became clear on the Vietnam issue, it could only be delayed by those who had the power to help the Civil Rights Movement. Once these people cooled their support, their influence over King dissipated. King's allegiance to pacifism is further evidenced by his choice in a spouse. Coretta was an ardent pacifist, even more so than her husband, a point that will be examined more later.

The quiet pastorate that King had hoped for was soon ruined by the clamor of segregation and his people's resistance to it. Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, King worked in many places across the South: St. Augustine, Mobile, Atlanta, and Albany. Each city had felt waves of anger and resistance that accompanied the non-violent protests of the Civil Rights Movement. For nearly ten years King and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), worked mainly in the South, rarely going above the Mason-Dixon Line. As the sixties dawned, however, the orientation of the movement changed to a national level.

The presidential election of 1960 helped put King in the national spotlight. When King was jailed in Atlanta, presidential candidate John F. Kennedy secured the crucial African-American vote when his brother Bobby called the arresting sheriff and had King released.[4] During the brief Kennedy administration, King met with the president during the signing of some minor civil rights legislation. The Vietnam War did not enter into King's consciousness or his sermons until after Kennedy's assassination and the ascendancy of fellow southerner Lyndon Johnson to the White House.

The small scale of the early phases of the Vietnam War did not seem to bother King. Despite his pacifism, the war could not override his overwhelming job as leader of the Civil Rights Movement. King's increasing political influence caused him to move beyond mere legislative changes and work for the whole of society. "In King's view the first phase of the movements had been a struggle to treat blacks with decency, the second phase of the struggle was an attempt to implement the legislative gains of the previous decade."[5] This growing awareness of his national significance was manifested by his increasingly frequent trips to the North. Then in

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[2] Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986), 96-97.

[3] William D. Watley, *Roots of Resistance* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1985), 48.

[4] Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1978), 216-218.

[5] Watley, 48.

1964, King was further propelled into the international spotlight by several events.

The January 3, 1964 issue of *Time* magazine proclaimed Martin Luther King, Jr. as the "Man of the Year,"[6] honoring his achievements across the South and recognizing his growing importance in the North. King and his counterparts in other black groups were seen as the reasonable leaders of an otherwise turbulent movement. Their Christian ethics were a comfortable alternative to the violence of Malcolm X's Nation of Islam, and the anarchy and power struggles of the Black Power Movement. Most prominent black groups feared to show any disloyalty to President Johnson, who could be very vindictive. Previously, this had not been a problem, as there had been no conflict great enough to break this important link. But by the mid-sixties, "The protest against U. S. policy in Vietnam has been primarily made on moral grounds, as was the demand for Civil Rights, there has been an inevitable coincidence of the two movements on various levels."[7] The same moral concepts that led King and other African-Americans to oppose segregation drove King to view the war as wrong. He kept his beliefs, for the time being, to himself, for the war was still small and Johnson's support was still vital to the success of the movement.

In the fall of 1964, King was notified that he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He was no longer merely a black or a southerner or even an American. He was a man who represented a new and powerful moral force, and now that force had been granted international prominence. King "welcomed the Nobel award as a recognition of the international status of the movement, (and it had started as) a fundamental growth in King's own sense of mission and willingness to accept a prophetic role."[8]

The responsibility that King felt about accepting the Nobel Prize weighed heavily upon his shoulders. From late 1964 until his death three and a half years later, King would comment on how he saw the award as a calling to do more. His sermons, speeches, and books were time and again returning to that theme. He saw the Nobel Peace Prize as a "commission to continue to seek peace, not only on a national scale but at the international level as well. (He believed he had) a moral obligation, and a world wide mandate, to speak against what he believed to be a serious moral violation in the Vietnam War."[9] Still, for all this moral conviction, King was reluctant to meet with LBJ; the political cost was still too high. While in Oslo, Norway, to accept the Prize, he sheepishly shrugged off questions about American involvement in Vietnam.[10] King's award coincided with a fundamental shift in American thought. By early 1965 the Vietnam War was replacing civil rights as a national priority.

January 7, 1965, a month before his murder, Malcolm X was asked what he thought of Vietnam. He said, "It's a shame . . . it's just a trap they let themselves into." He then expressed the problem that would later plague King until his death. The problem with protesting the war, said Malcolm X, was that "if we say that (the war is wrong), we're un-American, or we're seditious. . . or we're saying something that's not intelligent."[11] Malcolm X, like Martin Luther King later, would question the moral validity of the war and come to realize that the powers that be were only interested in political arguments.

In the early days of protesting the Vietnam War, there was anything but a consensus on its goals and purpose for being. The more radical elements (those who had little to lose) opposed the war, while the more established groups felt obligated to support the Johnson administration. At this stage in 1964-5, King was in the latter

[6]Flip Schulke and Penelope Ornter McPhee, *King Remembered* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1986), 291.

[7]Clyde Taylor, ed., *Vietnam and Black America* (New York: Anchor Books, 1973), 67.

[8]Peter J. Albert and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *We Shall Overcome* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 25.

[9]Ervin Smith, *The Ethics of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1981), 128.

[10]David Lewis, *King, A Critical Biography* (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1970), 260.

[11]Taylor, 59-60.

group, even if his heart and soul were not. Even in this early stage, King was still unwilling to go against the advice of his staff, the SCLC, or most importantly against LBJ. He was still considered primarily as a civil rights worker. Although King refused to campaign against the war openly, he would often refer to the "wrongness" of war in his sermons, though none of the sermons dealt specifically with Vietnam.[12]

During this uneasy period, and until King finally spoke out against the war, a source of vicarious protest was found in his wife Coretta. After King received the Nobel Prize, Coretta often told him, "I think there is a role you must play in achieving world peace, and I will be so glad when the time comes when you can assume that role."[13] Coretta had been pacifist since her time at Antioch College, even before she had met King. She was active in the Women's Strike for Peace and the Women's League for Peace and Freedom. Moreover, "She never had a moment's doubt about Martin's position and always encouraged him to persist." In the period when King "attempted to separate the peace and Civil Rights movements, his wife made a number of speeches on Vietnam for him."[14] She was not bound by the same commitments or forced to make, or not make, stands that could affect the SCLC. In November of 1965, Coretta spoke at the largest peace demonstration of the war so far. On the flight back from New York, she talked with Dr. Benjamin Spock, who told her that he considered King to be "the most important symbol for peace in the country."[15] Dr. Spock encouraged Coretta to get King to oppose the war in a full-time capacity, and he pledged his support for such an endeavor.

Moments of Indecision

With his newfound international prestige and the support of his wife, King began to attack the Vietnam War in early 1965. They were timid attempts and without deep reflection, but they were an honest appraisal of his feelings at the time. King's friend Bayard Rustin wrote, "The Vietnam War had created disunity in the Civil Rights Movement; it has caused many liberals to abandon the movement and concentrate their energies in anti-war activities."[16] In speeches in Los Angeles and Virginia and in his sermons, King briefly denounced the violence of war, being careful to stay clear of attacking the president directly. His proposals were simple ones, for the war was not yet his focus. King believed at this point that "the American bombing should stop, all parties should go to the conference center, and the Chinese and North Vietnamese. . . should soften their demands for unilateral withdrawal of American military forces."[17] These were hardly revolutionary ideas. Yet the war was still immensely popular with the majority of Americans and the media, so the Johnson administration moved quickly to stop King in his tracks.

Vietnam was increasingly becoming the focus of American attention, and King was perceived as less powerful and influential as he had once been. *Newsweek* magazine reported, "His magic was diminishing among young volunteers for whom protesting the war in Vietnam has replaced Civil Rights as a top priority."[18] For King, a more serious problem was posed by the war; it was "partly responsible for the growing disillusionment with non-violence among Negroes."[19] These were the reasons that King decided to speak out, even though he had not developed a strict policy on how to deal with the war.

Even the administration viewed King and his movement as less significant than the quickly-widening war. LBJ realized that Southern

[12]Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer, eds., *Voices of Freedom* (New York: Bantam Books, 1990), 25.
[13]Coretta Scott King, *My Life With Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969), 292.
[14]Watley, 102; Lewis, 305.
[15]Coretta Scott King, 393-94.
[16]Bayard Rustin, *Down the Line: The Collected Works of Bayard Rustin* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), 196.
[17]Richard Lentz, *Symbols, The News Magazines, and Martin Luther King* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 176.
[18]Ibid., 227.
[19]Rustin, 160.

congressmen couldn't realistically hope to defeat his civil rights agenda, but his actions still "entailed political dangers," as the congressmen would "enact their political revenge should LBJ stumble and lose Vietnam."[20] That was too high of a price to pay. Many American presidents had been considered successful without passing civil rights legislation, but none had ever lost a war. Still, Johnson had done more than any president since Lincoln to help African-Americans. While in the Senate, he was one of two Southern congressmen who refused to sign the Southern Manifesto. Since entering the oval office, he had signed strong civil rights acts and backed them up with federal money and even the military. He never understood why the Watts riots broke out just days after the signing of the Voting Rights Act of 1964, and he couldn't understand why King would turn his back on him now. LBJ had suffered in the South for supporting civil rights, and he needed to be assured of continuing support from the black leaders. The president was convinced that his help had kept King in the spotlight. He could not understand why King would publicly question him on foreign policy concerns.

When Johnson heard that King had been making anti-Vietnam comments and speeches, he stormed around the oval office yelling, "What is that preacher doing to me?" After listing all the legislation he had worked on, he finished by saying, "What more does he want?"[21] About this time, Johnson unleashed a friendly attack in a successful attempt to bring King back into the fold. Up to this point, they had had a cool but non-hostile relationship, each one needing the other in order to achieve their own goals.

The assault started with George Weaver, the assistant Secretary of Labor, who was black. In a speech, he assailed those civil rights workers who "pass foreign policy judgments." As David L. Lewis pointed out, "Martin was not mentioned but the direction of the administrational inspired message was clear."[22] The FBI, headed by virulent King hater J. Edgar Hoover, moved into its third, final, and most aggressive phase of its investigations of King. In his early years, they were primarily concerned with possible communist infiltration of the SCLC. Later they tried to use King's private life to destroy him. Failing that, the FBI, still under the guise of "looking for communists," started to closely follow the "political" activities of King to see what threat he posed to LBJ and his power.[23]

With the attacks underway, LBJ called King and spoke to him about Vietnam for the first and only time. He asked King to meet with Arthur Goldberg, the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., and King agreed to the "briefing."[24] On September 10, 1965, King and a few aides, including Andrew Young, met Goldberg in New York. King reiterated his views and would not back down. According to Goldberg, "The Administration was committed to peace in Vietnam and that he could expect a resolution of the war in the near future." This influenced King little, as Young later remarked, "We weren't sure that Goldberg even believed what he was saying." At a press conference afterward, King further infuriated his enemies and supporters alike when he said that China must be included in the peace talks and be admitted to the U.N.[25]

Most civil rights leaders thought it unwise to continue to openly oppose LBJ. The president had helped their cause, and not without political consequences, perhaps now was the time for "a grateful pause."[26] In April of 1965 the SCLC Board of Directors told King that "he could not make statements about the war in his capacity as president of the SCLC."[27] In March, relentless American bombing had begun in North

[20]Brian Vandemark, *Into the Quagmire: Lyndon Johnson and the Escalation of the Vietnam War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 60.
[21]Watley, 100.
[22]Lewis, 304.
[23]David J. Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), 208.
[24]Jim Bishop, *The Days of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Putnam, 1971), 404.
[25]Stephen B. Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound: the Life of Martin Luther King* (New York: New American Library, 1982), 380-81.
[26]Lewis, 304.
[27]Lentz, 175.

Vietnam, and huge numbers of troops had begun going overseas. Confronted with these facts, the August national convention of the SCLC did an about face and authorized King to turn the group's full attention to "Vietnam and world affairs" if he believed it was necessary. Despite this show of support, King had other realities to consider. The group's chief financial advisor warned King, "The adverse reaction could shut down the flow of contributions and force the SCLC into bankruptcy." This more than any other argument caused King to back down.[28]

Although he had resolved to stick to civil rights, King had damaged his relationship with LBJ beyond repair; it had become a "hostile misunderstanding." King had looked to Kennedy as a modern Lincoln, and he never seemed to understand Johnson as a political creature. "Martin seems to have sized up JFK the politician far better than he did Lyndon Johnson the man." King backed down because "he was not certain of his own position." By early 1966, Vietnam was "no longer the main issue that he had earlier intended to make it."[29] Reluctantly, King returned his attentions to the needs of his people, which would, within a year's time, bring him back into confrontation with the president.

King was led by his theological convictions to protest the war, but each new cause he took on engendered new risks. Each new city or state that he brought the SCLC into, brought him up against a new set of laws and opponents. At first they were local, but as the movement progressed, they took on a national scope. To call for support for the war against poverty, and at the same time oppose the war in Vietnam, would entail defying and vilifying the same man, Lyndon Johnson.

The year 1966 was filled with activity. Johnson ordered the start of Rolling Thunder, which was the intense bombing of North Vietnam and later of Cambodia. In February, King moved his family into a slum house in Chicago, where he had one of the more bitter experiences of his civil rights campaign, as he again tried to take his movement north. In June, King met with President Johnson for a civil rights conference. King was kept at arm's length from LBJ, who was daily becoming more preoccupied with the war.

The Civil Rights Movement was in disarray. The Chicago campaign had been difficult, and youth groups like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) were increasingly critical of King, who they referred to as "De Lawd."[30] These black power groups were taking their toll on the cohesiveness of the movement. King sought out the reasons for this divisiveness and the obvious answer was the war in Vietnam. Things were now far different than they had been just two years before. The war had escalated to the point where the war on poverty was being fought in name only, while all of the nation's resources were increasingly being concentrated on Southeast Asia. Meanwhile at home, other civil rights groups were either being torn apart by the war or by the growing influence of the Black Power Movement. It was beginning to look like nonviolence had run its course; the issues that faced the movement now were so large that a major response was required. It was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain the attention of the American people and the support of the federal government.

In January of 1966, SNCC issued a statement against the escalating Vietnam conflict, calling the claims of the government "deceptive." They called for support of draft resisters and examined the racism they believed was inherent in the war. Saying they also were victims of violence in the United States, they sought to sympathize with other "minorities" that America repressed, namely the Vietnamese people.[31] The group was radical enough that issuing this statement did not adversely affect its limited power base, a reality not present for King and the SCLC. SNCC decided to protest the war after one of their workers, Sammy Young, who

[28]Lentz, 176.
[29]Lewis, 305.
[30]Martin Luther King, Jr., *A Testament of Hope* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986), 348.
[31]Taylor, 258-260.

had lost a kidney in Vietnam, was killed by a white gas station attendant for attempting to use a "whites only" restroom.[32] Why, the SNCC felt, should blacks fight for justice abroad when it could not be guaranteed at home?

For African-Americans, the Vietnam War was full of serious implications. On the surface it appeared to be an opportunity to prove their loyalty. By showing that they were patriotic and willing to fight and die for liberty, they would win liberty at home. However, as time progressed, tragedies like the Sammy Young incident proved that hope was an illusion. The older leaders of the Civil Rights Movement, like Whitney Young and A. Philip Randolph, used that rationale for the better part of the decade.[33] In contrast, the main questions from white America were: Would the blacks be grateful to the whites for the rights they had "given" them? Would they prove their gratitude by going to fight and die in Vietnam?

King was being torn apart, just like the movement he had led for over ten years. The youth were abandoning civil rights to protest the war, while the more established elements of the movement were blindly following the president's lead. Eventually, King would have to choose between these two conflicting groups. Which one he would choose was never in doubt; the real question was, at what point would King throw caution to the wind? The cost of choosing truth over conformity appeared high, and indeed it was. In the final analysis he was willing to give his life and the material wealth of the movement so that its soul might be saved.

Late in 1966, King was becoming increasingly depressed about the movement and the war. This depression began to affect his daily life: he slept little, ate little, and became, in the dawn of his last twelve months of his life, rushed by a sense of urgency as if he already knew his fate.[34] King's hatred of the war had simmered on the back burner for too long. He realized that the only real barrier keeping his private feelings private was gone. LBJ's support for the war on poverty had steadily decreased since the heady days of 1964. Now that there was not enough money for both guns and butter, King felt compelled to act. On December 15, 1966, King appeared before Senator Abraham Ribicoff's government operations committee. Robert Kennedy, King's closest ally, was also on the committee. He told the senators, "The problem was not that money was unavailable, but that it was being squandered on the Vietnam War and the 'striking absurdity' of a manned space program."[35]

Just like the conflict that raged in the fields of Vietnam, so too raged the debate in King's soul. Despite his statement to the senators, King was still unsure of just how to present his views. Just before Christmas, Andrew Young wrote to a friend who had suggested that King make an outright stand against the war. Young said that King had no intention of going full time on the war issue as of yet. "Martin has felt that an occasional well placed and well timed opposition is more valuable than a continued again and again denunciation of the war, Vietnam or the draft."[36] King would surprise both his supporters and detractors by changing from this careful policy less than three weeks after Young's letter was written.

Once More into the Breach, Dear Friends

In early January 1967, Martin, Coretta, and some of his aides went on a working vacation to Jamaica. It was to be King's last. The Reverend Bernard Lee accompanied them. King was inspired after seeing an article of the reverend's titled "The Children of Vietnam" in *Rampart's Magazine*. He was intrigued by pictures in the article of a mother and her

[32] Emily Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee* (New York: Carlson Publishing, 1989), 55.

[33] Nancy J. Weiss, *Whitney M. Young, Jr.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 158.

[34] Coretta Scott King, 304.

[35] David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 539.

[36] Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 541.

children killed by American napalm. The article and the photographs made him realize that "he'd have to speak out if he was to be the moral force not only in the nation, but in terms of the morality that rested in his own soul, that he had to be true to it."[37] King had reached the point of no return. This time the decision to speak out was an easier one. The war on poverty was all but dead; the Civil Rights Movement was in a shambles and King felt marginalized by American society. The general public was focusing on the war, the women's movement, the counter-culture, and other issues. The early goals of the Civil Rights Movement had been met and King's newer calls for economic justice made him one voice among many. He now had little to lose by following his convictions to the fullest. What he feared he would lose in the way of support, he would gain by having a clear conscience and prestige in doing what was right, even though it was still not politically expedient.

It took King six weeks to write his final work, *Where Do We Go From Here? Chaos or Community*.[38] Working fifteen-hour days, he was able to hash out his ideas on war and to conclude that he must oppose the president or lose all credibility. He concluded that he "had no personal commitment to Johnson, (but he still) thought long and deeply about the consequences that would accrue to the movement because of his stand on Vietnam."[39] He realized that he had been far too overcautious in 1965; there was more to the Civil Rights Movement than just his charisma. He decided there on the island that he was willing to accept the consequences.[40] The manuscript began to flow with his thoughts on the war. His earlier works had by and large steered clear of criticizing the administration and challenging its right to lead the nation; this book was to break that tradition. Even though some of the chapters did not deal with the government, King related the problems he addressed to Vietnam: Black Power, racism, and the "dilemma of Negro Americans." The sixth and final chapter, titled "The World House," dealt at length with the war. After he was gone, this book would serve to teach his followers and to show generations his foresight.

King explained the relationship between nonviolent social action at home and American generated violence abroad. He wrote that young blacks "wonder what kind of nation it is that applauds nonviolence whenever Negroes face white people in the streets of the U.S., but then applauds violence and burning and death when these same Negroes are sent to Vietnam." There was a direct contradiction between these, as he had been asked time and again by young people to deny the efficacy of violence as a means of achieving desired ends.

King called the war "ill considered" and stated his belief that Johnson was more interested in the war in Southeast Asia than the war on poverty at home. He quoted the *Washington Post* as estimating that the U.S. spent $332,000 for each Viet Cong they killed, while they spent $51 on the poor domestically. King's passion began to shine through when he wrote, "It challenges the imagination to contemplate what lives they could transform if we were to cease the killing. . . . The bombs in Vietnam explode at home." He attacked LBJ personally in the beginning of chapter five by writing that the disadvantages that the Civil Rights Movement had worked under were due to "the president's overwhelming preoccupation with the war in Vietnam."[41] This was a far cry from the NAACP and the Urban League's calls to support the president. Such statements would serve to totally alienate King from an entire section of Civil Rights Movement leaders.

For the first time since his first book, King sought to analyze the nature of war and its impracticality for the modern world. He wrote, "Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete." King then offered his idea of the ultimate conclusion that war would bring, "If modern man continues to flirt unhesitatingly

[37] Hampton, 342.
[38] Coretta Scott King, 302.
[39] Watley, 103.
[40] Coretta Scott King, 292.

[41] Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here?* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 35, 36, 86, 135.

with war he will transform his earthly habitat into an inferno such as even the mind of Dante could not conceive."[42]

This book was the philosophical groundwork for the speeches that would follow it. However, not until April, 1967 would King have a specific policy worked out. Now he was content to oppose the war and explain his position in terms simple enough to clearly get the message across. Author John Williams summed up King's decision and its consequences, King was "determined to sock it to those who would have restrained him. . . . He must have known that his life, although he had been threatened time and again, was now measured."[43] King flew back to America, where he started his final year by choosing to follow his conscience and denounce the war with all the resources available to him.

His first chance to denounce the war came less than a week after his return. On February 25, 1967, he delivered a speech at a peace rally in Los Angeles. Also attending were peace senators Ernest Gruening, Mark Hatfield, Eugene McCarthy, and George McGovern. King was the featured speaker. His speech was in part a mirror of his unreleased book. In his short speech, he said that Johnson was "in the position of being politically and morally isolated," and he charged the government with attempting a "new form of colonialism."[44] This speech largely escaped the attention of the press.

His next speech also was largely ignored by the press, but not by the FBI. They took word-for-word notes of the speech and informed the director, who supposedly then was to pass it along to LBJ.[45] This speech was given at a peace rally at the Chicago Coliseum on March 25, after King and Dr. Spock's first antiwar march. Five thousand demonstrators had followed them through downtown Chicago.[46] The Chicago crowd heard a passionate and honest reiteration of his Los Angeles speech, though it was still without any specifics.

Starting with the idea that "the question of which side is in the right is moot indeed,"[47] King sought to explain the immorality of the war and its effect on America. "We are in an untenable position morally and politically. We are left standing before the world glutted by our own barbarity." He saw great irony in the concept of a nation that had started the worldwide freedom revolution was now "cast in the mold of being an arch anti-revolutionary." He called the war "a blasphemy against all that America stands for." He related the cost of the war to the people and concluded by saying, "We have escalated the war in Vietnam and de-escalated the skirmish against poverty."

Using biblical imagery, he portrayed America as a prodigal son who was taking a journey through "the far country of racism and militarism." He then concluded by calling for America to return to her true home of brotherhood and peaceful pursuits," which he promised would fulfill "the noblest of American dreams."

In both a book and in public forums, King had broken with the president and spoken his true feelings. Yet they still lacked any real focus, or drew the kind of attention he desired to start the peace process. A group called The Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam invited him to speak at their "Spring Mobilization" rally to be held in New York on the fifteenth of April. King readily agreed, but his advisors wanted him to do more than just speak at rallies. Andrew Young told King that he must "make his position clear somewhere . . . where he would have a chance to fully develop his ideas. In a mass meeting speech you get five minutes, he needed an hour and a half to explain why he held those views."[48] They made a deal with the group and with the Union Theological Seminary to speak at

[42] Ibid., 183-84.

[43] John A. Williams, *The King God Didn't Save* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1970), 209.

[44] Garrow, *Bearing the Cross,* 545.

[45] Federal Bureau of Investigations, Communist Infiltration of the SCLC, 9 reels (Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1983), 7:74.

[46] Garrow, *Bearing the Cross,* 549.

[47] Federal Bureau of Investigation; all quotes taken from speeches are from this source.

[48] Hampton, 343.

the Riverside Church on April 4, 1967, exactly a year to the day from his assassination.

Most of the attention that has been given to King's anti-Vietnam ideas is concentrated on this famous Riverside Church Speech. The reasons for this are many. It was the first speech that he made that had any real national press coverage; a short press conference that he held with Dr. Spock beforehand helped to assure that it would. At this conference King said blacks and whites alike should become conscientious objectors.[49] The speech was also significant for its depth of thought and its proposals. King used his best philosophical and biblical knowledge to address the situation. It would later be criticized by those, including LBJ and the FBI, who failed to understand the religious reasoning and moral arguments that King utilized; they saw only the political situation and acted accordingly.

King received a standing ovation when he rose to speak before the crowd of 3,000, who jammed into the church. Outside, thirty-two people picketed against the event. He started the speech by stating that his conscience left him no choice but to speak out against the war. To the charge that civil rights leaders had no business meddling in international affairs, he said "Their questions suggest that they do not know the world in which they live."[50] A further attempt to blunt criticism was King's statement that this speech was directed not to China, Hanoi, or the National Liberation Front, but to his "beloved nation."

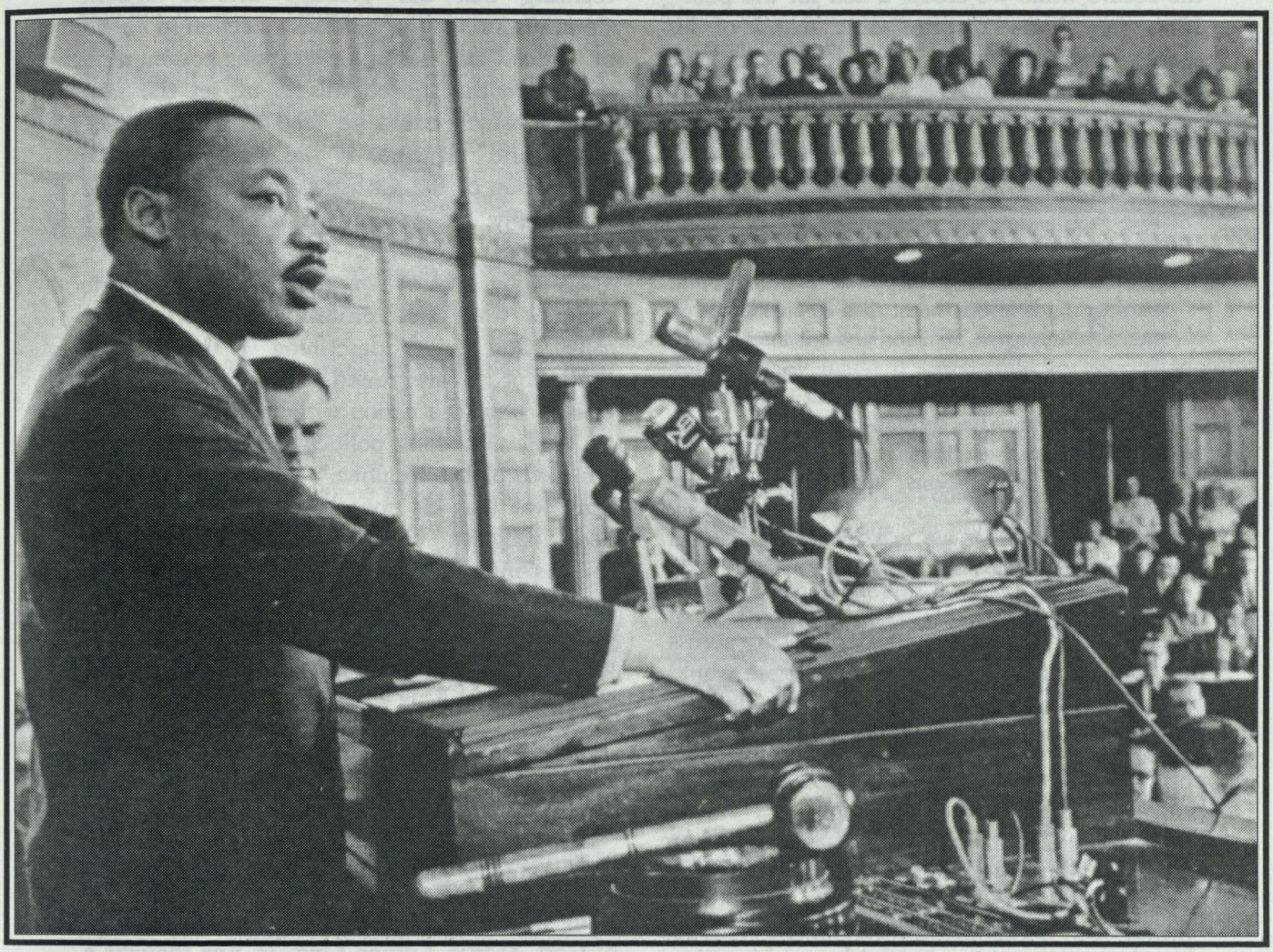
King detailed seven philosophical and religious reasons for breaking his silence and opposing the war. First, King knew that the U.S. would never help the poor as long as the war drained resources. Second, he decried the fact that minorities were dying in disproportion to their numbers, calling it "a cruel manipulation of the poor." Third, he realized that he could not promote nonviolence "without having first spoken to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today—my own government." Fourth, the organization that he represented, the SCLC, must work to save America. "If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read Vietnam." Fifth, his Nobel Prize called him to seek peace world round. Sixth, the ministry of Jesus Christ meant that his nation's enemies were also his brothers as creations of God. He explained the cross-cultural commission of Christianity perfectly when he said, "Can I threaten them with death or must I not share with them my life?" His final reason, all men are called to be the children of God, and this call clearly outreaches national boundaries. He ended this section of his speech by stating, "No document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers."

The next section was a historical look at the Vietnam situation. King said, "They must see us as strange liberators." He detailed the attempts at Vietnamese independence after World War II and how the United States, in league with the incompetent French, sought to deny the Vietnamese people. "Our government felt then that the Vietnamese people were not 'ready' for independence, and we again fell victim to the deadly western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere." In a statement that drew bitter attacks from the Jewish community, King paralleled the American government with the Nazis. "What do they think as we test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicines and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe?"

He went on to say that the troops were fighting for a lie and expressed his concern for them. He also denounced as a lie the idea that we were protecting the average Vietnamese

[49] Oates, 433.

[50] King, *A Testament of Hope,* 233-244; all speech quotes are from this source.



Martin Luther King giving a speach in Boston c.1963
M. B. Young, **The Picture Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.** (Franklin Watts)

person. "We are on the side of the wealthy and the secure while we create a hell for the poor." King then turned to the main thrust of his speech, a policy analysis that gave five specific goals to be met to end the war:

> 1. End all bombing in North and South Vietnam.
> 2. Declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation.
> 3. Take immediate steps to prevent other battlegrounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military buildup in Thailand and our interference in Laos.
> 4. Realistically accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has substantial support in South Vietnam and must thereby play a role in any meaningful negotiations and in any future Vietnam government.
> 5. Set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

This, King hoped, would spark debate across the nation, and that meaningful dialogue would occur now that he was pushing some definite policies. He was to be sorely disappointed.

King stated that all young men should become conscientious objectors as a form of protest. He called upon ministers who were of draft age to give up their exemptions and join the objectors and pay the price. He sought to demonstrate that American directed violence abroad was a threat to peace at home. "A nation that continues to year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift, is approaching spiritual death." King tied the war to the far greater problems that were inherent in American society. "The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit . . . . We as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values." What thoughts did J. Edgar Hoover have as King stated, "This kind of positive revolution of values is our best defense against Communism. War is not the answer"?

He continued in this vein, hoping to thwart his most common criticism that he was a puppet of Moscow. He said that America needed to be engaged in a "positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against Communism is to take offensive action in behalf of Justice." His reason for attacking communism so late in the speech was to off-set the next section, which could be read as a communist "one world" diatribe. It was however, a fine explanation of the Christian call to world wide community, where unity is not based on the transience of borders.

A good deal of American political rhetoric includes what Yale professor Stephen Carter calls "God talk," describing it as vaguely Protestant in background. "God Talk" is asking God to bless the nation without doing anything for God, something politicians have done since the birth of the republic.[51] The difference with King was that his speeches were informed by deep religious belief that brought him to conclusions that would naturally fall outside of political expectations. Hoover and LBJ saw communism in King's words, because they never understood his beliefs. They consistently failed to realize what King was saying. They looked at a spiritually based stance and saw only the political aspect. Abolitionists and leaders of the temperance movement had made much harsher judgments against America, yet they were never as vilified as King was during this period. John Brown was made a hero during the Civil War for using violence and threatening war in the name of God. Martin Luther King, Jr. was thought a villain by the ruling elite for trying to stop a war in the name of the same God.

King concluded with a comment on the revolutionary times that the world was experiencing. "This call for a world wide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class and nation [is] a call for an all embracing love of all men." He warned of the destiny of nations who continually fight. "History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursed this self-defeating path of hate." King charged his audience with the call to do more than to denounce the war; positive steps

[51]Stephen Carter, *The Culture of Disbelief* (New York: Anchor Books, 1994), 49.

should be taken to end it. "We must move past inaction to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world . . . we must choose in this crucial moment of human history." He ended with a poem by James Russell Lowell, rather than his usual hymn or scriptural recitation. It read in part, "'Though the cause of evil prosper/ Yet 'tis truth alone is strong.'"

The speakers who went on after King all referred back to his speech; it alone had carried the night. Later, King's friend Wyatt Walker said, "I am absolutely convinced that God is doing something with Martin that he is not doing with anyone else in this country."[52] King was very happy and relieved after the speech, the demons that had plagued him since January were gone.[53] However, the peace he now enjoyed would be short lived. New demons would arise to torment the Baptist preacher; they had the power to ruin his plans and end his life.

The purpose of the Riverside Church speech had been to foster debate and to move the government towards pursuing peace. The reaction, according to Andrew Young, was "like a torrent of hate and venom . . . we got an emotional outburst attacking his right to have an opinion. It was almost, 'Nigger, you ought to stay in your place.'"[54] Young said King sat down and cried when he read the harsh reactions to his speech. The hostility that King read in the paper and saw on television was also shared by the president. When Lyndon Johnson heard of the speech he told a cabinet member, "That g__ damn Nigger preacher may drive me out of the White House."[55]

LBJ had not seen King for over a year; Martin had turned down two invitations to meet with the president. The lack of communication between them, culminating in the extreme hostility of 1967-68, was based on King's "reluctance to confront a man whom he personally mistrusted and whose policies he regarded with ever increasing distaste."[56] In King's view, the president had abandoned the civil rights cause, and now King was committed to a policy that was the direct antithesis of Johnson's. He did not hope to make the president change his mind. Instead he wanted the people to force LBJ to change his ways or leave office.

The SCLC had previously steered clear from politics, refusing to publicly support any candidate, although King had given tacit acceptance of LBJ in 1964. King's stand against Vietnam now made it impossible to keep free from politics. "He announced that the SCLC would depart from past practices and endorse candidates on all levels who opposed the war."[57] Although any serious challenges to the re-election of LBJ were still only rumor, King had decided to make the war so unpopular that no candidate would support it.

The nation, however, was not willing to go along with King just yet. A Harris poll taken shortly after his Riverside Church speech showed that 73% of Americans disagreed with him. Of blacks, 48% thought he was wrong, and only 25% agreed with him.[58] King was also virtually alone in his attack on the war and LBJ. Other black leaders still clung fast to the illusion of a two front war of poverty and Vietnam. A. Philip Randolph, leader of one of the nation's oldest black unions, remembered that World War II had subverted the movement; yet he sent a telegram of support to LBJ shortly after King's speech.[59] Whitney M. Young of the National Urban League told King, "Johnson needs a consensus; if we are not with him on Vietnam, then he is not going to be with us on Civil Rights."[60] On April 10, the NAACP passed a resolution stating that any attempt to "merge the Civil Rights and peace movements was a serious

[52]Oates, 436.
[53]Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 553.
[54]Hampton, 345.
[55]Mark Lane and Dick Gregory, *Code Name 'Zorro'* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1977).
[56]Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 548-549.
[57]Oates, 443.
[58]Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 564.
[59]Paula F. Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 278.
[60]Weiss, 168.

tactical mistake."[61] But the die had been cast; the stand had been made. He could do no other; there was no turning back. Like the revolutionary German monk he was named after, Martin Luther King had chosen to break from the easy road of self-delusion to the less frequented road of truth. Now that King had clearly explained his position, it was time to go on the offensive, while the negative press and his own increasing pessimism swirled violently around him.

King appeared on the television show "Face to Face" in July of 1967. The purpose was to discuss the problems of the urban poor, but the questions from the audience members showed the nation's interest regarding his views on the war. He told the crowd, "Negroes do end up going in the army so often to get away from the terrible conditions that they face at home."[62] A young lady then drew applause from the crowd when she asked why King was spending so much time on the war and ignoring the Civil Rights Movement. He responded, "Ninety five percent of my time is still spent in the Civil Rights struggle." He drew applause when he called the war "one of the major evils facing mankind." He drew more applause when he said, "It would be foolhardy to work for integrated schools and lunch counters and not be concerned about the survival of the world." He then ended his remarks about Vietnam by saying, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere . . . I'm going to take a stand against it whether it's in Mississippi or whether it's in Vietnam." Finally, he had moved to assume the mantle of a world leader that had been handed to him in the form of the Nobel Peace Prize.

In August of 1967, King announced the start of a nation-wide campaign to put the war in Vietnam up for a referendum in the coming November election.[63] King was becoming too political for LBJ's liking, so he tried to counter attack. In Vietnam, two black soldiers were put on national TV; one was a NAACP member. "They wanted the nation to realize the harm they (i.e. King and his fellow black peace advocates) do to their country's image . . . every American should support the war against Communism."[64] Johnson even got journalist Carl Rowan, America's first black ambassador, to allude to the influence of communism in King's ranks.[65]

David Garrow contends that, during the last year of his life, King represented "a far greater threat to the reigning American government than he ever had before."[66] A dramatic increase in activity in the FBI concerning King was relayed to the White House. One report to director Hoover said, "King, who is inordinately ambitious and stupid, is thus looking back to a promising future. The Communist-oriented 'peace' types have played him like trout." LBJ's secretary Mildred Stegal wrote on a FBI memo that King was "an instrument in the hands of subversive forces seeking to undermine our nation."[67] The FBI reports were especially vehement and showed the desire of both the Bureau and the administration to stop King.[68] Likewise, the CIA took an interest in King's stance for the first time. King had been invited to meet with representatives of the North Vietnamese government in Paris; he declined. He did hope to meet with Ho Chi Minh and call for peace negotiations, if he was successful in getting America to stop bombing.[69] The CIA reported that King was a threat to national security, and that he "was the most dangerous man in America." They also expressed their belief that "Hanoi had a direct pipeline through which to subvert the U.S. Vietnam war effort."[70]

In November 1967, King delivered a sermon called "Conscience and the Vietnam War." Although he returned to many of the themes he had touched on in the Riverside Church speech, he again compelled his people to act. "If we do

[61]Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 552.
[62]King, *Testament of Hope*, 407-408.
[63]Bishop, 466.
[64]Taylor, 44.
[65]Lane, 51.
[66]Garrow, *FBI*, 208.
[67]Ibid., 180,182.
[68] FBI, 5:72.
[69]Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 561.
[70]Philip H. Melanson, *The Murkin Conspiracy* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 127.

not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight."[71]

On Christmas Eve 1967, King preached at his home church in Atlanta. In "A Christmas Sermon on Peace," King told his congregation, "Now the judgment of God is upon us, and we must either learn to live together as brothers or we are all going to perish together as fools."[72]

The new year brought a boost to the fortunes of King's last crusade by way of Eugene McCarthy's candidacy for the Democratic nomination in opposition to LBJ. King, however, bided his time waiting for his ally, Robert Kennedy, to enter the race. (After Memphis, long-time King advisor Stanley Levinson said, "No question; if he had lived, he would have supported Bobby Kennedy."[73]) Kennedy's words had inspired King's Poor People's Campaign, which was carried on after his assassination. Kennedy had told him, the only way to have an impact was to make it "more uncomfortable for the Congress not to act than it is for them to act." King thought that with the candidates aligning with him, there would be a greater degree of support and legitimacy from the white community for his anti-Vietnam stance. However, as King continued to plan the Poor People's Campaign and speak out against LBJ and the war, people continued to attack his right to speak.

Coretta was a vocal supporter of her husband during this, his most difficult campaign. To the national media she recalled how the Pope had just made anti-war statements while in America. "When the Pope spoke," she fumed," everyone applauded; but when a black man named Martin Luther King speaks, they criticize him."[74] King, with a tired and sore voice vastly different from the sweet melodic voice of the "I Have A Dream" speech, also attacked his fellows in the Civil Rights Movement. "If other Civil Rights leaders for some reason refuse or can't take a stand, or have to go along with the Administration, that's their business." He then ended his response to the press with this then strange statement, "No man is free who fears death."[75]

Before Kennedy joined the "Dump Johnson" campaign, King had been considered as a potential candidate for the presidency on a peace platform with Dr. Spock.[76] After making an anti-war speech at Berkeley, he was approached by students who pledged their support to such an attempt. They said they were willing to go to jail to protest the war, so they asked King to carefully consider their request.[77] Although King played coy with the press, he knew he could not win; therefore, he continued to direct his energies to what he could do. Besides, his candidacy was negated by the arrival of McCarthy and Kennedy into the race.

The last three months of King's life were plagued by a deep cynicism and a "profound sadness" that alarmed his friends. A week before he was murdered he told his compatriot, Hosea Williams, "Truly America is much, much sicker than I realized when I first began working in 1951."[78]

The last sermon King gave was at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C., on Passion Sunday, March 31, 1968. Titled "Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution," he portrayed America as a Rip Van Winkle who was missing the great upheavals around him, only to awake years later, utterly amazed at the changes. "I am convinced that it is one of the most unjust wars that has ever been fought in the history of the world," he told the congregation. He also expressed his ultimate fear of the escalation of the war saying, "We will inevitably come to the point of confronting

[71]Martin Luther King, Jr., *The Trumpet of Conscience* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).
[72]King, *Testament of Hope,* 253.
[73]Schlesinger, 873.
[74]Coretta Scott King, 295.
[75]Martin Luther King, Jr., *Commemorative Collection* (Oak Grove, Illinois: MPI Home Video, 1988), video recording.
[76]FBI, 6:73.
[77]Eric C. Lincoln, *Martin Luther King, Jr. A Profile* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1970), 209-10.
[78]David J. Garrow, ed., *We Shall Overcome,* 3 vols. (New York: Carson Publishing, 1989), 215.

China which could lead the whole world to nuclear annihilation."[79]

Four days later King was dead.

After his assassination, while America's cities burned with riots, an article appeared in *Look* magazine. "Showdown For Non-violence" was King's last message to his nation. "When the guns of war become a national obsession, social needs inevitably suffer." King hoped that with "thousands and thousands of people moving around this issue [will force] our government to reevaluate its policy abroad."[80] The pressure that King hoped to bring was blunted by his murder; the war that he fought against outlived him by nearly seven years.

There were dramatic effects in Vietnam from King's assassination. If his speeches and political pressure had failed to make a significant impact, his killing brought about significant and largely hostile reactions from black troops stationed in Vietnam. The newspaper *Washington Star* conducted a poll just after the his death. It showed that up to 85% of black soldiers interviewed "expressed negative attitudes about the purposes and objectives of the war and about the military's treatment of negroes." The report also showed that "signs of racial polarization and tension became clear and unmistakable."[81] King's death, more so than his life's work on the war, had given blacks a sense of unity.

One white soldier serving in Vietnam at the time commented on the effect of King's death on his unit. They had only a few blacks in his non-combat communications unit, but what he saw remained a strong memory. "There were two TV stations that came in sometimes. One channel just showed a picture of Martin Luther King with the dates of his life at the bottom. The one black guy just sat there for 4 or 5 hours just starring at the TV picture."[82]

The many policies and hopes King had spoken about largely turned to dust with his passing. The five points of his Riverside Church address, which he had hoped would guide U.S. policy towards peace, were never acted upon. Indeed, they were never even seriously considered or debated. The government, that should have listened to its most outspoken and intellectually honest black leader, instead acted to negate or eliminate him and other political threats, such as Bobby Kennedy. Slowly over the years other black leaders came to realize that King was correct in his analysis. In October of 1969, Whitney Young issued a statement against the war, using the exact same reasons King had used over two years previously.[83] But at this point the Civil Rights Movement was in disarray and the new Republican president, Richard Nixon had little interest in any significant civil rights programs.

The overall effects of King's stance were twofold. First, his prestige increased as the years passed and the war was seen as a mistake. Second, the stand ultimately could have been the major reason that he was assassinated. The two major books that deal with the King assassination contend that his anti-war stance led to his government administered killing.[84] Jesse Jackson said in 1976, "His position on Vietnam alone was enough to get him killed."[85] The evidence for this claim is murky, but the fact that separate authors came to this conclusion is compelling.

To those who had known and worked with King, it had been clear that he would one day attack the Vietnam War. By the early sixties he had recognized it as an evil presence in American life, but political considerations caused him to hold his tongue. The needs at home were far too great to risk losing them for some far-off war. King's mind was changed by the international prestige that accompanied the Nobel Peace Prize. He was no longer just a southern Negro, but a world spokesman who had a great deal of moral authority behind him. His mind was further swayed by the rejection of nonviolence among young blacks in the states.

[79]King, *Testament of Hope,* 268, 275, 276.
[80]Ibid., 66.
[81]Ronald Spector, *After Tet: the Bloodiest Year in Vietnam* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 249.
[82]Charles Whiteside, interviewed by author, 31 Oct. 1994
[83]Weiss, 195.
[84]Lane, also see Melanson.
[85]Melanson, 126.

King realized that he must be consistent in his nonviolent philosophy, for there could be no borders to brotherhood.

Danish theologian/philosopher Soren Kierkegaard taught that when the Christian church becomes a part of the state, it is no longer Christian. He thought truth was found in suffering, not in becoming a part of the ruling class. This was the lesson that Martin Luther King, Jr. had to learn. He had constantly appealed to the state and federal governments for their support, which they gave in the form of federalized national guards, laws, and grants. That support, as well as the prestige they brought, engendered certain costs, a presupposition of his willingness to tow the ideological line. The FBI wiretaps, the hostile press, and the violence, were all part of the cost of speaking out against the part he had been expected to play. King could only realize his true prophetic potential by going beyond the nation's desires and the opinion polls, and following his conscience. His courage was tried, his faith was strained, and his commitment to nonviolence was tested. But perhaps the greatest test of a man and his ideals was to see what survives beyond his ability to control.

The test of strength for the nonviolent ideas of King's movement came in the wake of his assassination. Robert F. Kennedy was campaigning in Indiana and had just gotten off a plane in Indianapolis when he was informed of King's death. Kennedy, against the advice of his friends, went to the prearranged outdoor rally in the slums of the city. The largely black crowd of about 1,000 had not heard the news; they all stood around waiting for Kennedy to arrive. When he did, he walked to the platform, and without allowing himself to be introduced, gave the news to the shocked crowd. Kennedy spoke without notes, shivering in the cold night air; his eyes glazed over in pain. Kennedy asked them to think about in which direction they wanted their country to move in. He spoke for the only time publicly of the murder of his own brother at the hands of a white man, and appealed to the people to remain peaceful in the days ahead. He summarized the philosophy of King when he said dark forces were attempting to racially polarize the nation, but they had to reach out in love. He challenged the crowd to "make an effort as Martin Luther King did to understand and to comprehend, and to replace that violence, that stain of bloodshed that has spread across our land, with an effort to understand with compassion and love." He ended the speech and the rally with these remarks, "Let us dedicate ourselves to what the Greeks wrote so many years ago: to tame the savageness of man and to make gentle the life of this world. Let us dedicate ourselves to that, and say a prayer for our country and for our people."[66]

During the next few days, riots broke out in over 110 cities across the nation. Nearly forty people were killed, most of them black. LBJ called out the Army to support many state National Guard units, including Washington, D.C.'s, as some buildings around the capitol burned. The only major American city to be spared rioting was Indianapolis, where love, compassion, and justice had been preached.[67]

King's ideas of nonviolence once again had shown themselves to be effective and realistic. The lesson and spirit of this philosophy were demonstrated this one last time to the nation, but they were lost on a people filled with rage, and a chance for real peace was gone.

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[66]Schlesinger, 874-75.
[67]Ibid., 877.



Mexican community in Los Angeles, c. 1880, erroneously called "Sonora Town."
P.Castillo and A. Bustamante, **Mexico en Los Angeles** (Alianza Editorial Mexicana)

CITIES AND TOWNS:

Instruments of Public Memory in New Spain and American California

Juan Carlos Saavedra Martinez

Martinez describes how the Spaniards and later the Americans used urbanization to distort the public memory through collective ideology, physical structure, and social organization in order to legitimize dominance over the native population. He points out the destruction of the Aztec and Cholula cultures by the Spanish and the later destruction of Spanish California by Americans, especially the threat to the rancheros of California by the Gold Rush of 1849. The author discusses the urbanization of Mexico, Northern California, and Southern California, recognizing King Philip II of Spain for providing the gridiron plan used in urban planning throughout the New World. The resulting ethnic dominance was continued under Anglo social organization which limited access to education and reemphasized racial and ethnic differences.

The Southwestern part of theUnited States is an emerging economic and political region that has rivaled Northeastern hegemony on national affairs. As population, economic power, and political power shift from the East Coast to the West Coast, the Southwest is experiencing a dynamic transformation similar to that encountered by the Northeast in the nineteenth century. It has assumed the position of the main point of entry and distribution of immigrants into the United States. With Latin America and Asia as the main suppliers of immigrants, and a higher birth rate for nonwhite Americans, the United States is currently experiencing a profound demographic change. This change will increase the percentage of nonwhite citizens, especially in the Southwest.

There has been an increase in the amount of investment from foreign companies into the Southwest, and of exports into the international market. The rise of the Pacific Rim's economy has thrust this region into a vital part of the world economy. With the recent adoption of the North American Free Trade Agreement, this region has increased its cultural and economic exchange with Mexico. The rapid growth of communities of Mexican ancestry in the southwestern United States has stimulated the interchange of ideas, products, and memories between this area and communities in Mexico. As the Southwest faces possible changes in its political and economic structure, the creation or preservation of memories will become a central issue in the growing cities. By exploring the urbanization experience of Spaniards and Americans as they reflect the creation of memories to distort the past, this study provides examples of what might occur as settlement patterns change.

J. Owens Smith suggests that self-interest groups compete to influence the system in allocating values and resources.[1] These groups create legislation to provide for self-preservation and self-interest without considering their adversaries. In the midst of change, people attach themselves to the past for safety and security by promoting traditions, nationalism, and memories. As political and economic power shift, the battle to control memories becomes more visible. After all, public memory is very political because it connotes a set of values, and projects the ruling class into the past.[2] Public memory is a collection of individual and collective remembrances of the past created by the establishment of public commemorations, histories, and traditions. Michael Kammen suggests that tradition creates social cohesion by acting as a catalyst, building bridges among the different segments of a society. However, tradition can become the instrument by which those with power re-create a past to justify their authority.[3]

Yet, the re-creation of the past by the elite is not only confined to books, films, or celebrations. Martha K. Norkunas contends that communities re-creates their history through a selective preservation of items from its past. The official history of each community can be found in its historic sites and museums.[4] Among the most important instruments creating a public memory or an "official" past is the urbanization process. This process reflects the ideology of those who re-create the past to meet the needs of their present situation. When people are new arrivals to a land, they attempt to re-create their environment as a connection to their past. After their arrival in the New World, Europeans began to create their society using experiences from the Old World. In New Spain (Mexico), while Spaniards began planning towns and other settlements as replicas of the ones left in Spain, English colonists began to re-create English towns in their colonies along the Atlantic coast. In the Southwest, formally the northern frontier of New Spain and Mexico, Anglo-Americans began planning settlements as replicas of the eastern towns after the Mexican-American War.

David Goldfield argues that cultural dimensions exist in the physical structure of settlements; the arrangement of space and structure provides a window into social organization and collective ideology. These two aspects of urbanization merge to influence the creation of the physical structure.[5] Collective ideology is a set of values and functions influencing urban planning while the social organization represents the accommodation of socioeconomic sectors. Architecture, town design, and use of space create a physical structure or representation of the collective ideology and social organization. This paper examines these aspects of urbanization as they reflect the creation of memories by Spaniards and Americans to simultaneously distort the past and legitimize their dominance over the native population. The first eighty years of occupation are examined by analyzing Spanish settlements established from 1521 to 1600 and American settlements in California from 1850 to 1930.[6]

Collective Ideology

To justify their rule over conquered territories, Spain and the United States re-created the lands' pasts to demonstrate that primitive societies did not deserve self-rule. In the re-created past, Spain and the United States brought "civilization" to their conquered lands

[1]J. Owens Smith, *Blacks and American Government: Politics, Policy and Social Change* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1991), 9.

[2]Martha K. Norkunas, *The Politics of Public gMemory: Tourism, History, and Ethnicity in Monterey, California* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), 97.

[3]Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 5.

[4]Norkunas, 97.

[5]David R. Goldfield, *Urban America: A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), 17.

[6]New Spain extended as far north as the northern border of California and as far south as the northern border of Panama. The heart of New Spain was the region surrounding Mexico City; it was the populated and wealthy region of the colony.

by arranging memories in a linear progressive structure.[7] The cause-and-effect perception of history correlated the arrival of Spanish and subsequently American rule with the establishment of more sophisticated societies. The establishment of settlements became a political instrument to edit and shape memories in the restructuring of the past. Both Spain and the United States edited the past to promote their collective ideology. Spanish and American settlements' collective ideologies were similar in that they represented their founders' power, control, and order.

In New Spain, the establishment of towns by the Spanish crown as administrative and trade centers promoted Spanish power as the collective ideology. Such settlements served as reminders of Spanish "superiority" over the native population; in a subtle form, these towns were monuments or markers celebrating the victory of Spanish power. Michael Shudson suggests that such institutions, monuments, or markers serve as forms of memory.[8] The Spanish crown used settlements to shape and edit the memories about Spanish power to legitimize its authority.

In reconstructing memories, excluding native accomplishments from the past was the priority. In the sixteenth century, Spaniards destroyed pre-Columbian cities to establish the colonial pueblos in central Mexico. The destruction of pre-Columbian settlements represented the physical destruction of native accomplishments from the newly-established collective memory. The pre-Columbian cities were obstacles to the creation of a new memory because they were markers of the natives' past. The establishment of colonial pueblos represented the physical imposition of the Spanish past on the native population.

For example, Tenochtitlan was the capital of the Aztec Empire at the time Hernan Cortez arrived. Bernal Diaz, a Spanish soldier under Cortez, described the capital as the most beautiful city he had seen.

> We stood there admiring what we saw, and we said it all appeared to us like the enchanted things we had read in the book of Amadis...There were great towers and temples and other edifices of lime and stone that were constructed along the avenues of water. Many of us felt as if we were dreaming it and some may question the manner in which I express myself, for never did man hear, see, or vision of what we saw that day.[9]

This was the reconstruction of Diaz's memories about the Aztec capital in November 1519; however, the city did not survive Spanish rule without alteration.

Since the city served as a marker of Aztec culture and history, this urban center was "reconstructed." The destruction of Tenochtitlan began during its siege; Spaniards used materials from houses to fill the canals of the city. After the end of the war, they destroyed temples and palaces to build colonial Mexico City.[10] Rebuilding the city was a symbol to legitimize the authority of the new order.[11] The new city represented the Spanish success over the Aztec Empire since Tenochtitlan represented Aztec power. The cathedral, plaza, and the national palace displaced native institutions as markers of new memories.

The destruction of Tenochtitlan symbolized the destruction of the Aztec culture and its myths. The Spaniards imposed new memories over the ashes of the defeated civilization. The surviving native elite were aware of the importance of memory—in 1528, anonymous authors wrote texts in Nahuatl, the Aztec language, to provide their account of the war in

[7]Jaclyn Jeffrey and Glenace Edwall eds., *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience* (Boston: University Press of America, 1994), xii. The editors suggest that Western cultures' linear concept of the past influences the nature of memories.

[8]Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget, and Reconstruct the Past* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 51.

[9]Herbert Cerwin, *Bernal Diaz: Historian of the Conquest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 35.

[10]Jorge E. Hardoy, *Pre-Columbian Cities* (New York: Walker and Company, 1973), 181.

[11]Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 174.

Tenochtitlan. The following passage from these texts demonstrates the importance of the city as a symbol of Aztec pride:

> And all these misfortunes befell us. We saw them and wondered at them; we suffered this unhappy fate.
>
> Broken spears lie in the roads;
> we have torn our hair in our grief.
> The houses are roofless now, and their walls
> are red with blood.
>
> Worms are swarming in the streets and plazas,
> and the walls are splattered with gore.
> The water has turned red, as if it were dyed,
> and when we drink it,
> it has the taste of brine.
>
> We have pounded our hands in despair
> against the adobe walls,
> for our inheritance, our city, is lost and dead.
> The shields of our warriors were its defense,
> but they could not save it...[12]

The destruction of the city and its European reconstruction reflected the new social structure.[13] Europeans now held the political and economic power with the native population under their rule.

To legitimize their rule over the native population, the crown also attempted to mold memories by establishing a blueprint for the construction of towns. The policy of reconstructing cities in the image of Spanish cities attempted to prove the superiority of the Spanish culture over the indigenous cultures. Spaniards used their political control to transform the urban landscape of cities such as Tlaxcala.[14] Spaniards destroyed the original buildings of Cholula, an important religious and trading center, to create a European city.[15] The destruction of the original city buried the knowledge of the rich cultural heritage of the Indian past. Only one pyramid survived under tons of earth as testimony of an urban area that had existed since 100 B.C.[16]

The collective ideology of Spanish settlements demonstrated the secular power of the Spanish crown. The re-creation of memories served to promote a set of assumptions regarding the past to justify Spanish rule over the natives. The values of the present were constantly projected into the past. For example, the destruction of native cities in central Mexico promoted the picture of non-European cultures as primitive civilizations while the Spanish civilization was shown as vigorous. Spain sought to modify the past to support its perception of superiority.[17] In the sixteenth century, Spaniards destroyed pre-Columbian cities to establish the colonial pueblos in central Mexico. The establishment of colonial pueblos represented the physical imposition of the Spanish past on the native population.

Following a pattern similar to Spanish imposition of its collective ideology in New Spain, American settlements promoted American power in California. These towns served as markers demonstrating changes from a passive past to an active, progressive age of development. Thus in the collective memory, American government brought California out of the "dark ages" by bringing American entrepreneurship and technology. Towns were erased and the memories of Mexican society were reshaped by reducing their accomplishments to unimportant events in a stagnant past. With the reconstruction of memories, Mexican Californians and their descendants were marginalized from history.

The final displacement of the Indian and Mexican Californian population resulted from the great number of American immigrants who arrived in California during the gold rush. Within one year, 1849, 100,000 newcomers arrived in California: 80,000 Anglo-Americans;

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[12]Miguel Leon-Portilla, ed., "Epic Description of a Besieged City," in *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), 137.

[13]Norkunas, 44. She suggests that history reflects present social circumstances into the past.

[14]Burkholder, 175.

[15]Bruce C. Hunter, *A Guide to Ancient Mexican Ruins* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 59.

[16]Ibid., 60.

[17]David Thelen, ed., *Memory and American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 135. He suggests that the values of the present are projected onto the past.

8,000 Mexicans; 5,000 South Americans, and 7,000 European emigrants. By 1852, Mexican Californians become a numerical minority as the state population reached 250,000.[18]

As Anglo settlements emerged in California, the memories about Spanish and Mexican culture became more mystical and nostalgic. The establishment of settlements attempted to submerge the Mexican culture in California under the Protestant Anglo-Saxon culture.[19] The reconstruction of memory began during the first encounters among Americans and Spanish-speaking people in the mining areas of northern California as they competed for economic resources. Mexican migrants were more successful than Americans in finding gold as result of their mining experience and physical endurance. Such advantages caused Mexicans and the Spanish-speaking population (natives, Chileans, Peruvians) to be despised by Americans. The competition for gold fed the fire of xenophobia in the hearts of Americans who made no distinction between new Mexican migrants and the local population of Mexican ancestry.[20] In the memories of the new American migrants, all Spanish-speakers were foreigners and reflected racial stereotypes that justified American attacks.

In this initial encounter, Spanish surnames and Mexican ethnicity were associated with the memory of outsiders, beginning the perception of people of Mexican ancestry as new foreigners to California. By bringing Californian Mexicans and immigrant Mexicans under the same label, Americans sought to erase all historical connections of Mexican-Americans with the land to promote the myth that Americans were the "true" owners of the land.

The decimation of the original rancho grants was necessary to accomplish the goal of American control of the land and its wealth. Most of the ranchos were land grants given by the Spanish and Mexican governments to Mexican and naturalized citizens. These properties were protected under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. The treaty gave full citizenship to all Mexicans who remained in California after the Mexican-American War. It extended full protection of liberty, property rights, and culture, including religion and language. However, the American government forgot to follow its obligations as specified in its treaty with Mexico.[21]

Marigold Linton writes that positive memories are easier to recall than negative ones. A lack of rehearsal of such information made access to these memories more difficult.[22] Complementing Linton's suggestion, Karen E. Fields explains the existence of an archive to store things that must not be remembered.[23] Sometimes, the political reality of the present situation determines what is remembered or forgotten.[24] For American immigrants to California, it was easy to forget a treaty that contained clauses opposed to their self-interests. In the years preceding the American occupation, there had been a small but steady flow of American migration resulting in new communities. The gold rush brought a tremendous number of migrants into the state; as the gold deposits became exhausted, Americans turned their attention to the land owned by rancheros. Again, the memory about the past was altered to satisfy the collective ideology of American power. When miners began looking at the land grants to

[18]Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish Speaking Californians, 1846–1880* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 52.

[19]Richard Morefield, *The Mexican Adaptation in American California, 1846–1875* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955), 1.

[20]Pitt, 55.

[21]It is important to note that historical amnesia regarding treaties between the U.S government and other less powerful governments is not uncommon. The American government did not respect many treaties made with Native Americans.

[22]Marigold Linton, "Phoenix and Chimera: The Changing Faces of Memory," in *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience,* eds. Jaclyn Jeffrey and Glenance Edwall (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 78.

[23]Karen E. Fields, "What One Cannot Remember Mistakenly," in *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience,* eds. Jaclyn Jeffrey and Glenance Edwall (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 92.

[24]Ibid., 93.

obtain farming plots, Americans ignored the protection clauses of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The federal government passed the Land Act of 1851 to question the validity of land grants.[25]

The Mexican government confirmed most of the rancho grants prior to American occupation.[26] Such tracts supported a pastoral economy with a small population. During the gold rush, an increase in population created a greater demand for land, giving human value to large tracts of land used for grazing. With the increase of land value, some rancho owners expanded their claims to include settlements established within the boundaries of the grants. This strategy allowed rancho owners to collect rent from the settlers or to sell already improved land at a higher price.[27]

American immigrants arrived in California with a set of experiences and values that clashed with the treaty. The Americans' concept of the preemption right of squatters facilitated the settlement of empty land that was not owned by private interests. In California, American immigrants saw large tracts of empty land without improvements or marked boundaries to suggest private ownership.[28] Settlers could improve the land and buy it at a low price at a public auction.[29] A ranchero who eventually received recognition of his claim to the land had to pay for improvements made by squatters as dictated by a local jury. By using the preemption tradition, many settlers established communities on rancheros' lands. Many did not know that they were on private land while others purposefully settled on such lands hoping that the large rancho grants would not be recognized.[30] It was a risk that allowed for some compensation if the land was recognized as private, and auction prices were cheap without proper recognition.

The fraudulent procedures employed by the rancheros and settlers competing for the same resources sometimes exploded into open warfare. The Land Act was an effort to solve the problem of land titles. This law created a three-man commission in San Francisco to represent the United States Land Commission in California. The rancheros had to present documents to prove their ownership of the land. If the board's decision did not satisfy the claimants or the government, they could appeal all the way to the Supreme Court.[31] Any land that was not recognized as private property would become public land that the government could sell or give to new settlers. Some people lost land with many improvements because they failed to complete all the procedures necessary to receive title under Mexican rule prior to the change of government. The preemption and homestead rights of individuals were also lost amid the struggle for land control.[32] Small farm ownership did not materialize as the concentration of large landholdings continued to exist.[33] This long and expensive process was designed to destroy the links between the rancheros and their economic base to alter the past.

David Lowenthal describes fundamental ideas affecting the way in which Anglo-Americans viewed the past. He suggests that, traditionally, Anglo-Americans have perceived the past through different sets of spectacles: the timeless past, a past that mirrors the present, a stagnant past, a unique past for a unique people. Lowenthal demonstrates that these ideas were used to promote the status quo of the present society. The viewpoint of a unique past for a unique people froze non-Western cultures in time by presenting them as civilizations that

[25]Morefield, 22.

[26]Paul Wallance Gates, "California's Embattled Settlers," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 41, (June 1962): 99.

[27]Ibid., 123. The recent Indian uprising in Chiapas resulted from the constant battle for land. Owners move their boundary markers so as to include sections of Indian communal landholdings.

[28]Ibid., 100. This tradition facilitated the rationalization for occupying land that Native Americans traditionally occupied at seasonal intervals.

[29]Ibid., 100.

[30]Ibid., 101.

[31]Pitt, 86.

[32]Ibid., 118–119.

[33]Ibid., 123. Land speculators, lawyers, and politicians were between the beneficiaries of the conflict among grant owners and settlers.

degenerated and decayed while Western civilization became progressive, innovative, and new.[34]

The Mexican society of California at the time of the American arrival was a frontier society with deep historical roots. Yet, its past and present were altered to accomplish the collective American ideology of authority. Americans regarded the Mexican society as a non-Western culture since it was a syncretism of Spanish, Indian, and African cultures. Manifest Destiny ideology rearranged the past by recognizing the Spanish crown as the founder of a civilization in California that later was corrupted by its mixture with African and Indian cultures. The existing Mexican society in California was portrayed as a barrier to progress. The ranchos began to be regarded as primitive, wasteful, medieval fiefs. It was the moral obligation of the American government to spread their "advanced" civilization in the Western hemisphere. In the minds of Americans, the arrival of their rule was correlated to the reestablishment of a progressive government in California as shown by its urbanization.

Physical Structure

The collective ideology of settlements was reflected in its physical structure. The physical arrangement of settlements also served to alter memories by removing old settlements, rebuilding new structures, and altering the physical landscape of the conquered land. Both the Spanish and American settlements modified their landscape to reflect their collective ideology and mutated past.

The usage of space and arrangement of structures showed characteristics representing the power of the Spanish crown. The ideology of power, order, and control showed in the physical structure of the pueblo. It had a large plaza or patio to hold religious or secular ceremonies. The design of the town made the plaza the center of social activities. The settlements also had a church building as an institution representing Spanish control. The physical structures of the towns were constant reminders of the Spanish order, and exposure to such markers influenced the recollection of memories.[35] The physical structure also reduced the importance of natives' contributions to the new society.

In 1573, the Spanish king, Philip II, provided a plan for urban development of cities in the New World. The plan featured a gridiron pattern with a large plaza in the center as a marketplace, and site of religious and secular gatherings.[36] The design placed major symbols of authority next to the plaza. A design for the town of Tacambaro in Michoacan showed a large church, government buildings, and commercial activity next to the plaza. The large lot for the church showed the importance of the religious authority. In 1545, the Augustinians chose Tacambaro as their headquarters for converting people in the Balsas Valley.[37]

The gridiron plan provided a sense of order with straight streets and impressive buildings. Out of the plaza, lines running north-south and east-west divided the area into squares.[38] This arrangement allowed easier access to the plaza and helped to ease the traffic flow. It also facilitated the assessment and collection of taxes.[39] The most valuable property and more impressive buildings were on lots near the plaza. The value of property decreased as its distance became farther from the plaza.[40] The neighborhoods lacked the rigidity of the central city's grid with narrower and unpaved streets.

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[34]David Lowenthal, "The Timeless Past: Some Anglo-American Historical Preconceptions," in *Memory and American History*, ed. David Thelen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 135.

[35]Elizabeth F. Loftus, "Tricked by Memory," in *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience*, eds. Jaclyn Jeffrey and Glenance Edwall (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 18.

[36]Burkholder, 175–76.

[37]Dan Stanislawski, *The Anatomy of Eleven Towns in Michoacan* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1950), 32–33.

[38]Sidney David Markman, *Architecture and Urbanization in Colonial Mexico* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), 58.

[39]Goldfield, 30.

[40]Burkholder, 177.

On the outskirts of the pueblo, farmland supplied food for the town's inhabitants. Pasture and woodland existed within the municipality boundaries.[41]

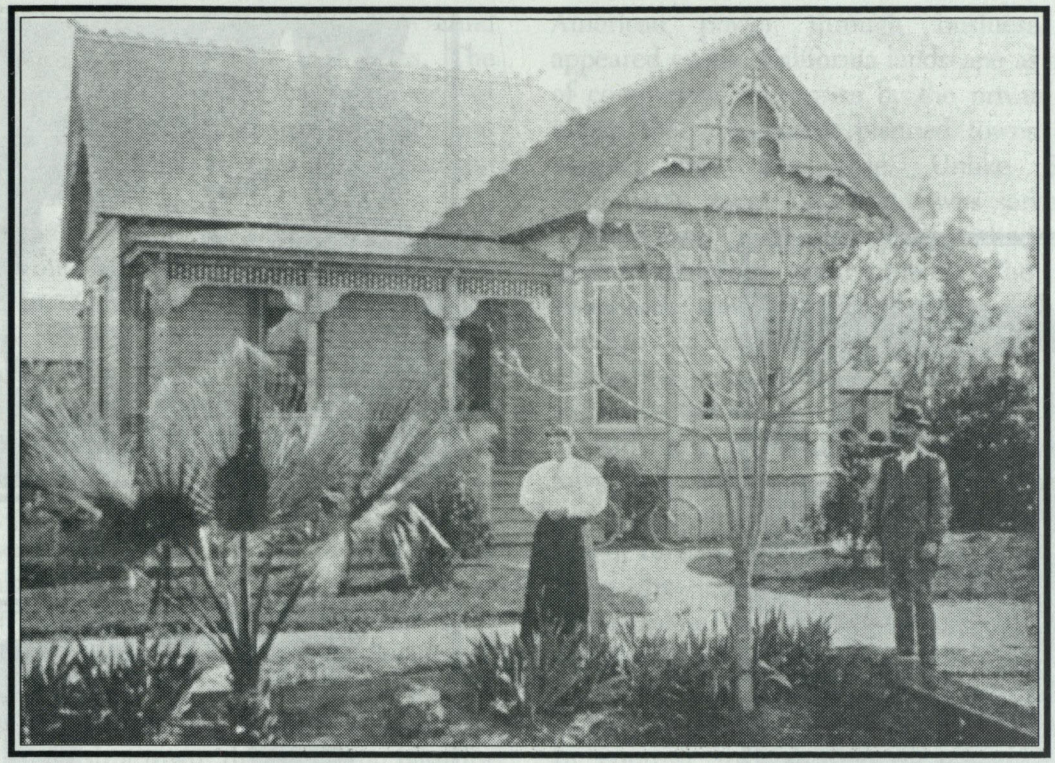
The crown used many symbols in the construction of its settlements. These symbols represented the crown's perception of order and its effort to reconstruct the past. Massive cathedrals in the larger cities and churches in the small towns represented Spanish power. The crown legitimized its power by constructing churches on historically strategic locations. The authorities built the Cathedral of Mexico next to the ruins of the Aztec Templo Mayor. The church of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios was built on top of the great pyramid of Cholula that was covered with dirt to create a hill.[42] Around the hill, the Spaniards built their houses and other churches. The most strategic location for a cathedral was the hill of Tepeyac. In 1531, the Virgin de Guadalupe asked Juan Diego for a shrine on the hill of Tepeyac. On this hill, Indians had worshipped Tonantzin, mother of the gods, before the arrival of the Spaniards.[43] The cathedrals sitting on top of pre-Columbian centers represented the victory of Spanish religion over the Indians' religions.

The importance of the sites served to connect the Spanish present with the pre-Columbian past. As Martha Norkunas suggests, resistance to the homogenization of the past did occur.[44] Although natives attended Christian masses in these churches, they adapted their rituals to the Christian ones. For instance, the worship of the Virgin Guadalupe became a masked worship of Tonantzin, thus making the Christian saint and the pagan god become one. The religious syncretism resulted from similarities between pagan and Christian rituals and church tolerance on minor rituals.[45]

Architecture also showed the authority of Spain. Buildings resembled the architecture found in Spain. In Mexico, the Romanesque, Gothic, Moorish, and medieval styles merged as time passed. The Spanish Renaissance gave birth to a new architectural style. Regardless of the style, the architecture represented Spanish rule; Spanish architecture replaced the Indian architecture of the large cities and small towns. In the town of Comitan, Chiapas, the church of Santo Domingo had long and narrow proportions with plain surfaces on the facade. The cubical tower was divided into squares with a blend of Gothic and Islamic traits. Areas around Seville, Spain, have churches with similar designs; for example, similar facades exist on San Marcos and San Roman in Seville.[46] However, subtle indigenous influences remained in architecture; adobe was the material used to build houses and other buildings.[47]

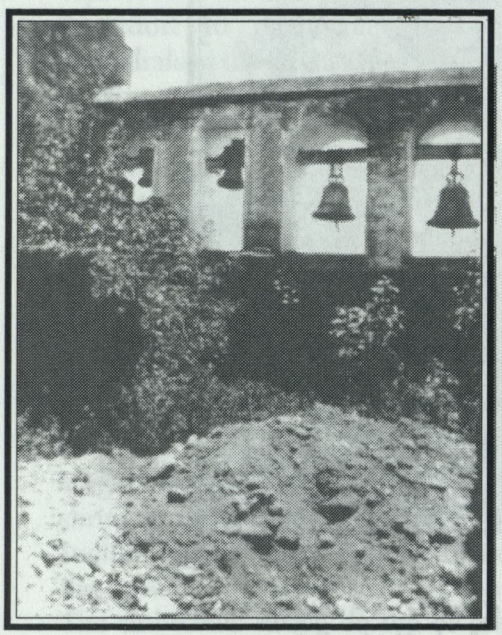
Similar to Spanish settlements, American settlements attempted to represent the collective ideology of American power as demonstrated by its entrepreneurship. American settlements symbolized the physical changes in California's landscape that proved the "evolutionary superiority of the Anglo-Americans."[48] To carry on this collective ideology, Americans replaced native adobe settlements with Cape Cod-style structures made from lumber shipped around Cape Horn or from the Pacific Northwest thereby reducing the physical remainders of the Mexican past. Dismembering the original rancho grants to build smaller ranchos, farm communities, and towns became the first step in the American development of California. The Land Act of 1851, unfamiliarity with the American legal system, short-cash economy, and unscrupulous lenders helped to dismantle the last of the original land grants. For example, 521

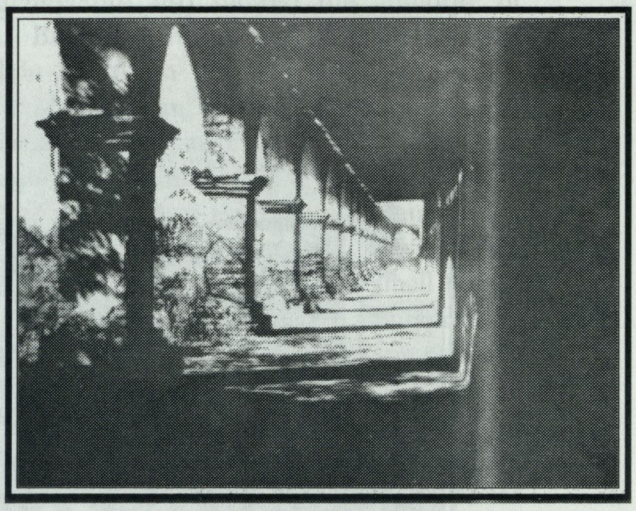
[41]David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 320.
[42]Hunter, 59.
[43]Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, eds., *The Course of Mexican History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 186.
[44]Norkunas, passim.
[45]Meyer and Sherman, 189.
[46]Markman, 236–237.
[47]Weber, 317.
[48]Norkunas, 38.





Two examples of alteration of physical space by Anglo-American Cultures, in Anaheim, CA. Top, *An 1898 Victorian house.* Below: A*n 1896 Osteopathic School, also in Anaheim.* **Anaheim Photo Collection,** (CSUF)







Ruins of Mission San Juan Capistroano as a symbol of a forgotten past.
Top: *The Bell Wall or Campanile.*
Right: *Three views of the colonnades.*
Don Medows Collection, **Special Collection,** (CSUF)



land grants were confirmed by the Land Commission in 1856 out of 813 cases. The appeals court increased the number of recognized grants to 604; however, only about half of these grants belonged to Mexican Californians.[49]

Eventually, most of the surviving land grants passed from Mexican hands into American hands. In Orange County, Juan Pacifico Ontiveros received a 35,970-acre land grant from Mexican governor Juan B. Alvarado in 1837.[50] The Ontiveros family land, Rancho San Juan Cajon de Santa Ana, was not recognized as a legitimate claim by the Land Commission due to missing papers. The process, including appeals, took five years, during which time the family accumulated debts.[51]

The Ontiveros family sold 1,165 acres for $2,330 to the Los Angeles Vineyard Society on September 12, 1857.[52] This stock company, owned mostly by German emigrants, used the land to establish a town; the economic base for this community was a vineyard.[53] In 1863, the Ontiveros family sold the rest of the property, except for 3,900 acres, to Abel Stearns for $6,000.[54] A flood in 1861 and drought between 1861–1864 destroyed the cattle industry in southern California. Stearns' ranch was subdivided into smaller plots for settlers. Farming communities such as Santa Ana and Orange emerged as the original land grants were altered by new settlements.[55] The physical alteration of the landscape symbolized change—progress—brought by the new rulers.

The cities and towns that emerged in California promoted the collective ideology of American power through business. They appeared on the California landscape as a result of commercial enterprise by the private sector unlike the government planned towns of Los Angeles and San Jose. Unlike Spanish settlements, most American towns served as a "marketplace" to provide goods and services to the surrounding communities. The towns' structures provided the creation of business districts or downtown sectors to serve a diversified economy resulting from commerce and real estate.[56]

Similar to the Spanish design, the American town was laid out on a gridiron plan that provided a sense of order. Many western towns sought to repeat the familiar pattern of eastern cities by copying the gridiron plan of Philadelphia. In this plan, the entire town had straight streets running parallel north-south and east-west to allow for easy traffic circulation and division of town lots, and efficient tax collection. In contrast to the Spanish town plan, the gridiron system in American towns did not lose its rigidity outside the central district. For instance, the imposition and expansion of a gridiron plan moved from the flat coast to the interior of San Francisco without major modifications to accommodate the presence of steep hills.[57]

Unlike the Spanish towns, the American settlements provided no central plaza. The downtown area was a cluster of streets lined by businesses and financial institutions, and included residential areas that fused to become the heart of the town. This cluster of streets replaced the function of the plaza in Spanish towns. For example, the city of San Francisco (originally known as Yerba Buena) had a central plaza as the main gathering place for the town's activities. As the gold rush increased the population of San Francisco, the town's physical structure changed. It increased its size by establishing more streets and extending existing ones. Mayor Bartlett authorized the extension of the town's borders while his successor Edwin

[49]Morefield, 26. Only 330 cases were confirmed to Mexican Californians.

[50]Mildred Yorba MacArthur, *Anaheim: The Mother Colony* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1959), 17.

[51]Teresa Hampson, *Brea: Celebrating 75 years, an Illustrated History* (Placentia, Calif.: Premiere Editions, 1993), 13.

[52]Leo J. Friis, *Campo Aleman: The First Ten Years of Anaheim* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Friis-Pioneer Press, 1983), 23.

[53]Friis, 26.

[54]Hampson, 14. The Ontiveros family used the 3,900 acres as a gift to their sons.

[55]Ibid., 15–16.

[56]Goldfield, 79.

[57]Ibid., 85.

Bryan transferred hundreds of acres of waterfront land to the town. The land was sold to the private sector, refusing to follow Mexican laws that did not allow private development of the waterfront.[58] The plaza's importance diminished as the waterfront was extended by filling shallow areas to reach deeper water between 1851 and 1852.[59] The waterfront; the emerging financial, hotel, and shopping districts; and a high density residential district began to constitute the downtown area.[60]

While old towns such as San Francisco and Los Angeles lost their plazas, new settlements were designed without plazas. The original plan for the city of Anaheim showed the gridiron plan of eastern towns with streets running from north to south and east to west. It had fifty, 20-acre lots with sixty-four houses on the central 40 acres and grapevines, fruit trees, and buildings to house tools on the rest.[61] By 1888, general stores, grocery stores, restaurants, saloons, blacksmith shops, one bank, and other service-oriented shops made Anaheim the marketplace for the surrounding rural settlements.[62] The city never developed a central plaza, yet its downtown area functioned as a commercial center for the city.

As the business district displaced the plaza, it placed symbols and markers of memory that advocated their founders' political, social, or economic gains.[63] By shaping the physical structure of the city, the planners' values were projected into the past by creating certain memories. These new markers displaced old ones. Schudson argues that the existence of multiple memories contested one another. He suggests that "the dominant groups (like other groups) do try, intentionally or intuitively, to make their ideas common property and common sense..."[64] American and Spanish settlements attempted to alter the past to place their presence as a progressive development by physically marginalizing other groups. In the same manner that the physical structure of Spanish settlements erased the presence of Native Americans from memory, American settlements deleted Mexicans from the California landscape.

Social Organization

The collective ideology and physical structure of communities showed the layout of social organization. The Spanish monarch felt that authority and order could only be obtained by controlling the social organization of the communities. The crown attempted to create a socioeconomic system based on castes. At the top of the pyramid were Spaniards who were divided among the Peninsulares and the Creoles. The Peninsulares, Spanish born, had more privileges than Creoles, or Spaniards born in the Americas. The Peninsulares were able to obtain the highest positions in civil, military, and religious institutions while the Creoles held fewer prestigious offices. After the Creoles came the Castas, people of mixed ancestry who gained positions at the lowest levels of church and civil administration. They were also employed as artisans and skilled laborers.[65] The Castas remained socially and economically inferior to the Spaniards. Within the Castas' sector of the population, the mestizo, offspring of Spanish-Indian relations, composed the largest group. The Indian and African population provided labor for the farms and mines. They were at the bottom of the socioeconomic structure as the working class or slaves.

By creating a society that gave political and economic power to the European settlers, Spain gave control of official history to those who identified themselves with Spain. The vernacular and official memories competed for control of the past. Usually, those with power, under government assistance, dominated the space of

[58]William Issel and Robert W. Cherny, *San Francisco 1865–1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 12–13.
[59]John Haskell Kemble, *San Francisco Bay: A Pictorial Maritime History* (Centreville, MD.: Cornell Maritime Press, 1957), 9.
[60]Issel, 75.
[61]Mac Arthur, 23.
[62]Ibid., 106.
[63]Schudson, 75.
[64]Ibid., 209.
[65]Ibid., 196.

the reconstructed past.[66] The crown maintained the hierarchy of social order by dividing the people of the town. The layout of towns provided for the division of people on the basis of socioeconomic status. Near the plaza, the upper class built their large mansions to demonstrate their wealth. The elite was a heterogeneous group of Spaniards who were involved in agriculture, mining, ranching, and trade.[67] Some religious and royal officials became involved in trade to create wealth.[68] The physical location of the elite next to the plaza corresponded to the collective ideology of having power and authority in the center of the town. The elite paraded in the central parks and walkways of the towns to show their wealth by wearing fine clothes and riding horses or in coaches.[69]

In outer areas, away from the plaza, the Castas, Indians and free blacks lived in neighborhoods. The conditions of the neighborhoods deteriorated as their location became farther from the center. The location of the neighborhoods determined the socioeconomic status of its inhabitants. People with less power and wealth had to live farther from the center. The working class lived in single-room houses; some rooms were divided into quarters for several families. They lived closer to the commercial or manufacturing establishments. Most employers had their factories, slaughterhouses, and bakeries in the working-class neighborhoods. This kind of environment brought fire threats and noxious odors from businesses, and crime because of a concentration of poverty.

The idea of the center of the town (Spaniards' residences) with order, power, and control provided a sense of superiority to the elite. They saw the outer areas of the town (non-Spaniards' residences) as full of lower classes creating a chaotic environment. Drunkenness, violence, political powerlessness, and poverty were features of the urban settlements.[70]

The social order was reinforced by establishing schools near the plaza which made education inaccessible to the working class. The Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico and the university in Guadalajara awarded the only bachelors' degrees.[71] To attain higher education, people had to pay the expenses of relocating and tuition. In effect, only the elite could be educated in New Spain so as to perpetuate the social order of the colony.

The caste system was flexible in that those who acquired wealth and assimilated into the Spanish culture could move into another caste. The flexibility of the caste system and the miscegenation of racial and ethnic groups created an elite of mixed ancestry. However, the need to maintain a mythic Spanish elite demanded a flexibility in individual memory and inflexibility of public memories. For example, a Native American who accumulated enough wealth to get an education and live downtown was considered a Spaniard. The collective memory did not allow non-Spaniards to be wealthy and educated. In turn, the individual had to assimilate completely into the Spanish culture. His memories about having been a Native American had to be deleted to accept his new status as a Spaniard.

While the social organization of the Spanish settlements demonstrated the creation of a caste system incorporating race and class, the American settlements demonstrated a system that segregated racial groups. With specialization of trades, diversification of the economy, application of new technology, and real estate, the expansion of the city was possible. As electric street cars facilitated longer trips from residential areas to downtown, spatial divisions along class and ethnic distinctions increased. Slowly, neighborhoods became more permanent markers of class and ethnic enclaves.[72] For example, six areas formed the physical structure

[66]John E. Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 41.
[67]Burkholder, 187.
[68]Ibid., 163.
[69]Ibid., 178.
[70]Ibid., 180.
[71]Meyer, 224.
[72]Goldfield, 79.

of San Francisco. The South of Market area included boardinghouses among warehouses, and manufacturing shops along the waterfront south of Downtown. This area was densely populated by single men and some families who worked in the factories, warehouses, saloons, and on ships. It was a working-class neighborhood of recent migrants.[73]

Unlike the South of Market area, the Mission District included mostly single families from the lower middle class. Wooden row houses, small businesses, and large wooden churches made up this neighborhood. Several religious buildings occupy the Mission District: four Congressional churches, two Episcopal churches, three Evangelical churches, three Lutheran churches, six Methodist churches, five Presbyterian churches, six Catholic churches and one synagogue. It also included a baseball diamond, recreation park, and a private amusement park.[74] In contrast to the Mission District, the Western addition had beautiful mansions for upper middle-class families along with small shops and stores. Similar to this area, the Nob Hill–Pacific Heights area included a concentration of single-family homeowners. Yet, this area was the residential address for the city's elite; elaborate mansions were built at the top of the hills.[75]

While street cars ran east-west and north-south to facilitate access to downtown from Nob Hill–Pacific Heights, Chinatown was an isolated community near downtown. People of Chinese ancestry were cut off from the city by segregation laws that prohibited them from living outside Chinatown, except as launderers and servants. Laundries, textile mills, light manufacturing, and saloons provided jobs for the residents of this high density district with narrow alleys.[76] The segregation of non-European people marginalized them from political and economic power that in turn made them invisible in society.

The North Beach community, situated north of Chinatown was a working-class neighborhood whose residents engaged in fishing and farming. Formally known as the Latin Quarter, it housed French, Italian, Mexican, Spanish, and Portuguese residents before the 1900s. This community and the outer Mission District developed into Italian ethnic enclaves. Unlike Chinese immigrants, Italians were not segregated by institutional means. Italians tended to congregate in the same neighborhoods to enjoy the benefits of patronizing Italian shops, theaters, restaurants, churches, and other social organizations.[77]

Europeans and Americans whose parents and grandparents were recent immigrants lived throughout the city while non-European residents were confined to specific neighborhoods. This tendency created a mythic past in which American settlers were a homogeneous group of white Anglo-Saxons in contrast to non-European groups. The institutionalization of segregation on non-European residents detached them from society and memory. While in San Francisco the Chinese were segregated, in Los Angeles, the Mexican community had experiences similar to blacks.

In Los Angeles, many old-line Mexican families lost power as their estates passed into the hands of American sons-in-law. Abel Stearns became Don Abel with his conversion to Catholicism to marry a daughter of Juan Bandini. Like Stearns, many Americans and European immigrants married daughters of wealthy Mexicans before the Mexican-American War. Through marriage and experience, Americans gained control of Los Angeles commerce.[78] Americanization of the city's elite took advantage of the memories of Spanish pasts that promoted the myth of Spanish elite. Many sons-in-law promoted this myth to justify their marriage to people of mixed ancestry. Wealthy Mexicans became Spaniards to be accepted into

[73]Issel, 59.
[74]Ibid., 65.
[75]Ibid., 69.
[76]Ibid., 71–72.
[77]Ibid., 73–74.
[78]Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York: Random House, 1992), 106.

the new society while poor Mexicans remained outcasts in confined areas of the city.[79]

As the railroad arrived in the city, the streets stretched to accommodate new commerce as the population surpassed 11,000 in 1880.[80] Many expensive new homes were built on the west side of the plaza in the Victorian style preferred by Americans, using wood instead of adobe. Only the middle class could afford living in these residences. The neighborhoods east and south of the plaza housed Mexican immigrants and Californians of Mexican ancestry. As barbers, butchers, and mostly laborers, Mexicans were confined to these neighborhoods.[81]

The first homeowners association appeared in Los Angeles to restrict the movement of "undesired" elements into its neighborhood. In 1916, the Los Feliz Improvement Association created deed restrictions that promoted the exclusion of non-Europeans. Deed restrictions, zone planning, and subdivision planning promoted social and racial homogeneity.[82] When a major immigration wave from Mexico occurred in 1910 as a result of the Mexican Revolution, the new immigrants began to settle in the urban centers of California.[83] Block restrictions prohibited Mexicans, blacks, and Asians from moving into white neighborhoods. Anglo policy provided for segregated facilities and social services of poor quality. The block restrictions limited movement of Mexicans into contained areas.[84]

The marginalization of Mexicans resulted from the threat of deportation. Until 1924, movement across the border was not regulated. Mexican laborers were needed for the maintenance of the railroad, as well as coal mining, and agriculture.[85] The 1930s Depression created a strict immigration policy against Mexican immigration. As subsequent waves of immigration occurred, the distinction between Californians of Mexican ancestry and Mexicans became nonexistent.

The threat of deportation was common practice to keep Mexicans from organizing labor unions. Agribusiness supported a policy of unrestricted immigration from Mexico to maintain low wages. Since no documents were issued to Mexicans crossing the border before 1924, many Mexican residents were not able to apply for citizenship. They remained at the goodwill of their adversaries.

In 1927, the Mexican-American workers created labor unions to demand better wages and working conditions. In 1936, over 2,500 Mexican workers went on strike in Orange County. Police broke the strike by arresting 200 people. As the Depression and Mexican strikes continued in California, forced repatriation became the norm. Agribusiness used repatriation to cut off the unions' leadership.[86] During the 1930s, 75,000 Mexicans in Los Angeles were forced to emigrate to Mexico. American citizens of Mexican ancestry and residents who arrived before 1924 were among the repatriated people.[87]

By labeling Mexican-Americans as foreigners, Americans altered the memory of the past. The social structure of American settlements gave an unstable position in society. As easily as the physical bodies of Mexican-Americans could be removed from American settlements, the memories about their past could be reshaped. American social structure allowed for the easy deletion of Mexicans from the pages of history to legitimize American rule.

[79]Mexicans form one of the many non-Caucasian groups that were restricted to certain parts of the city. Blacks and Asians also suffered institutionalized segregation.

[80]Pitt, 263.

[81]Ibid., 264.

[82]Davis, 161.

[83]Carl E. Jackson, ed., "The Urbanization of Southwestern Chicanos in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Race and Culture in America,* 3d ed. (Edina, MN: Burgess International Group, 1986), 235.

[84]J. Max Bond, "The Negro in Los Angeles" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1936), 10.

[85]Carlos E. Cortes, ed., "Shame of a Nation: Police-State Terror Against Mexican Americans," in *The Mexican Americans and the Law* (New York: Arnol Press, 1974), 13–14.

[86]Isabel Gonzalez, *Step-Children of a Nation* (New York: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 1947), 11.

[87]Ibid., 12.

Conclusion

The arrangement of space and structure in the towns of New Spain and American California provided the social organization and the collective ideology of the builders of these communities. The physical structure, collective ideology, and social order reinforced each other to provide order and control, and to represent the Spanish or American authority. The creation of cities served as vehicles to restructure collective and individual memories. Blight notes that "historical memory...was the prize in a struggle between rival versions of the past..."[88]

As the colonial cities became markers of Spanish authority, the pre-Columbian past became a stagnant period. The Mexican government has captured Native Americans in the pages of its history books, archeological sites, and tourist propaganda. They are portrayed as heroes of lost civilizations mixing with the Spaniards to create the modern Mexican state.

Similarly, once Mexican Californians were no longer a threat, they were frozen as characters of a "Spanish" past.[89] As the American towns became centers for commercial activities, the Mexican ranchos became part of a romantic past without changes. Toward the end of the century, Hubert Howe Bancroft and Helen Junt Jackson promoted the myth of a peaceful pastoral past with siestas and fandangos.[90] Even old Californian families adopted these images into their accounts of the lost innocence of the Hispanic era.

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[88]Thelen, "Frederick Douglas and the Memory of the Civil War," in David Thelen, ed., *Memory and American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 30.
[89]Weber, 341.
[90]Ibid., 341–342.

RECALLING THE RECALL:

Abuse of a Progressive Political Reform?

Mark M. Muskrath

In 1911, under progressive Governor Hiram Johnson, the recall became law in California. In a two year period starting in 1913 it was used three times against state level officials, then lay dormant for eighty years. It has been revived several times in the 1990s by Republicans. While the original intent of the backers of the recall seems to have been reduction of the influence of corporate interests on state government, recent revival during the partisan fight for control of the California Assembly has suggested an ironic new role: as a partisan tool to enforce party discipline.

On November 28, 1995, Doris Allen became the fourth state legislator to be successfully recalled since this Progressive era reform was enacted in 1911. Was Allen recalled for corruption or malfeasance? Not quite; Allen was the latest victim of a Republican party motivated by partisanship and a strong desire to wrest control of the legislature from Willie Brown and the Democratic party. The recall, once a progressive political reform designed to weaken political parties, has become the new weapon for the Republican party to strengthen partisanship within its ranks, and gain working control of the legislature denied them for fourteen months despite their electoral victory in 1994.

The Progressive period in California, 1911-1917, witnessed a number of political reforms that profoundly altered the political landscape in California. These reforms—primaries, cross-filing, initiative, referendum, and recall—were attempts by progressives to restore the relationship of the citizens to the state government. They weakened the power of political parties, which were seen as vehicles to advance special interests at the expense of the general interest.[1] Most of these reforms have been regularly used by the citizens of California since their enactment into law. Candidates are nominated in primaries and citizens use the initiative process to advance legislation presenting voters with a dizzying number of referendums at election time. Until cross-filing was repealed in 1959, candidates for election would often seek and receive the nomination of two or more parties.[2] The recall, though commonly used at the local level, city and county, the recall has

[1]Jackson K. Putnam, "The Progressive Legacy in California: Fifty Years of Politics, 1917-1967," in *California Progressivism Revisited*, ed. William Deverell and Tom Sitton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 247-248.

[2]The cross-filing law was amended in 1952, weakening its effect. When the Democratic party came to power in 1958, it repealed the law in 1959. Putnam, 261. One famous Californian who used cross-filing was Richard Nixon, who during his 1948 House reelection campaign was both the Republican and Democratic candidate.

seldom been used against elected officials at the state level. After becoming law in 1911, the recall was used three times, twice successfully, between 1913-1914. Then it lay dormant for eighty years. In 1994 it was resurrected by a right-wing populist movement for use against a state senator and has since been used three more times by an increasingly ideological and partisan Republican party. Two of the last four recall elections saw a successful use of the device; doubling the number of successful recalls. Is the recall going to become a political trend in California for the latter part of the nineties? Has this revised use perverted its original intent?

The recall is a device that empowers voters to remove elected or appointed officials from office before the official expiration of their term. The citizens of an electoral district file a petition and collect signatures of registered voters. Once enough signatures have been gathered, a special election is held. The recall election consists of two parts: a yes or no question on whether the official in question should be recalled, and a vote for replacement candidates. If a majority of voters favor the recall, the official is removed from office and replaced by the candidate who wins a plurality of the votes.[3]

The recall has a long history in California. It was first advanced as a political reform measure by Dr. John R. Haynes when he founded the Los Angeles Direct Legislation League in the 1890s.[4] Through the efforts of the League, the city of Los Angeles became the first government to adopt the recall in 1903. Haynes supported progressive Governor Hiram Johnson who made the recall part of his statewide reforms. The recall was adopted as a constitutional amendment in 1911. But what was the intent of this reform?

The "original intent" of the progressives who championed the recall is not entirely clear. Most broadly, the recall was advanced to weaken political parties and thereby reduce the grip of corporate interests, especially railroads, like the Southern Pacific, on the state government. This "intent" is reflected by recall supporters like Haynes who wanted to use it to take back the government from a "corrupt minority," particularly political machines, and return it to the "people."[5] At the same time, however, the recall was very controversial and was not unanimously supported by all progressives. The leadership of the National Direct Legislation League divorced the recall from the other two "direct democracy" measures, initiative and referendum.[6]

While there is no doubt that the progressives who supported the recall wanted it used against public officials who were corrupt, it is not completely evident that the progressives intended it only for such officials. Hiram Johnson, in his first inaugural speech to the legislature, referred to the recall as a "precautionary measure by which a recalcitrant official can be removed...."[7] Other proponents during the progressive period made arguments that left no doubt that the recall was meant for more than just blatantly corrupt public officials. A contemporary author wrote, "The avowed purpose of the recall is to preserve in the people the right to discharge faithless, inefficient or insubordinate servants at any time."[8] The various intents of the original proponents of the recall were nearly as numerous as the proponents themselves; it was not a monolithic movement. Also, the citizens of California seem to have viewed the recall as something more than just a device to protect themselves from corrupt officials.[9]

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[3]Joseph F. Zimmerman, *Participatory Democracy: Populism Revived* (New York: Praeger, 1986), 105-115.

[4]The exact date of the founding by Haynes of the Direct Legislation League is not clear to this author. One source places the date at 1895. Martin J. Schiesl, "Progressive Reform in Los Angeles Under Mayor Alexander, 1909-1913," *California Historical Quarterly* (Spring 1975): 37-56. The League underwent many changes during the period, and one biographer of Haynes claims he was not converted to direct legislation until 1898 and did not found the Los Angeles League until 1900. Tom Sitton, *John Randolph Haynes: California Progressive* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 36-39.

[5]Schiesl, 39.

[6]Sitton, 35.

[7]Hiram W. Johnson, "Governor Johnson's Inaugural Address," in *California Progressive Campaign Book for 1914: Three years of Progressive Administration in California Under Governor Hiram W. Johnson*, ed. Charles K. McClatchy (San Francisco: Allied Printing, 1914), 283-304.

[8]Delos F. Wilcox, *Government by All the People* (1912; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 171.

[9]Only one of the seven state recalls have been about corruption per se. In 1913 Senator Marshall Black was recalled after being found guilty of fraud.

An example of a recall election that called into question the reform measure itself occurred the second time the recall was used in 1913. A recall of State Senator Edwin E. Grant succeeded by a slim margin after voters in his district charged him with voting against the interests of the district by supporting a prohibition bill. The recall of Senator Grant attracted attention from all over the state and even some parts of the country where recall provisions were being considered.[10]

Senator Grant was a progressive legislator from San Francisco who had been a crusader against vice, like alcohol, prostitution, and gambling. Grant had alienated some of the vice-connected interests in his district, who sponsored the recall effort against him. Three petitions were circulated. The first two contained many forgeries and were found to be fraudulent. The third petition was certified and an election was held. The vice interests covered the district with signs proclaiming "Vote yes to recall Grant. He voted for Prohibition."[11] The recall was successful, and Grant was replaced with a machine politician whom he had defeated in 1912, former State Senator Eddie Wolfe. This action caused much concern among progressives, who feared future uses of the "recall by the politicians it was intended to suppress."[12] Some progressives and the major newspapers of the state clamored for a reform of the recall. They wanted stricter signature requirements and other regulations to prevent its misuse. The hard-core progressives led by Haynes defeated any attempt to modify the recall, preserving it for future generations.

This reform disappeared from use after an attempted recall failed in 1914.[13] Why did it lay dormant for so long? One reason, according to political scientist and local Republican activist Barbara Stone, has been the increase in voter apathy and decline in knowledge by the electorate about the recall and their state representatives.[14] Ultimately, however, the decline in the use of the recall coincided with the decline of the progressive movement which gave it birth.[15]

In 1994, interest in the recall was reawakened by an ideological group that takes politics very seriously, the gun rights movement. Senator David A. Roberti (D-Van Nuys) became the number one target for gun rights activists after he sponsored a ban on military-style semi-automatic assault rifles and led efforts to ban magazines that hold large numbers of bullets.[16] In early 1994, a grassroots coalition led by gun rights activists gathered enough signatures to force Roberti into a recall election. The recall was clearly intended as "pay-back for Roberti's gun control efforts."[17] Manuel Fernandez, a spokesman for the Constitutional Rights Federation, (a gun rights group backing the recall effort) indicated that "the whole purpose of the recall of Roberti is retribution for the passage of the semi-automatic rifle ban."[18] While Roberti was victorious the failure of the recall forced him to spend up to $650,000 to defeat it. In his next race, the Democratic nomination for state treasurer, Roberti lost. The cost of the recall fight is credited with weakening him.[19]

The Roberti recall effort was not particularly partisan; it was an ideological effort focused on one issue. However, that recall effort did demonstrate the volatility of the electorate to California Republican Party vice-chairman and GOP strategist Michael Schroeder.[20] Following the indecisive outcome of the 1994 elections in the California Assembly, the recall became a weapon that the Republican party would use to wrest control of that legislative body from the Democrats.

Despite the Republican tsunami in November 1994, the GOP had been unable to gain control in

[10]Franklin Hichborn, *Story of the Session of the California Legislature of 1915* (San Francisco: Press of The James H. Barry Company, 1916), 66.
[11]Ibid., 82.
[12]Sitton, 102.
[13]State Senator James C. Owen, survived the recall election. Recall supporters argued that Owens had voted against his constituents when he failed to support pro-labor legislation.
[14]Barbara Stone, interview by author, 8 Nov. 1995.
[15]Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 266-267.
[16]Jack Cheevers, "Gun Owners Push Roberti Recall Drive," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 Jan. 1994, A3. The anti- Roberti group, Californian's Against Corruption, made up of gun right activists first targeted Roberti in a special election to fill a vacant senate seat in 1992.
[17]Ibid.
[18]Ibid.
[19]Dan Morain, "Recall Being Retooled Into Partisan Weapon," *Los Angeles Times*, 22 May 1995, A3.
[20]Ibid.

the assembly because the coveted speakership remained out of their hands. The election had given Republicans a 41-39 vote margin in the assembly. When maverick Republican Paul Horcher (R-Diamond Bar) renounced his Republican registration and cast his vote for current Speaker Willie Brown (D-San Francisco), the assembly was left deadlocked 40-40. Both parties considered using the recall as a way to break the deadlock, but only the conservatives in the GOP actually did.[21] A recall petition was circulated and qualified against Horcher almost immediately. A hit list of Democrats who won by narrow margins and who "promised" to be "independent" was drawn up.[22]

Amid populist rallying cries of "Willie Whorcher," and with a large investment in money by the California Republican party, GOP assembly leader Jim Brulte, and Governor Pete Wilson, the recall against Paul Horcher succeeded by a margin of 62.5% to 37.5%. Control of the assembly, however, still eluded the conservatives in the GOP. The balance of power stood at 39-39 with two vacancies. The GOP was certain to win the two vacant seats but elections were still months away. The Republican leadership, thirsting for the powerful speakership, initiated a recall against Michael Machado (D-Stockton).

Machado had won a close election in 1994. According to his 1992 GOP rival, Dean Andal, Machado had indicated that he would remain independent and was not committed to vote for Willie Brown for Speaker.[23] The recall supporters charged Machado with betraying his constituents when he cast his vote for Brown. Senator Rob Hurtt, one of the main sponsors of the Machado recall, publicly said "We think he's vulnerable. We're going to go after him pure and simple."[24] Indeed, Hurtt had more devious reasons for attempting to recall Machado. If Machado were recalled it would insure GOP control of the assembly and, more important to Hurtt, it would help the GOP gain control of the state senate. Hurtt and Assemblyman Larry Bowler (R-Elk Grove) organized and financed the recall effort against Machado.[25] Machado survived because many of the voters in the district, particularly Republicans, felt it was an unfair use of the recall.[26] Other developments in the assembly, though, would spark yet another use of the recall.

In June of 1995 the Republicans gained a seat that had been vacant, leaving the balance of power at 40-39. It seemed as if the Republicans would finally gain the speakership they had coveted for so long. in one last act of defiance, Willie Brown denied the speakership to conservatives in the GOP caucus yet again. Brown maneuvered Doris Allen (R-Cypress) into the position by having all thirty-nine Democrats, plus Allen herself, vote for her. This action sparked renewed cries of "betrayal" and "treason" by assembly Republicans and a recall of Allen was launched immediately.[27]

The recall bid against Allen was somewhat controversial. Some Republicans did not want to recall Allen until they saw whether or not she would use the speakership to advance the agenda of the assembly Republicans.[28] The conservatives pressed on and qualified the recall for the November 1995 election. Allen resigned the speakership in September after the Republicans

[21]Daniel M. Weintraub, "Recalls May be Next Weapon in Battle for Assembly," *Los Angeles Times*, 8 Dec. 1995, A34. "The struggle for power in the California Assembly may turn into a battle of recalls, with control...going to whichever party has the most members left standing." The Democratic party considered launching a recall of Steve Kuykendall (R-Rancho Palos Verdes) because he received a $125,000 contribution from the tobacco company Philip Morris. Ibid, A34. The conservatives Republicans who backed the use of the recall to gain control of the assembly so they could maneuver their candidate into the speakership are known as the "Cavemen". See Barbara Stone, interview with author, 8 Nov. 1995.

[22]Two Democrats in particular were targeted: Michael Machado (D-Stockton) and Susan Davis (D-San Diego) but up to five had recall threats issued against them by Michael Schroeder. Weintraub, A34.; Morain, A3.

[23]Weintraub, A34.

[24]Morain, A3.

[25]Jenifer Warren, "GOP's use of Recall Sparks Debate in Central Valley," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 Aug. 1995, A1. Hurtt and his Allied Business PAC contributed $32,000 to the Machado recall. As for Bowler's involvement, he is Hurtt's choice for the Senate seat that both Machado and Bowler's assembly seats make up. The current incumbent of the Senate district is Pat Johnston, a Democrat who is considered vulnerable in 1996. Bowler thought he could raise his name identification by participating in the Machado recall effort.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Len Hall and Ben Stall, "Conservatives Vow Allen Recall Effort," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 June 1995, A14.

[28]Ibid.

elected another conservative to an assembly vacancy. The conservatives still did not gain the speakership as Republican moderate, Brian Setencich, gained the post with the support of Democrats and Allen, and his own vote. The conservatives continued to push the recall against Allen. She was defeated overwhelmingly, 65% to 35%, on November 28, 1995. Scott Baugh, a loyal Republican conservative, was elected to replace her. This victory still did not give conservatives the speakership. Willie Brown's election as mayor of San Francisco in December 1995 created another vacancy and another opportunity to replace Setencich. Republicans put immense pressure on their members to support the GOP caucus' choice for speaker, Curt Pringle.[29] With loyalty in their ranks secured, the Republicans rammed through new rules shifting Speaker Setencich's power to a GOP controlled rules committee. On January 4, 1996 Assemblyman Curt Pringle took command as the new Speaker.[30] Despite the apparent victory of party conservatives, the prospects of continued GOP control of the assembly is far from certain.[31] Assemblyman Scott Baugh has been indicted on four felony counts and several staffers, including one of Pringle's, have pleaded guilty to campaign violations stemming from the Allen recall.[32]

Now that recall fever has subsided[33], what are the prospects for its future use? At one level it is sure to continue to be used as a method of harassment and to focus the public's attention on particular issues, like Jesse Jackson's announcement of a recall effort against Governor Wilson because of Wilson's efforts to dismantle Affirmative Action.[34] But will the use of the recall as a partisan weapon continue?

In the short term, use of the recall in this way will probably decrease because the its revived use was spurred by the indecisive results of the 1994 election for the California Assembly.[35] Lack of any more viable targets and the possibility of provoking a voter backlash against the Machiavellian campaign techniques used by the "cavemen" in their quest for the Speakership may also inhibit near term use.[36] The Los Angeles Times has consistently editorialized against the current application of the recall, calling it an "abuse" of a progressive reform.[37] Finally, the Republicans have gained solid control of the assembly, which prompted the recent political use of the recall in the first place. In the long run, passage of Prop. 198, the open primary initiative whose stated purpose is to weaken the grip of partisan interests in both major parties, may reduce political use of the recall.

Because California is a bellwether state,[38] the recall could begin to be used in other states where political power becomes gridlocked. The recall law, as presently designed, is a very good way for a ideological party to discipline its ranks. Special elections generally have very low turnouts, and the voters who do turn out are often very ideologically motivated.[39] Such ideological or

[29]Steve Scott, "The Wait is Over: The GOP Finally Seizes the Assembly, 14 Months Late," *California Journal*, Feb. 1996, 20-21.

[30]Setencich had seemed likely to retain the speakership with the help of the Democrats and possibly some Republicans.; Eric Bailey, "Speakership Still Under Contention," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 Nov. 1995, A16.

[31]Bill Stall and Carl Ingram, "Stage Set for partisan Battle Over Control of Legislature," *Los Angeles Times*, 28 Mar. 1996, A3.

[32]Peter Warren, Michael G. Wagner and Dexter Filkins, "O.C. Grand Jury Indicts Baugh," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 Mar. 1996, A1.

[33]Setencich was threatened with a recall but the "cavemen" did not try it, as Setencich's district favors the Democrats in registration. Barbara Stone, interview by author, 8 Nov. 1995. Setencich was targeted in his primary for renomination and was defeated by Robert Prenter, a political neophyte, who recieved large amounts of cash from some of the same sources that participated in the Allen recall. Max Vanzi, "Former Speaker Setencich Loses Assembly Seat," *Los Angeles Times*, 28 Mar. 1996, A3.

[34]Efrain Hernandez Jr., "Jackson Announces Bid to Recall Wilson," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 July 1995, A3. On the recall role in harassment, see Stone, interview.

[35]Stone, interview.

[36]Eric Bailey, "Pringle is the Point man in Recall Attempt," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 Nov. 1995, A1. This article details the machinations of the "Cavemen", and how they intended to use a psuedo-Democrat candidate to dilute the Democratic vote. This article also shows how these efforts may scuttle Pringle's efforts to remain speaker.

[37]"Lets Stop Recall Fever," editorial, *Los Angeles Times*, 28 Aug. 1995, B4.;"Revenge Has Its Day-Again," editorial, *Los Angeles Times*, 30 Nov. 1995, Orange county ed., B10.

[38]California has generally led the nation in terms of major political trends, e.g. Prop. 13, term limits, and Prop. 187.

[39]The Horcher recall had a voter turnout of about 33%, the Allen recall had about 25% voter turnout, both of which are high for special elections but still lower than a general election. Stone, "interview."

single-issue voters can easily be motivated by party cadres, thus a general election can be overturned with a rump election. This seems to be exactly, what the GOP has done and may continue to do if conditions permit it.

The question of whether the recall process is being abused by the Republicans is moot. The recall has been used for questions other than corruption since its first use. California's first champion of the recall, John Haynes, fought to preserve its unregulated use when the question arose after only its second use. However, it is ironic that the recall law, ushered in during the progressive period to help limit partisan interests, has now been hijacked by very partisan interests for the purpose of gaining control of the State Assembly. The recall is, and was known to progressives like Haynes to be a Pandora's Box that can be reopened by those who lust after political power.

To modify the recall, or to limit it to explicit cases of corruption, would take away what seemingly should be a right of the people. Public officials should serve their constituents honestly and faithfully. Recent uses of the recall, along with term limit initiatives, have sent a message from the voters to the politicians: we don't trust you! To regain the confidence of their constituents, politicians need to express their positions clearly and forcefully during the general election. Insofar as recalls force politicians to be honest with the voters, what harm is there? Voters may then be able to make clear decisions and to vote for something rather than against somebody. As Senator Hurtt, a leading financier of the recent recalls, said "This is a new era, we're going to be doing lots of things that weren't done in the past. They should have been done in the past. We're not going to settle for the status quo."[40]

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[40]Morain, A3.

CHANGES IN THE IDEOLOGY OF MEDIEVAL ANTI-SEMITISM 313–1349 C.E.

Eric Johnson

This article traces the seeds of anti-Semitism from the advent of Constantine the Great through the Crusades. It attributes these feelings to the dogmatic aspects of "revealed truth" held by both Christian and Jewish faiths, whereby only one could be "the" truth. The early Christian Church was caught in a battle for its survival and viewed history as God's people against His enemies. However, these antagonizing factors were tempered by Augustine advocating a tolerant attitude toward the Jews, as well as later beliefs among Christians that the Jewish people, through their Old Testament heritage, validated the Christian faith which emerged from Judaism. Unfortunately, a change in Christian perceptions occurred after the Crusades and continued with the later arrival of a renewed interest in Aristotle's teachings. These logical and sensory arguments to "prove" the Christian faith were one of the basic factors in the beginning of what would become Western anti-Semitism.

For that one death on the cross how many crucifixions!

Will Durant

The medieval Jew lived in a world where Christianity pervaded every aspect of society and daily life. As members of a minority faith it was inevitable that they would suffer from oppression at the hands of their Christian overlords. Religion lay at the root of every attack made against the Jew, so it is best to look at anti-Semitism in the Middle Ages, or more accurately, anti-Judaism, since the faith was hated more than the adherent, as a series of changing relationships between Christian and Jew.

Throughout its history, Christianity has had what can be called an Electra complex toward its parent faith, where the mother is considered a rival for the favor of the father. As early as the first century C.E. both faiths were absorbed in a polemical battle[1] which promoted a sense of mutual antagonism that continued into the Medieval Era. When the Church came into power, it used its influence to maintain an upper hand over the Jewish people. "The Middle Ages, for the Jew at least, began with the advent to power of Constantine the Great."[2] Beginning with this first emperor

[1]See G.N. Stanton, "Aspects of Early Christian-Jewish Polemic and Apologetic," *New Testament Studies* 31 (July 1985): 377–392.

[2]Jacob Marcus, ed., *The Jew in the Medieval World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1938), 3.

sympathetic to the Christian faith, the rights of the Jews decreased as the authority and influence of the Church increased. The Jews suffered a new form of oppression that resulted from their faith rather than their political misfortune. It was the intolerant nature of the Christian Church that led to medieval anti-Judaism, and one must understand this nature before one understands the phenomenon it caused.

There are several influential factors and events in the development of Christianity that made it intolerant of other faiths. The most significant of these, the doctrine of revealed truth, was shared with Judaism. This Judeo-Christian tradition was distinct from ancient philosophy and the inception of it marked a new era in Western thought. While the Greco-Roman philosophers attempted to determine the nature of God through rationalization and observation,[3] the Christians and Jews believed that the nature of God was revealed to them in the scriptures and that all that was needed was faith. Saint Augustine reversed antiquity's formula of "understanding seeking faith" with his creed "faith seeking understanding."[4]

The Christians and the Jews each believed that they held a monopoly on the truth and that the other was a heretic. The Judeo-Christian debate was not over the interpretation of natural observation such as the debate between the Stoics and Epicureans; it was a debate over a truth revealed by God himself. Since the Jews rejected the central Christian doctrine that Jesus was the Son of God, the two faiths were mutually exclusive and irreconcilable. As Saint John Chrysostom said, both faiths could not be true. "If the Jewish ceremonies are venerable and great, ours are lies. But if ours are true, as they are true, theirs are filled with deceit."[5]

The Christians also believed that God was a causal force in history. Augustine believed that all of history was the fulfillment of God's plan that culminated in the advent of the Christian faith.[6] God's favor for the Christians was seen in the fact that they had survived the Roman persecution to convert their persecutors, while the Jews were dispersed throughout Europe. In Christ's name Constantine won the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, Pope Leo I turned the Huns away from Rome, and Charles Martel defeated the Moors at Poitiers. The practice of trial by combat or ordeal centered around the belief that God would always intervene to protect the innocent. Therefore, the prosperity of Christianity and the hardships of the Jews were signs of where God's favor lay.

During the first millennium of Christianity's existence, the dominance it eventually achieved, and even its very survival was far from assured. At various times during the first thousand years it was under threat by persecutions, barbarians, pagan revivals, political anarchy, and heresies. For much of this time, being a Christian was a challenge at great personal risk. Christ told His followers that "everyone will hate you because you are mine and are called by my name [Christians]. But...if you stand firm, you will win your souls."[7] In the Christian psyche, history was the struggle of Christ's people against adversity, and every non-Christian was the enemy. Numerous "scourges of God" challenged the faithful and prompted a sense of vulnerability and uncertainty. Christians were obliged to tenaciously maintain any advantage they could grasp.

This sense of vulnerability is apparent in the writings of the early Doctors of the Church. John Chrysostom's *Discourses Against Judaizing Christians* were written approximately 386 C.E. not to curse the Jews as much as to dissuade the many Christians of his day who were converting to Judaism.

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[3]See Norman Melchert, *The Great Conversation* (Mountain View, CA: Mountain View Publishing Co., 1991) for a summary of the dominant philosophies of late antiquity and their attempts to discover the nature of God through rationalization.

[4]Ibid., 211–245.

[5]Saint John Chrysostom, *Discourses Against Judaizing Christians*, Discourse I, vi, 5, trans. by Paul W. Harkins Jr. (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1979), 23–24.

[6]Melchert, 243.

[7]Luke 21:17–19

> I, too, in the past, frolicked about in some meadow; [he took the Jewish threat lightly] I took no part in polemics because there was no one causing me concern. But today the Jews, who are more dangerous than any wolves, are bent on surrounding my sheep; so I must spar with them and fight them so that no sheep of mine may fall victim to those wolves.[8]

These writings were written for a defensive purpose, and although they cannot be compared with the anti-Semitic writings of a thousand years later, they did help to lay a foundation for an anti-Jewish mentality.

Saint Ambrose was another Church Doctor who wrote against the Jews in what he believed was an effort to protect Christian interests. In 388 he successfully appealed to Emperor Theodosius (r. 379–395), who held his court in Ambrose's diocese and was heavily influenced by him, to rescind an order that a synagogue destroyed in Callinicum at the instigation of its bishop be rebuilt using that community's funds. Ambrose was concerned about the consequences of a political victory for the Jews:

> Shall the Jews write this inscription on the front of their synagogue: 'The temple of impiety, erected from the plunder of Christians'?...Will you give this triumph over the Church of God to the Jews? this victory over Christ's people? this exultation...to the unbelievers? this rejoicing to the Synagogue, this sorrow to the Church? The people of the Jews will set this solemnity among their feastdays...in memory of their having triumphed over Christ...[9]

It is important to keep in mind that both Ambrose and Chrysostom were writing immediately after some of the greatest crises in early Church history. In the late fourth century the impact of the Roman persecution was still fresh. Even after Constantine legalized Christianity in 312 the Church was still oppressed by some of his successors. The emperor Julian (known as "the Apostate," r. 361–363) attempted to revive paganism and favored the Jews out of dislike for the Church. In his letter to Theodosius, Ambrose mentioned several churches that had been destroyed by Jews and pagans during Julian's reign that were never compensated for. Although this accusation cannot be confirmed, the belief that it really happened intensified the rivalry the Church felt toward the Jews. Emperor Valens (r. 364–378) was an Arian Christian and also persecuted the Orthodox Church while favoring the Jews. The reigns of these two emperors certainly left the impression that any advantage of the Jews could only be at Christian expense.

The desire of sympathetic emperors, beginning with Constantine, to protect Christianity against rival faiths is apparent in the many laws made during the late period of the Roman Empire, which were the first in a long series of political oppression against non-Christians. Jews were forbidden to own Christian slaves after 339.[10] Since agriculture and industry at this time depended on slave labor, this was a severe economic restriction. In 439 it was viewed as "sinful that the enemies of the heavenly majesty and of the Roman laws should have the power to judge...against Christians...and thus...insult our faith." Consequently, a law was passed barring Jews from all but the most financially ruinous public offices.[11] The conversion of a Christian to the "dangerous sect" of Judaism was made a capital offense in 315 as was the intermarriage of Christians and Jews in 339 (even though the Jews themselves had long forbidden such unions).[12]

Max Dimont correctly assessed these laws as being of a defensive nature for the Christians and of limited consequence.[13] It is also true that these laws were not only directed towards Jews, but also towards pagans, heretics, Manicheans, and all other nonorthodox Christians. What he fails to mention is the sense of insecurity on the part of the Church that these laws represent.

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[8]Chrysostom, IV, 2.

[9]"Sacti Ambrosii Mediolanesis episcopi epistolae, etc.," Letter XL, in Marcus, 107–109.

[10]"Theodosiani libri XVI, cum constititionibus Simonianis, XVI," 8, 6, in Marcus, 4.

[11]Ibid., Vol. II, "Novella III," in Marcus, 5.

[12]Ibid., XVI, 8, 1, in Marcus, 4.

[13]Max I. Dimont, *Jews, God, and History* (London: Penguin Books, 1964), 159.



Top: *Anti-Semitic propaganda: the Jews of Cologne burnt alive, from a woodcut published in 1463.*
Goldberg, **The Jewish People – Their History & Their Religion,** (Harry Abrams)
Bottom: *15th century engraving of a ritual murder at Trent in 1475.*
Wurmbrand and Roth, **The Jewish People,** (Adama Books)



After centuries of persecution, the Church felt that the State was obliged to protect it from all potential threats and that religious duty should guide a ruler's judgment. Ambrose reminded Theodosius that "it is needful that censure should yield to religion."[14] In other words, Theodosius should have been more tolerant of the mob at Callinicum because it was "moved by some offense against God or insult to the Church."[15]

With the inherent intolerance of the Church (and therefore the Christian state), it is ironic that the most lawless and violent years in Western history were among the most peaceful for Judeo-Christian relations. The Church was still ascendant and there must have been an air of confidence as it met with so much success among the barbarians. One author noted: "The violence and bloodshed that characterized Judeo-Christian relations in Europe since the Crusades were almost wholly absent from the first millennium of their relationship. Until the Crusades the Judeo-Christian argument was largely verbal."[16] Although there were a few instances of persecution and oppression against the Jews during this period, it was nothing compared to what Christians inflicted upon each other.

The best explanation for the Jews being largely exempt from the brutality that was the hallmark of this period is the influence of Augustine. He believed that the Jews had a legitimate place in Christendom and were part of God's historical plan. As living proof of the Old Testament and its prophecies about Christ, they were living proof of the New Testament and Christianity. "[They] are thus by their own Scriptures a testimony to us that we have not forged the prophecies about Christ."[17] God dispersed the Jews so that their testimony would be seen throughout Christendom: "because if they had only been in their own land with that testimony of the Scriptures, and not everywhere, certainly the Church which is everywhere could not have had them as witnesses among all nations to the prophecies which were sent before concerning Christ."[18] Because of this positive role the Jews played in history, God prevented the Jews from being destroyed. "He has not slain them, that is, He has not let the knowledge that they are Jews be lost in them, although they have been conquered by the Romans, lest they should forget the law of God, and their testimony should be of no avail in this manner of which we treat."[19] If God had allowed Judaism to survive, Christians should do the same. Judaism was to be tolerated but contained.

Augustine did not hold the Jews culpable for the crucifixion of Christ. Christ was crucified "because it behooved Him to die and rise again."[20] If Christ didn't want to die He wouldn't have, but it was part of His plan. Augustine quoted Saint Paul: "their offense is the salvation of the Gentiles."[21] God chose not to avenge Christ's death to show "the grace of His compassion."[22]

Augustine also believed that the Jews were not evil because evil did not exist. In his *Confessions* he argued that since everything besides God is corruptible, it must be good in order for it to have a state to be corrupted from.

> If [things] were of the supreme order of goodness, they would not become corrupt; but neither would they become corrupt unless they were in some way good. For if they were supremely good, it would not be possible for them to be corrupted. On the other hand, if they were entirely without good, there would be nothing in them that could become corrupt...Therefore, whatever is, is good; and evil...is not a substance, because if it were...it would be good.[23]

[14]Marcus, 108.
[15]Ibid., 107.
[16]Samuel Schafler, "Enemies or Jew Haters? Reflections on the History of Anti-Semitism," *Judaism* 37 (Summer 1988): 356.
[17]Saint Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Rev. George Wilson (New York: Random House, 1950), XVIII, 46.
[18]Ibid.
[19]Ibid.
[20]Ibid.
[21]Romans 11:11
[22]*City of God*, XVIII, 46.
[23]Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. R.S. Pine-Coffin (London: Penguin Books, 1961), VII, 12.

Augustine believed that the Jews were not evil, just on a lesser degree of good than the Christians. The belief in the evil Jew was to come later.

The Augustinian perspective of the Jews prevailed for the next 600 years until it was succeeded along with the rest of his philosophy by the introduction of Aristotle into medieval thought. The Jewish faith was viewed as a harmless "theological artifact,"[24] and the Jews themselves were viewed as "rebellious brothers who, under certain circumstances, could be made to reform."[25] Robert Stacey explains that

> Throughout the Middle Ages the expectation of eventual Jewish conversion lay at the center of traditional Christian justifications for protecting Jewish populations which lived within their midst. Augustine and later Pope Gregory the Great...stressed the historical importance of the Jews as living witnesses to the Old Testament prophecies that confirmed Jesus' messiahship and that foresaw the Jews' eventual conversion to Christianity as a harbinger to the end of days.[26]

Since the Second Coming and the Jews' consequent conversion were believed to be near, there were no major proselytizing efforts among the Jews on the part of the Church. The polemical writings against the Jews were intended for a Christian audience and criticized the Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament rather than Jewish tradition in general.[27] All anti-Jewish writings and acts carried with them the intent of preventing the Judaizing of Christians and preventing a political disadvantage for the Church.

Before the Crusades, the Church encouraged an attitude of "patience and moderation" when dealing with infidels.[28] Persuasion was preferred to force in missionary work, and this is understandable in light of the fact that the majority of the infidels in Europe at the time were barbarians and the use of force against them would have been foolish. The Church saw itself as a moderating influence on the violent tendencies of the tribes who had just inherited the Roman Empire. The Church had tried to reduce the rampant warfare by declaring "Peaces" and "Truces of God" on certain days and at certain places, and it refused Christian burial to soldiers killed in tournaments.[29] Although Ambrose sanctioned the violence of the mob in Callinicum, he claimed that it was provoked by the Jews, "For priests are the calmers of disturbances and anxious for peace, except when they, too, are moved by some offense against God."[30] For the time being, violence was against Church policy.

Incidents against the Jews before the Crusades were, like the laws of the late empire, sporadic in nature and had no lasting impact. Numerous attempts were made at converting the Jews by force, such as that of the Merovingian king Chilperic in 582[31], King Sisebut of Spain in 612[32], and King Dagobert of the Franks in 629.[33] However, the frequency of the forced conversion decrees would indicate that they were either ineffective or poorly enforced. It is likely that these laws were token acts of piety made by newly converted Christian kings. They should not be viewed as a concerted effort to persecute the Jews.

Just as Augustine allowed the Jews a place in Christendom for philosophical reasons, circumstances allowed them a place for practical reasons. The fact that the Jews were dispersed

[24]Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (London: Cornell University Press, 1982), 22.

[25]Robert Bonfil, "The Devil and the Jews," in *Anti-Semitism Through the Ages*, ed. Shmuel Almog, trans. Nathan H. Reisner (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980), 93.

[26]Robert C. Stacey, "The Conversion of Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 67 (April 1992): 263.

[27]Cohen, 22.

[28]Pierre Riche, *Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne* (Paris: Librarie Hachette, 1973), 200.

[29]Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Medieval Christianity* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1968), 155.

[30]Marcus, 107.

[31]Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, tr. by Lewis Thorpe, (London: Penguin Books, 1974), 347–348.

[32]Paul E. Grosser and Edwin G. Halperin, *The Causes and Effects of Anti-Semitism: The Dimensions of a Prejudice* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1978), 90.

[33]Ibid.

throughout Europe and were linked by a common language made them useful in international commerce. Their participation in trade and banking was further facilitated by the fact that they were excluded from the feudal system by their inability to take the Christian oath of investiture and from the guilds by their inability to participate in the saint cults.[34] "In their own interests, princes welcomed them with a tolerant spirit. The Jews were rich, and their wealth profited the Empire."[35] Since their habitation in western urban centers dated back to Imperial Rome, they were in many respects more urbanized, educated, cultured, and economically experienced than their barbarian overlords. To the chagrin of some bishops, "Jews could be found in the entourages of aristocrats and princes."[36] The Jews were useful and were therefore protected. Charles the Bald even created the office of *Magister Judaeorum* to protect Jewish interests in his kingdom.[37]

The Carolingian historian Pierre Riche claims that "there was no persecution of the Jews" during the Carolingian period from the seventh to the tenth centuries C.E. and that they "continued to live undisturbed in the midst of Christians."[38] Although this was a prosperous era for the Jews, his claim is not entirely true because the Jews were still subject to abuse at the local level. "The Counts of Toulouse had the privilege of publicly boxing the ears of the president of the Jewish community every year on Good Friday. Once [around 855] this ritual was carried out with such zeal that it killed the recipient."[39] Jewish physicians were suspected of poisoning their patients Charles the Bald and Hugh Capet.[40] And Jews were blamed in Bordeaux and Sens for the Viking raids in 848 and 876, respectively.[41] So, although the Jews enjoyed royal protection and Church toleration, their existence in Europe before the Crusades was not entirely secure.

The First Crusade is seen as a watershed event in Judeo-Christian history for a number of reasons. The barbarity toward the Jews that is normally associated with the Middle Ages had its first example in 1096, and the First Crusade itself was launched with unprovoked massacres of Jews unlike anything seen before. The main significance of the Crusades is the fact that the Church changed its policy against violence to justify its campaign to the Holy Land. The Crusades provided the Church with the opportunity of "harnessing the feudal machine for their own purposes."[42] The "unbelieving scoundrels" whose violent tendencies the Church had tried to restrain for so long, were now "soldiers of Christ."[43] As Saint Bernard wrote:

> The soldier of Christ...serves...Christ's interests in killing! Not without cause does he bear the sword! He is the instrument of God for the punishment of malefactors and for the defense of the just. Indeed, when he kills a malefactor this is not homicide but malicide, and he is accounted Christ's legal executioner against evildoers.[44]

The Church abandoned the defensive posture it had held for the previous thousand years and assumed the authority to judge the worth of other faiths and enforce its verdict. With the Crusades, the intolerant nature of the Church reached its fruition.

The massacres of 1096 were an extension of the new militancy against the infidel. For some, it seemed only appropriate to take care of the malefactors at home before punishing the ones in Palestine. Many nobles, such as Count Dithmar in Germany, vowed not to leave for Jerusalem without first killing a Jew. And some made good that promise.[45] Peasant mobs of self-styled crusaders also wreaked havoc throughout

[34]Russell, 155.
[35]Riche, 130.
[36]Ibid., 127.
[37]Ibid.
[38]Ibid., 128.
[39]Grosser and Halperin, 95.
[40]Ibid., 94.
[41]Ibid.

[42]Peter Partner, *The Murdered Magicians: The Templars and Their Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 6.
[43]Ibid., 7.
[44]Saint Bernard, "Sermo exhortatorius as milites Templi," in Partner, 7.
[45]Malcolm Billings, *The Cross and the Crescent: A History of the Crusades* (New York: Sterling Press, 1990), 16–17.

Europe using the Crusade as an excuse for rioting. The Jews, of course, suffered the most as the impulse to loot received a religious sanction.

But the significance of the Crusades as a watershed event has been overrated. Like the persecutions throughout the previous millennium, the massacres against the Jews were sporadic and of no lasting consequence. The year "1096 did not usher in a period of unrelenting insecurity for Jewish life. When the violence of the spring months subsided, much of Jewish life returned to the status quo ante."[46] The first blood libel accusation came generations after the First Crusade and the massacres were not followed up with any new laws or persecutions. Robert Chazan notes that Jews migrated into areas visited by the "soldiers of Christ," which would have been unlikely if persecution was still active there. Therefore, in spite of the turning point it marked in Church ideology, the First Crusade alone does not explain the deterioration in the status of the Jews that followed.

More significant than the Crusades was an intellectual change that was occurring in Europe at the same time. A "new polemic" arose which reevaluated the acceptability of a Jewish presence in Christendom.[47] The philosophy of Augustine was succeeded by a revival of Aristotelian thought especially seen in the writings of Anselm and Thomas Aquinas. With the new influence of Aristotle, Christian thinkers sought to "prove the truth of Christianity not merely with quotations from Scripture but with rational arguments."[48] Instead of relying on revealed truth, the nature of God was pursued once again using sensory data and logic. Since the Jews refused to accept the logical arguments that proved the truth of Christ, then Judaism was "outside the realm of philosophy."[49] Peter the Venerable (c. 1092–1156) was more direct: "If any man is naturally endowed with the mental faculties to recognize the truth of Christianity and the Jews have not acknowledged that truth, then the Jews must not be human."[50]

The eleventh and twelfth centuries marked the beginnings of the consolidation of power in Western institutions. Politically the Jews, who followed their own set of laws and customs, were no longer as tolerable as when they were one society among the many who were wandering through Europe during the Dark Ages. Religiously, the Jews were the sole remaining group that had not accepted Christianity. The confidence that the Jews would eventually convert on their own accord was waning. The confidence of the Church was also shaken by the failure of the Crusades. How could it be possible that the soldiers of Christ would fail in their divine undertaking? Why did the same God who granted victory to Constantine, Leo the Great, Clovis, and countless other great men who fought in His name deny victory against His greatest foe ever? The only possible explanation was that something was interfering with God's plan for His Church to dominate the world. In the medieval mind, evil became a more active force than the perversion of will as Augustine defined it, and the Devil as the embodiment of this evil suited the medieval mind more than Augustine's metaphysics. "The Devil embodies all forces of heresy and rebellion against God. He poses a constant challenge to believers, threatening their faith with doubt and temptation. Until the end of time it is the Devil's role to trick the faithful into straying from the path of truth, so that he may gain power over the world"[51]

The efforts of the Church to consolidate its authority were hampered by conflicts with political institutions over jurisdiction and by the spread of heresy. To respond to these new challenges and to meet the need for regulation and conformity in Christendom, the Church created the mendicant orders. These "athletes of Christ"[52] were different from other religious orders in that they answered directly to the

[46]Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 203.
[47]See Cohen.
[48]Cohen, 24.
[49]Ibid.
[50]Ibid.
[51]Bonfil, in Almog, 92.
[52]Pope Honorius III, quoted in Cohen, 37.

pope. In addition, they lived and carried out a public rather than cloistered mission. The Franciscans and Dominicans were an ideal tool for spreading the pope's influence and regulations and policies among his constituents.

The original purpose of the mendicant orders was to go into areas affected by heresy and through persuasion and reason return the people there to the fold of Orthodoxy. Although their first assignments were within Christian Europe, due to the decreasing popularity of armed Crusades, they soon "filled the ranks of most thirteenth-century missions to the infidels."[53] The Franciscans and Dominicans would learn the languages of the infidels and familiarize themselves with their religious literature in order to debate with them on their own terms.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Aristotelian philosophy filtered into Europe through Muslim Spain and created an intellectual crisis by tearing apart the synthesis of faith and reason created by Augustine. Aristotelian doctrines such as the eternity of species and the unity of the intellect were in direct conflict with the Jewish, Islamic, and Christian doctrines of creation and the afterlife. Understandably, the Church reacted defensively.[54] The Jews had a similar crisis with the writings of Moses Maimonides (1135–1204). "His...rationalist attitude...roused the ire and fears of the leaders of rabbinic Judaism...Some of his critics in Provence, where there was a great school of Talmudic Judaism, opposed him so bitterly that they asked the Inquisition to burn his philosophic treatises, a request with which the inquisitors gladly complied."[55]

Whether or not the Jews solicited the help of the Church in condemning the philosophical works of Maimonides is still a matter of historical debate. The only evidence suggesting that the Church became involved through the efforts of conservative rabbis is in the form of letters circulated among Jewish notables. One such letter, from Rabbi Joseph ben Todras ha-Levi Abulafia of Toledo, states: "It is not right to turn Israel over to the uncircumcised Gentiles and to let our enemies be our judges..."[56] Historian Jeremy Cohen states that "until scholars unearth more evidence, one cannot be sure about the extent of the actual burning [of Maimonides' works] and the role of Solomon ben Abraham [one of the conservative Jewish leaders]."[57] But what is certain is that "the Church's interest in contemporary Jewish life...began with the Maimonidean controversy."[58] From that point forward the Jews were perceived as a threat to Christianity by promoting heresy and aiding heretics. Their literature and customs were put under a renewed scrutiny by the Church and from this came a new perception of the Jew.

One of the most significant aspects of this new perspective was its reliance on the Talmud as the center of debate. For the previous millennium Christians tried to prove the falsehood of Judaism by promoting their interpretation of the Old Testament, which was a body of literature that both faiths accepted as valid. Now, by proving the Talmud to be a false and dangerous text, the Church could show that the Jews, by adhering to it, had broken from their ancient faith and that their current beliefs were invalid. Once this was accomplished it was hoped that the Jews would acknowledge the error of their ways and finally embrace the true faith.

In the uncertain and often hostile world the Jews found themselves in, the Talmud was "the instrument for Jewish survival."[59] As the Jews were dispersed throughout the known world, the ancient Mosaic laws became difficult to apply within the various cultures and societies in which they lived. In order to maintain a religious

[53]Cohen, 40.
[54]Ibid., 52.
[55]Norman F. Cantor, *Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization*, 2d ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1969), 400.
[56]Cohen, 56.
[57]Ibid., 58.
[58]Ibid., 59
[59]Dimont, 166.



Allegorical statues of the Church and Synagogue, from the Leibfrauenkirche at Trier, Germany.
Wurmbrand and Roth, **The Jewish People,** (Adama Books)

identity, they "amended or reinterpreted" the laws of their forefathers.[60] The Talmud is a written collection of these reinterpretations. The Christians relied solely on the Scriptures which were considered inspired. It came to be believed that the Scriptures, which were of divine origin, were superseded by the Jews with the Talmud, which was of human origin.[61] This constituted heresy and justified the intervention of the Inquisition.

The Church became aware of the heretical nature of the Talmud as a result of the efforts of a converted Jew named Nicholas Donin. It is possible that Donin was a disgruntled Maimonidean who left Judaism after the condemnation. He approached Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227–1241) in 1236 and charged the Talmud with insulting Jesus and Mary and cursing the Church. Three years later Gregory issued an order (which only the overzealous Louis IX of France followed) that all rabbinical writings be seized and investigated by Church authorities. The Talmud was found guilty as charged and burned at the stake.

The main problem that the Church had with the Talmud was not that it was "full of innumerable errors, abuses, blasphemies, and wickedness such as [to] arouse shame in those who speak of [it] and horrify the hearer,"[62] but the fact that it was based on oral tradition rather than revealed doctrine. It was their adherence to Talmudic tradition that led the Jews astray from their ancient faith which would normally have led them to the acceptance of Christ. It was therefore believed that the Talmud prevented the conversion of the Jews. "Wherefore...this is said to be the chief cause that holds the Jews in their perfidy."[63] Consequently, if the Talmud could be disproven to the Jews or eliminated altogether, the Jews would immediately convert. With this in mind, new polemicists such as Pablo Christiani, another converted Jew, Raymond Martini, and Nicholas of Lyra analyzed the Talmud and formulated arguments based on it that missionaries could use against the Jews. Friars gained permission from secular authorities to enter synagogues on the Sabbath and conduct debates with the rabbis before their congregations. The State sponsored public disputations which the Jews were compelled to attend. By using the preformulated arguments of Martini, Lyra, and others, the friars were trained to immediately put the rabbis on the defensive and disprove Judaism using Jewish literature.

The mendicant friars developed a new attitude towards the Jews that was based on their direct contact with them as well as their stubborn refusal to accept Christ in spite of the logical arguments the friars presented to them. The Christian interpretation of the Old Testament predicted the coming of Christ as the Messiah, so the friars concluded that "the disbelief of the Jews derived...not from ignorance but from a deliberate defiance of the truth."[64] If the Jews were defiant of the truth, they were therefore defiant of God. "The rabbis of the first-century Jews were blameworthy for their deliberate rejection of Jesus. Their own law and exegetical teachings pointed him as their savior! Their hatred for him, then, derived not from blindness, but from a rejection of God."[65] By rejecting God, the Jews "forsook their biblical heritage, left the fold of God's chosen people, and transferred their allegiance to the Devil."[66] The post-biblical rabbis falsified "both the text and the proper interpretation of the Old Testament in order to hide its straightforward interpretation of Christianity...In their basically evil nature, the Jews have been deprived of any correct understanding of the Bible; their allegiance now lies with the AntiChrist."[67] Their rejection of Christ was a result of a hatred for Him that extended to all Christians. The Jews crucified Christ because of this hatred, and "because of Christ's death they had been shut

[60]Ibid., 167.
[61]Cohen, 68.
[62]Odo of Chateauroux, in Marcus, 148.
[63]Gregory IX, quoted in Cohen, 66.
[64]Cohen, 125.
[65]Ibid., 145.
[66]Ibid., 146.
[67]Ibid., 180.

out of their own country."[68] The Jews were now perceived to harbor an active hostility toward Christians. "From the cradle [the Jews] have been nurtured in the hatred of Christ, and they curse Christianity daily in their synagogues."[69] One polemicist even tried to show how the Talmud called on Jews to kill Christians.[70]

The New Testament offers many examples of purported Jewish hostility toward Christ and the early Church to support the medieval perception. The Gospels claim that "the chief priests and the Jewish supreme court were trying to find something against Jesus that was sufficient to condemn him to death,"[71] and that "[Pilate] knew very well that the Jewish leaders had arrested Jesus out of envy because of His popularity with the people."[72] Saint Stephen, the first Christian martyr, was not killed by the Romans, but by a Jewish mob.[73] Sermons and Christian art depicting these New Testament scenes infused the belief in the hostile Jews among the illiterate masses and lay the groundwork for future misconceptions.

Max Dimont offers a convincing argument against the New Testament account based on inconsistencies between Jewish legal customs and the New Testament account of Jesus' arrest and trial, and the unlikelihood that the Jewish authorities would willingly allow any Jew to be crucified by the Romans. Jewish legal procedure did not allow anyone to be arrested at night, nor could court be held after sundown on the eve or day of a major festival. So it is unlikely that Jesus was arrested by Jewish authorities on the night of the Passover. Dimont argues that the Jews played no direct role in the Crucifixion, and that if anything they were trying to protect Jesus from the Romans, who saw Him as a potential catalyst for rebellion.[74] The biased New Testament account was influenced by a philosophical rivalry between Judaism and Christianity that existed when it was written.[75] But even though it is probable that the Jews were blameless for Jesus' death, to quote Dimont himself, "from a historical viewpoint it makes no difference." The New Testament account was the one that was accepted as reality in the Middle Ages, and "this is the reality we must deal with, for this is the reality which creates history."[76]

With the hostility of the Jews planted in the medieval mind, the Jews began to be perceived as an enemy more dangerous than any other. "For according to the opinion of Seneca, there is no enemy more capable of inflicting injury than a familiar one, and there is no enemy of the Christians more familiar and more unavoidable for us than the Jew."[77] It was with a sense of urgency that the mendicants proselytized among the Jews and exhorted the kings and nobles to support their efforts. They preached the dangers of the Jew among the illiterate and demanded that Christendom be purged of the insults and threats of the blasphemous Jews. "Through preaching, implanting fear, and extending their inquisitorial authority beyond the limits set by canon law the mendicants seemed to be trying to rid Christian Europe of its Jewish population."[78] This new school of thought held that the Jews had "no place in Christendom."[79]

The development of the mendicants' attitude toward the Jews culminated with the Franciscan Raymond Lull (c. 1233–1315) who called for their expulsion from Christendom. "Their blasphemous rejection of Christian beliefs by failing to admit to the dictates of logic and reason incumbent upon them even as Jews made them, like the Saracens, a real threat to Latin Christendom, which Lull described as a continual attack upon Christ."[80] He declared them to be outlaws and called on all Christians to "recall and understand and hate the insults

[68]Thomas of Monmouth, "The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich, in Marcus," 121–126.
[69]Nicholas of Lyra, quoted in Cohen, 185.
[70]Cohen, 150.
[71]Mark 14:55.
[72]Matthew 27:18.
[73]Acts 7:54–60.
[74]Dimont, 140–144.
[75]See Stanton.
[76]Dimont, 156.
[77]Raymond Martini, quoted in Cohen, 156.
[78]Cohen, 89.
[79]Ibid., 164.
[80]Ibid., 224.

which the Jews cause and speak."[81] Augustine's justification for a Jewish presence in Christendom was no longer valid.

Among the nobles, "the old Augustinian policy of toleration did not always yield immediately to the new, more hostile ideology."[82] The Jews were still useful to them and even more so since they needed to borrow money in order to keep up with fashion and military technology. The wealthy but now vulnerable Jews were placed in a position where they could be exploited by their lords in order to gain protection.[83] The Jews also became "pawns in power struggles"[84] between Church and State. Since the kingdoms of Europe were also consolidating their authority at this time, they especially resented having the Vatican claim that spiritual authority had preeminence over temporal authority. "Whichever side could enforce its authority over the Jews could feel that it had made a tangible gain in the quest for power."[85] This may have had something to do with the limited success of Gregory IX's condemnation of the Talmud in 1239.

The friars found a better audience for their polemics among the common people who were already prone to hate the Jews due to envy and were superstitious and uneducated enough to believe that the Jews were agents of the Devil. As mentioned previously, centuries of Christian art, which was intended to convey the Christian message to those incapable of reading it, depicted the Jews as the nemesis of Christ and the early Church. Therefore, when the friars conducted public sermons warning the faithful about the dangers of the Jews, their message fell on fertile soil. Because this new perception of the Jews was able to take firm root in the medieval mind, the Jews were accused of ridiculous crimes against the Church and its faithful, and were scapegoated for every misfortune that occurred.

The earliest major accusation against the Jews was the "blood libel" or "ritual murder" myth that began in 1172 with the completion of Thomas of Monmouth's *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*. Monmouth's work, which "created a myth that affected Western mentality from the twelfth to the twentieth century and caused, directly or indirectly, far more deaths than William's murderer could ever have dreamt of,"[86] was written more "to strengthen his own Christian faith than to destroy Jews."[87] Thomas was obsessed with William's story and made a martyr out of him "to assure himself a supernatural protector and gain prestige on earth by his successful labors to ensure William's sanctity."[88] In order to successfully portray William as a martyr, Thomas needed a villain, and the new perception of the Jew suited his purpose well. Thomas capitalized on a preexisting negative image of the Jew to make William's sainthood more believable. "Strange as it may seem, Thomas does not appear to have had any unusual animus against Jews...he dwells on their alleged evil qualities only when the exigencies of his proof of William's sanctity demand it...He crucified William and thereby made him a notable saint."[89]

The ritual murder myth appealed to the medieval mind and accusations quickly spread. In 1171, the Jewish community in Blois was massacred as a result of this accusation.[90] The ritual murder of a Saint Richard is listed as a motive for Philip Augustus' expulsion of the Jews in 1182.[91] Nineteen Jews were hanged in Lincoln for the death of Saint Hugh.[92] This accusation was taken seriously enough for a legal procedure

[81]Raymond Lull, in Cohen, 224.
[82]Cohen, 226.
[83]Ibid., 51.
[84]Bonfil, in Almog, 94.
[85]Ibid.

[86]Gavin I. Langmuir, "Thomas of Monmouth: Detector of Ritual Murder," *Speculum* 59 (October 1984): 820–846, 844.
[87]Ibid.
[88]Ibid.
[89]Ibid.
[90]A.Neubauer and M. Stern, "Heraische Berichte uber die Judenverfolgunden wahrend der Kreuzzuge" (Berlin: 1893), 66–68, in Marcus, 127–130.
[91]Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," in Marcus, 24–27.
[92]Will Durant, *The Age of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 392.

to be drawn up in Spain for the detection and punishment of murdering Jews in 1265.[93]

There were many factors that made this sort of accusation believable. It was understood that the Jews had been dispersed throughout Europe as a result of the Crucifixion and that the Jews, "without the shedding of human blood, could neither obtain their freedom, nor could they ever return to their fatherland."[94] Many of the ancient rituals of the Jews must have seemed strange to their Christian neighbors and could easily have been misunderstood. The Jews, sometimes by law but usually to avoid harassment, often practiced these rituals in relative secrecy, so it would have been easy for an uneducated and prejudiced mind to believe such ridiculous stories about them. Thomas lends support to his story with the testimony of a converted Jew named Theobald who told him that the Jews assembled in Narbonne every year and chose by lot a community that was then required to procure and sacrifice a Christian child (it has already been shown how vindictive converted Jews could be toward their former religion). There can be no doubt that since different communities of Jews kept in contact with each other across international boundaries, it was an easy conclusion for the prejudiced mind to support that there was an international conspiracy against the Church and its members.

The blood libel myth had been in circulation in Europe for more than two hundred years when the Black Death hit in 1349. Several causes for the plague were cited, including an astrological constellation, earthquakes releasing poisonous gases from the center of the earth, divine punishment, and of course the Jews, who were accused of poisoning Christian water supplies. However, "the Jews were not the only victims of the poisoning accusation. Even in places where there were no Jews at all, a scapegoat was sought and found in one of the minorities...in the Tatar region...the Christians who were a minority suffered...In Narbonne the English who resided there were blamed. In many places where there were no Jews, wandering pilgrims were blamed...Here and there members of the aristocracy were persecuted and in other places the lepers, the maimed, and the gravediggers were blamed."[95] But the Jews suffered the most due to a combination of their vulnerability, their numbers, and the preconceived ideas about them that had developed over the centuries.

Once again, the international activities of the Jewish communities contributed to the accusations against them. A Jew named Agimet from Geneva was arrested in Chattel and tortured into confessing that while on a business trip to Venice, he had distributed poison given to him by a rabbi in Chambery, into the water supplies of Venice, Calabria, Apulia, Ballet, and Toulouse.[96] Trade was one of the only occupations open to the medieval Jew, which meant that they often had to travel more than the average person of the time. The traveling Jew was often a stranger wherever he went, and if the plague coincided with his arrival in a town, he would automatically be suspect.

But the preconceived notion that the Jew was the enemy of Christendom is what contributed most to his being scapegoated. This notion had been present at the beginning with the New Testament accounts of Christ and the early Church. It had remained latent throughout the early Middle Ages due to a theoretical and a practical purpose for the Jews in Christendom. When a new ideology was created, the Jews lost their rightful place in Christendom.

Contemporaneous with this new ideology were new social conditions that also contributed to the disintegration of the status of the Jews. The Jews, who had been so useful before, were now more of a nuisance. As economic opportunities improved, Christians began to enter fields previously monopolized by Jews. "By the thirteenth century, the Jews of Europe were engaged almost exclusively in commercial activities, especially the lending of money; their

[93]"Las siete pertidas," VII, 24, 2, in Marcus, 35.
[94]Thomas of Monmouth, in Marcus, 125.
[95]Mordechai Breuer, "The 'Black Death' and Antisemitism," in Almog, 139–151, 142–143.
[96]Marcus, 44–45.

success and influence in the marketplace set them among the chief competitors of the new Christian bourgeoisie."[97] As military technology and methods became more advanced, they became more expensive than a knight's feudal arrangement could afford.[98] As a result, many knights were forced into debt to the Jews. In these circumstances social unrest could be advantageous. Many of the participants in the York Riots of 1190 were "nobles indebted to the [Jews] in large sums. Some of these having given up their estates to them for the [loan] money they had received."[99] The elimination of the Jews, by one means or another, was an effective way of canceling one's debts.

The persecution suffered by the Jews was by no means universally tolerated. During the Black Death, the town council of Strasbourg resisted the popular demand to try the Jews for poisoning the wells, but it was deposed and replaced with a council that gave in to the demands of the mob.[100] Pope Clement VI also issued a bull in July 1348 and again in September of the same year, which excommunicated anyone who harmed the Jews because of the well-poisoning rumors.[101] However, Clement's protests of the treatment of the Jews were largely ignored outside the sphere of his immediate influence. It should also be noted that the Avignon popes were under harsh criticism from the Franciscans, who were among the most zealous persecutors of the Jews, and these bulls may have had motives other than Clement's benevolence. It is also probable that the Jews were economically valuable in Avignon and Strasbourg, so their presence would naturally be protected by the popes and town councils because they directly benefited from it.

On the whole, the fortunes of the Jews throughout the Middle Ages depended on the interests of those who held power over them. When the Jews were useful, they were tolerated and even welcomed. But as Western civilization recovered from the chaos of the Dark Ages and the Jews were no longer needed, they were persecuted, scapegoated, and expelled. Their situation was constantly changing and varied according to time and place. Life became uncertain for the medieval Jews, and they lived under the constant threat of violence and expulsion. As these Jews wandered throughout Europe to escape persecution, they created the demographic background behind modern anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism is one of the most tragic episodes in Western history, and it is an episode that continues to this day. Modern anti-Semitism draws on centuries of tradition and mythology about the Jews that have their origins in the Middle Ages. But the greatest tragedy of all is that it could have been avoided. If the Augustinian perspective of the Jews could have held sway in the face of religious and cultural change, the history of the West would not be so colored with blood.

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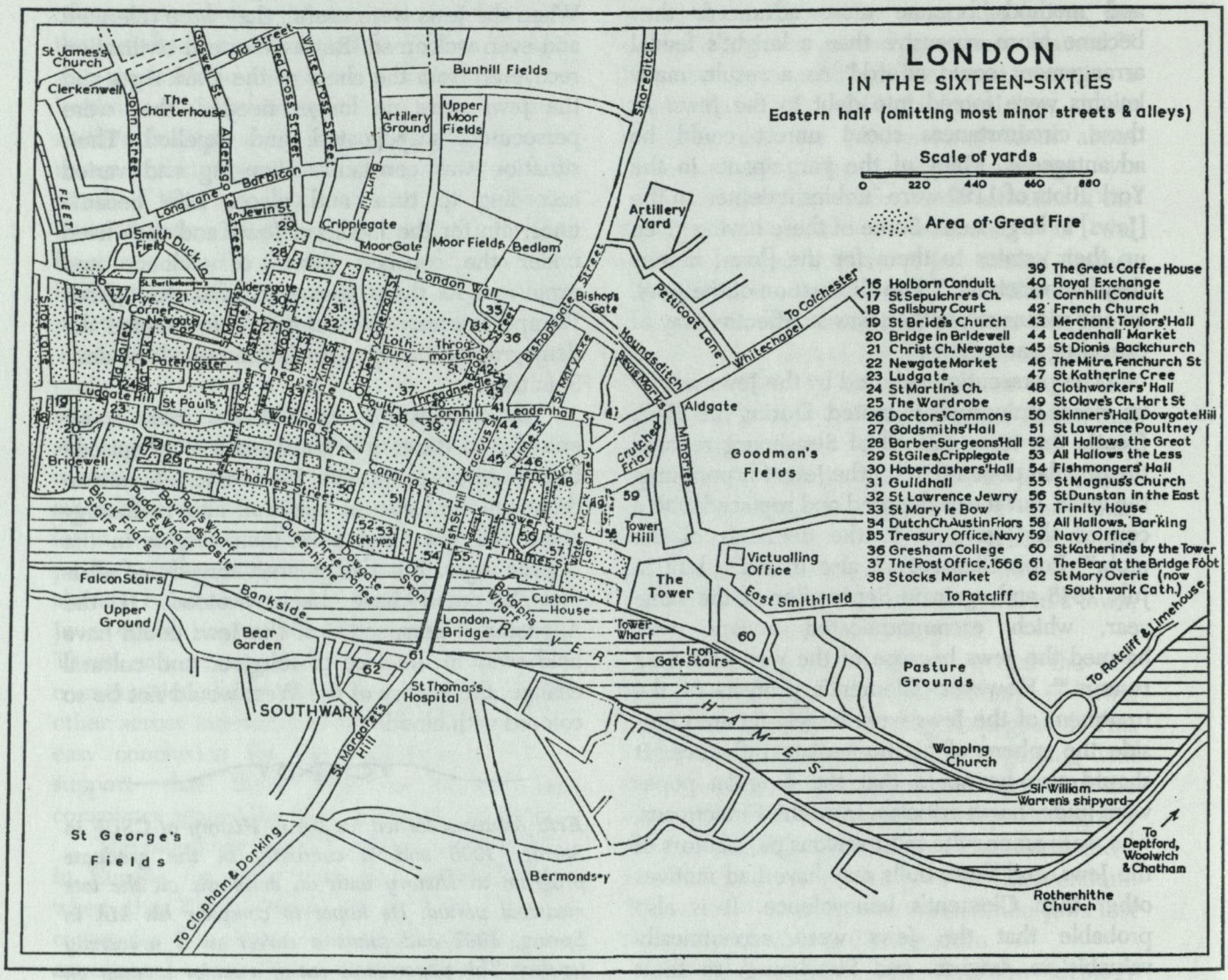
[97]Cohen, 43.

[98]See John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (London: Knopf Publishers, 1993), for an analysis of the socioeconomic implications of the improvements in military technology.

[99]Marcus, 132.

[100]Ibid., 47.

[101]G. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1949), 41.



Map 1

London in the 1660s

Latham & Matthews, **Diary of Samuel Pepys, 1970** (University of California Press)

"THE DOWNE-FALL OF DAGON, OR THE TAKING DOWNE OF CHEAP-SIDE CROSSE":

An Inquiry Into a Seventeenth-Century Document

Jana J. Howie

A brief destructive moment in time, *The Downe-fall of Dagon, or the taking downe of Cheap-side Crosse*, offers a unique opportunity for study of both iconoclasm as well as literary analysis. The destruction of crosses throughout London in the 17th century reflected tensions between Catholics and Puritans, Stuarts and Cromwellians. The literature that surrounds the events provides insight into the issues of the day. While alluding to other contemporary tracts, the author draws most of her conclusions from one essay on the destruction of a single cross. The text of these manuscripts, compared to the intent of the writer, provides an intriguing arena for investigation and interpretation. The destruction of the cross was not simply indicative of the friction between differing religious sects, but also symbolic of greater issues and ills within 17th century London society

> But when they rose early on the next morning,
> Dagon had fallen on his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord,
> and the head of Dagon and both of his hands were lying cut off upon the threshold;
> only the trunk of Dagon was left to him.
>
> *1 Sam. 5:4 (NRSV)*

> 'Downe with Dagon, downe with Dagon;
> 'tis I, will no longer endure your profanations'
>
> *Bartholomew Fair, Act V, Scene 5*

On May 2, 1643, the long-standing cross in Cheapside, London was pulled down and destroyed by "furious and zelous people."[1] This event was the end result of several years of debate over the fate of the cross and even more years of clandestine assaults that had begun in 1581 and continued until its final destruction. Occasions of iconoclasm from Henry VIII's time through the seventeenth century have been extensively written about; what makes this incident different from many of the others is the debates held over its destruction. This cross was not attached to or even near a cathedral or church; it stood in the middle of the street in a busy market area

[1]William Bray, ed., *Memoirs, Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq. F.R.S. Author of the "Sylva," &c. &c.. Comprising His Diary, From the Year 1641 to 1705-6, and a Selection of His Familiar Letters. [Evelyn]* (London, 1819), 2nd ed., vol. I, 30.

(see Map 1). It was the site of several festivities and was the central point of royal processions as well as an emblem of London.

The destruction of a monument located outside of a church was an example of the increasing episodes of iconoclasm, which were reactions against popery, reforms instituted by Archbishop William Laud and, as evidenced by this episode, against the monarchy itself[2] As Protestantism, particularly Puritanism, became more widespread, religious imagery was subjected to more attacks both verbal and physical. Due to King Charles I's support of Archbishop Laud's reforms, the monarchy was held responsible to a large degree in promoting "popery" and preventing further religious reform. The reference to Dagon in the title of the document describing this incident suggests its idolatrous nature; crosses and their perceived function as idols for those still attached to Catholic ways was a hotly debated issue of the early seventeenth century. London, populated with many conservative Protestants, was particularly concerned with these issues.

The event is documented from several sources that mention the tearing down of the cross. John Evelyn, a courtier loyal to the Crown, was an eyewitness and made an entry regarding this event in his memoirs. This satirical tract published three years after the actual act mentions that the cross was "pulled downe, and buried." Most importantly, a document entitled *The Downe-fall of Dagon, or the taking downe of Cheap-side Crosse this second of May, 1643...* (hereafter referred to as *Dagon*) was printed shortly after the occurrence[3] This document lists the reasons why the cross was the target of such violence and includes its last will and testament.

After reading Dagon, several questions emerged. First, why this cross at this time? In order to understand this incident, knowing who the perpetrators were as well as their underlying motives would obviously be meaningful information. Secondly, the document itself is a curious mixture of polemic, satire and history. By analyzing the style, rhetoric, and content of this tract, additional insight is obtained not only about the destruction of the cross, but also the religious, political, and social circumstances surrounding it, particularly from the viewpoint of the author. Part One discusses the event and analyzes the circumstances underlying the destruction of the cross. Part Two addresses the document and its unique contributions to the understanding of the cross at Cheapside.

Part One: The Incident

There are several documents that refer to Cheapside cross and its long and volatile history before its final destruction. These documents include commentaries on the cross and its suggested fate, "dialogues" between concerned parties referring to what should be done about the cross, and two last wills and testaments - one for Cheapside, and one for her "sister" cross at Charing. Other miscellaneous documents include the cross' "dolefull lamentation," articles of treason brought against it, and an account of its funeral. In addition, general commentaries and parliamentary acts from this time help to clarify the situation and place it in context.

The History of the Cross

The cross at Cheapside had originally been erected as one of the "Eleanor Crosses," a series of crosses established by Edward I upon the death of his Queen, Eleanor of Castile, in 1290. Eleanor had died in Hardeby in

[2]Beginning in the 1630s, Archbishop Laud, as well as Archbishop Neile, instituted reforms in church worship reminiscent of Catholic practices. These included such things as increases in religious imagery, formality in the administration of the sacraments, decorated vestments, etc. The reforms were increasingly criticized by the more progressive Protestant factions (such as the Puritans) and were a serious point of contention against the Crown leading up to the Civil War.

[3]Bray, 30; *The Last Will and Testament of Charing Crosse, Very usefull for the Wits of the Time. [Charing]* (London, 1646), 3 - 4; *The Downe-fall of Dagon, or the taking downe of Cheap-side Crosse this second of May, 1643, wherein is contained these principalls following, viz... [Dagon]* (London, 1643).

Nottinghamshire near Lincoln; her body was taken to Westminster for burial, with the crosses placed at each spot where the conducting party rested. In total, there were twelve crosses located at: Lincoln, Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, St. Albans, Waltham, and two in London in Charing and West Cheap.[4] The crosses were spiral shaped monuments of stone comprised of three tiers containing images of the Queen on the second tier and coats of arms for England and Eleanor's parents on the third.[5] Existing evidence from the remaining crosses indicates there was little religious imagery placed on the original crosses (see Figures 2 - 3).

Over time, the role of Cheapside cross changed from being a monument honoring Queen Eleanor to one honoring the city and citizens of London. From at least the birth of Edward III in 1327, this cross was the site of festivities and pageants. Many royal processions passed by the cross from the fourteenth century up to the time just prior to its destruction.[6] Two documents also mention the cross being "beautified" on the occasion of the arrival of James I in 1603 and the ascension of Charles I in 1625.[7] The prestige of the cross as an "ornament of the city" was often mentioned in the documents. Thus, the cross was important for numerous reasons: as a monument to royalty, as a symbol of the city, and for its religious imagery.

Cheapside cross was reworked and regilded numerous times. Often, citizens donated the funds to pay for the repairs and renovations, although it is not clear how much was actually solicited rather than freely given.[8] After its initial construction as a stone cross adorned with royal images, the cross quickly fell into disrepair. The first major renovation was undertaken in 1441 but was apparently not completely finished until 1486. It was at this time that religious imagery replaced the statues and coat of arms of Eleanor. The new images were of the Resurrection, the Virgin and Child, Edward the Confessor and a crucifix with a dove placed at the top of the monument. From the existing drawings of this cross (referred to as the second cross), it appears that most images of Eleanor had been replaced (Figures 3 and 4). On June 21, 1581, the cross was significantly mutilated during the night by unknown assailants. Particularly targeted was the image of the Virgin, who lost her arms, her baby, and almost her head. The instigators were apparently interrupted in their work, since ropes were found tied around the Virgin in order to pull her down. The other images were also attacked.[9]

A reward was offered for the capture of those responsible but no information was forthcoming. Elizabeth ordered that the cross be

[4]Aymer Vallance, *Old Crosses and Lychgates* (Edinburgh: Darien Press, 1920), 94. Vallance also mentions that there may have been an additional three crosses that were rumored to have been erected at Hardeby, Newark, and Leicester, but there is no extant evidence for these. In addition to this modern historical account of the crosses, John Stow, in his *A Survey of London Written in the Year 1598*, Henry Morley, LLD, ed. (Dover: Alan Sutton Publishing Inc., 1994), 260-61, mentions nine crosses, omitting those at Lincoln, Stamford and Geddington. Documents contemporaneous with *Dagon* also mention the group of crosses, including Henry Peacham's *Dialogue Between the Crosse in Cheap, and Charing Crosse. Comforting each other, as fearing their fall in these uncertaine times. By Ryhen Pameach.* [*Dialogue*] (London, 1641), 3 and *Charing*, 2. The last two mention only the crosses in Lincoln (*Dialogue*)/Waltham (*Charing*), Grantham, Woburn, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Dunstable, St. Albans, and the two in London. Perhaps the other two crosses were unknown to these authors or were mistakenly not listed.

[5]Vallance, 94; Stow, 260. There are existing fragments of coats of arms from the Cheapside cross, indicating that it originally conformed to the other crosses in design.

[6]Vallance, 102-08; Stow, 261-62; *Charing*, 3.

[7]*Dialogue*, 4 and *Dagon*, 3. John Stow could not have mentioned these refurbishings since they occurred after he had stopped writing in 1603. It is more puzzling as to why these occasions were not mentioned in the other source documents cited above; it may be that the "beautifying" was very minor, such as cleaning, but was mentioned in these two documents to further the connections between the royals and the cross at Cheapside.

[8]Vallance, 102, mentions a Sir Robert Launde who left a legacy in his will to the cross in 1367; Stow, 261, and *Dialogue*, 3, indicate a merchant by the name of John Fisher left 600 marks for its upkeep in 1484.

[9]Vallance, 102-06; Stow 106; *Dialogue*, 3; and *Charing*, 3.

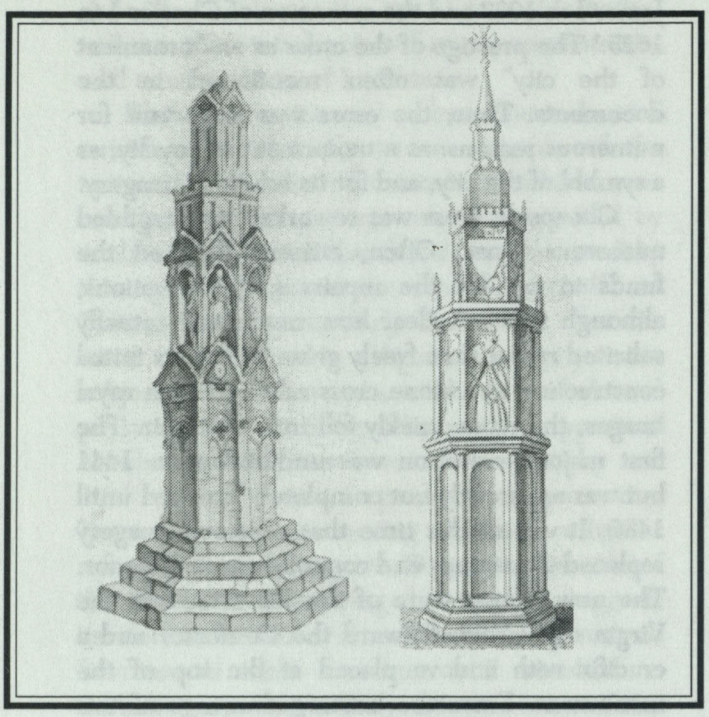


Figure 2
Charing, near London
The Eleanor Cross and the Cross which succeeded it on the same site.

Figure 3
London, West Cheap
Two views of the Third Cross erected on the site.

A. Vallance, **Old Crosses & Lychgates**, (Derien Press)

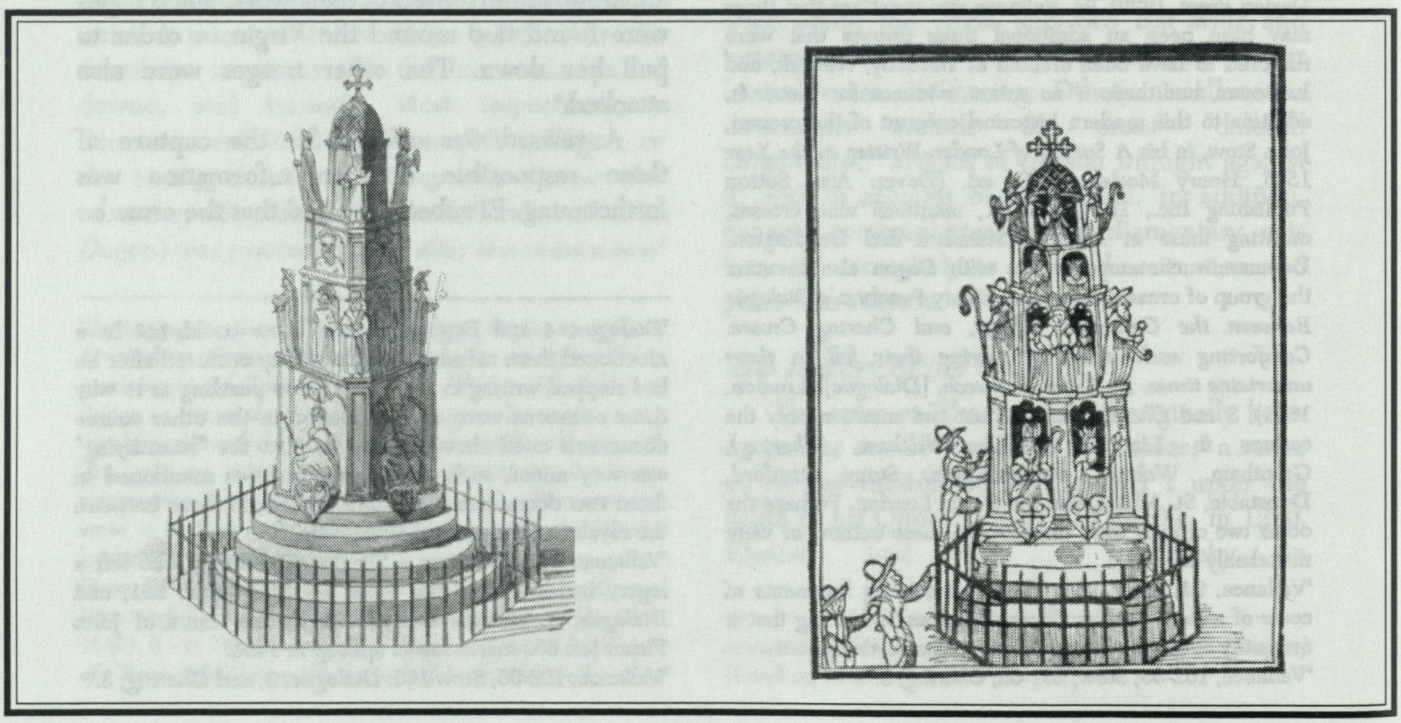




Figure 4
London, West Cheap
The second of the three Crosses erected on the site.
A. Vallance, **Old Crosses & Lychgates,** (Derien Press)

restored, and this was accomplished in stages. The Virgin was initially replaced in 1595 and a new infant was given to her in 1596. The image of the Resurrection was replaced with a tabernacle of gray marble along with an alabaster statue of the goddess Diana. It was probably at this time that ecclesiastical images were also placed on the cross. In 1599, the wooden cross at the top had rotted and had to be replaced. The mayor of London at that time, Sir Nicholas Moseley, apparently tried to replace the cross with only a pyramid. This evidently raised the ire of Elizabeth, who had some of her councilors write to the mayor, demanding that a cross be placed on top of the pyramid. Henry Peacham, a contemporary writer and publisher in London, stated that the top was bare "for a yeare or two after." This inaction resulted in further discourse from Elizabeth:

> Her Highnes being very angry, sent expresse word she would not endure their contempt, but expresly commanded forth with the Crosse should be set up, and sent a strict command to Sir William Rider, Lord Maior [the apparent successor to Moseley], and bad him to respect my [the cross'] antiquity: for that is the ancient Ensigne of Christianity, &c.[10]

Apparently, the leaders of the city did not wish to replace the cross. However, a simple cross with no dove finally replaced the older one. The image of the Virgin was also restored.[11] This cross was the third, and final cross that stood in Cheapside (see Figure 3).

The letter from Elizabeth quoted above was dated December 24, 1600. Both Oxford and Cambridge Universities had been consulted as to whether a crucifix or a simple cross should be placed at the top of the monument at Cheapside. On January 23, 1600, a letter from George Abbot, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, was published in "answer to a question propounded by the Citizens of London, concerning the said Crosse, in the yeere 1600, in which yeer it was beautified." Abbot argued strenuously against another crucifix being erected; in fact, he felt that the pyramid alone should be at the top.[12] The hesitation about setting up another cross, along with the document from Abbot, indicates that there was already debate over the fate of the cross at Cheapside at the turn of the century. Although a simple cross rather than a crucifix was set up as a replacement, the destruction continued. Just twelve nights after the renovations were completed, another attack occurred. The Virgin was "againe defaced, by plucking of her crowne, and almost of her head, taking from her her naked child, and stabbing her in the breast, yet was she againe healed of all her wounds, and made exceedingly beautiful."[13] After the Elizabethan reworkings were finally completed, there were several more attacks on the cross. One incident that provoked numerous writings took place on January 24, 1641. This was apparently an extensive defacing:

> Which made the Popes nose shatter from his face:
> That Babels whore looks as she'd got the pox,
> Then woe to him that next takes up her smock.
> In this affright the Virgin lost her Crown.
> Hands they flew off, and legs came tumbling downe.
> The Crosier staffe was broke, which might have kept
> His Holinesse from dogs, while he had slept.[14]

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[10]*Dialogue*, 4. Also see *Charing*, 4, where it is stated "but some of her Majesties honourable Councellors directed their letter to Sir Nicholas Massey [there is a discrepancy here between this document and *Dialogue* as to who was mayor at that time], then Lord Major of the City of London, by her highnesse expresse Commandement, that her [the cross'] head should be onely refreshed with such necessaries as might perfectly cure her to remaine in her old shape."

[11]Stow, 261-62; Vallance, 102-06; *Charing*, 3-4; and *Dialogue*, 3-4.

[12]George Abbot, *Cheap-side Crosse censured and condemned by A Letter Sent From the Vicechancellour and other Learned Men of the famous Universitie of Oxford, in answer to a question propounded by the Citizens of London, concerning the said Crosse, in the yeere 1600, in which yeer it was beautified...* (London, 1641), A1 and B2. It is unknown when or if this document was published for a wide audience at the time of its writing. It was, however, republished in 1641 and April 29, 1643 -- right before the cross was destroyed.

[13]*Charing*, 4.

[14]Richard Overton, *Articles of High Treason Exhibited Against Cheap-side Crosse. With The last Will and Testament of the said Crosse. And certaine Epitaphs upon her Tombe. [Articles]* (London, 1642), 4. Other documents mentioning this event include *The dolefull Lamentation of Cheap-side Crosse: Or old England sick of the Staggers. The dissenting, and disagreeing in matters of opinion,*

This particular episode sparked a heated debate over the propriety of destroying property, particularly outside of the law. The deed was blamed on the Brownists or other radical groups, who were apparently taking the matter of the destruction of images into their own hands since they felt Parliament was not moving fast enough in this direction. This was largely still a response to the Laudian reforms of the 1630s when extensive church ornamentations were installed. Several documents from both radical and more conservative groups were published at this time, using the attack on Cheapside as an example of either righteous or outrageous behavior depending upon their point of view.[15] Other incidents occurred at Cheapside in 1643 before the final destruction.[16]

The January 1641 incident followed action that had taken place in Parliament. Also in January 1641, the House of Commons sent commissions into the counties to destroy altars and other images that were felt to be superstitious or idolatrous. A bill was introduced into the Commons on February 5 of that year by an Alderman Pennington to the same effect.[17] The final destruction of the cross followed the forming of a committee, chaired by Sir Robert Harley, at the end of March 1643, to carry out more destruction on superstitious and idolatrous monuments. This finally resulted in an ordinance being passed by both houses of Parliament on August 28, 1643 which was inclusive of most religious imagery:

> And that all Crucifixes, Crosses, and all Images and Pictures of any one or more Persons of the Trinity, or of the Virgin Mary, and all other Images and Pictures of Saints, or superstitious Inscriptions in, or upon all and every the said Churches or Chappels or other places of publick Prayer, Church-yards, or other places to any the said Churches and Chappels, or other place of publick Prayer, belonging, or in any other open place, shall before the said first day of November be taken away and defaced, and none of the like hereafter permitted in any such Church or Chappel, or other places as aforesaid.[18]

The ordinance certainly exonerated the destruction at Cheapside.

The histories of the other Eleanor Crosses were not as extensive as they were not the site of

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together with the sundry sorts of Sects now raving and reigning, being the maine causes of the disturbance and hinderance of the Common-wealth. [Lamentation] (London, 1641), 7; *The Remarkable Funeral of Cheapside-Crosse in London: With The Reason why the Bishops, Jesuits, Papists, Cavaliers, and Arminians, refused to bee there. Also, The Order and Manner of the Funerall, and the severall Songs for that purpose appointed. [Funeral]* (London, 1642), 2.; and *The Crosses Case in Cheapside; Whether its Militia, the setting of it in a posture of defence, be according to Law... [Case]* (London, 1642), B1-2.

[15]In addition to the documents cited above, Samuel Lovedeay's *An Answer to the Lamentation of Cheap-side Crosse. Together with the Reasons why so many doe desire the downfall of it, and all such Popish Reliques. Also the downfall of Antichrist. [Answer]* (London, 1642); *The Resolution of the Roundheads To pull downe Cheap-side Crosse. Being a zealous Declaration of the Grievances wherewith their little Wits are consumed to destruction. And what things they in their wisedome (yet left them) conceive fit to bee Reformed. [Resolution].* (London, 1641); *The Popes Proclamation: Together With the Lawes and Ordinances established by him and his Shavelings, concerning his adherents and rights which hee claimeth in England. Whereunto is added Six Articles exhibited against Cheapside Crosse, Whereby it stands guilty of high Treason, and ought to be beheaded. [Proclamation]* (London, 1641); *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lecture As it was delivered by Mi-beele Mendsoale, in Inspired Brownist, and a most upright Translator. In a meeting house neere Bedlam, the one and twentieth of December, Last, 1641. [Tub]* (London, 1642); and John Taylor's *A full and compleat Answer against the Writer of a late Volume set forth, entituled A Tale in a Tub, or A Tub Lecture: with a Vindication of that ridiculous name called Round-Heads. Together with some excellent verses on the defacing of Cheap-side Crosse. Also proving that it is far better to preach in a Boat than in a Tub. By Thorny Ailo, Annagram.* [Tub Answer] (London, 1642) all either discuss or refer to the January, 1641 incident and use it as a means to express and defend their positions.

[16]*Charing*, 4.

[17]Jacqueline Eales, "Iconoclasm, Iconography, and the Altar," in *The Church and the Arts: Papers Read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Diana Wood, ed. (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), 319.

[18]*An Ordinance Of The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament; For the utter demolishing, removing and taking away of all Monuments of Superstition or Idolatry; Out of all the Churches and Chappels within this Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, Before the First day of November, 1643.* (London, 1643), 4-5. The prior bill introduced in 1641 was only signed by the Commons, not the Lords, and had a mixed effect.

festivities and royal processions, nor were they repaired or beautified as often. The crosses in Woburn (1643), Dunstable (1643), St. Albans (1643), Stamford (1645), Stony Stratford (1646), Charing (1647) and Grantham were all demolished by Parliamentary soldiers during the Civil War. No details are available concerning the fate of the cross at Lincoln. All that is known for certain is that it no longer exists. The crosses at Geddington, Northampton, and Waltham still partially stand. Cheapside cross was the first of many to "be pulled downed, and buried." Once its destruction was complete most of the other crosses were subjected to similar treatment.[19]

Cheapside cross was finally removed under Parliamentary sanction, supposedly under the watchful eye of the Trained Bands of London. Little was written about the actual event of the destruction. *Dagon* states that "they first strook off his head; and so by degrees descended to other parts of the body, and left him like a sceleton or an anatomy of his body or corpes by ten or eleven a clock at noone ...." John Evelyn states, "I went to London, where I saw the furious and zelous people demolish that stately cross in Cheapside."[20] Based on these documents, it appears that the cross was completely demolished, probably by a mixture of Puritans, radicals, and others going along with the crowd. It is unknown how many supporters for the cross were there. Only *Dagon* mentions the necessity of the Trained Bands to keep order. The author stated that the local militia were required so that "no uproare might arise thereby, and that no bloud might be spilt; because divers people had given out they would rather lose their lives then it should down ...." It is hard to say how much of this wording was slanted to emphasize the author's view and how much was a reflection of reality.[21] Evelyn, too, may have been reflecting his disgust through his strong wording, but his account appears to be reflective of a mob action and is most likely accurate.

[19]*Charing*, 4.
[20]*Dagon*, 3 and *Evelyn*, 30.
[21]*Dagon*, 6.

The Sins of the Cross

The most obvious and stated reason for the pulling down and destruction of Cheapside cross was its image as an idol. It was referred to as Dagon, Bel/Baal and the tower of Babel in various writings, all idols mentioned and condemned in the Bible.[22] The cross was accused of seducing worshippers to popery and superstitious practices. This was particularly a problem for the more radical sects. Some of them argued for the destruction of all religious imagery in both religious and secular spheres. By the early 1640s, the issue over the Laudian reforms had come to a head, evidenced by the large number of tracts published during this time regarding imagery and idol worship. As fears rose over the perceived increase in Catholicism and its superstitious practices in Charles I's court, the laity began to take matters into their own hands by destroying monuments themselves. While this was not a new phenomenon, it increased in severity during this time.

Debate over the image of the cross had started at least with John Wycliffe and the Lollards in the fourteenth century. Wycliffe wanted to reform sacramental practices and objected to images of Christ, the Trinity, and crucifixes. The problem with the cross was rooted in the veneration that was paid to it, an honor that Thomas Aquinas felt was owed to it "partly as representation of Christ but also because it came into contact with his body and blood."[23] The cross became suspect in its use and in its imagery. Many tracts were written against the use of the sign of the cross in baptism and

[22]*Dagon* and *Answer* refer to Cheapside cross as the god Dagon; *Tub* uses Bel and the tower of Babel; and *Case* utilizes the image of Baal. In addition to the latter two tracts which forcefully argue against idols and imagery, *Tub Answer*, *Proclamation* and *Resolution* address this issue; an example of a general treatise of the time is *A Convocation Speech, By Mr. Thomas Warmstry, one of the Clerks for the Diocesse of Worcester: Against Images, Altars, Crosses, the new Canons, and the Oath, &c.* (London, 1641).
[23]Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae: A Concise Translation*, Timothy McDermott, ed. (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1989), 509.

the Eucharist as well as its representation on church interiors, exteriors and public places. Cross breaking had an extensive history dating back at least to the 1520s. It continued, and was intensified, during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[24]

In addition to its image as an idol, the cross at Cheapside was also seen as overly ostentatious. As noted in its history, it had been regilded many times and its value was mentioned in several documents.[25] To many, this was a waste of valuable property that could be put to better use such as fighting the Irish or providing for the poor. Often after monuments and artworks were destroyed, they were melted down or sold in order to raise cash for the parliamentary war effort (after the Civil War had started) or for the betterment and benefit of the people.[26] Therefore, its rich exterior was a vice of the cross at Cheapside as well.

Interrelated to the worship of the cross was the fear of superstition. The magical elements of the sacraments and other practices such as saint worship and relic veneration had pre-Christian roots. Because of its ancient history, the peasantry and lower social ranks were attached to the practices that the reformers were trying so hard to discourage. This bred fear among the more educated. As Christopher Hill states, "We must never forget the anxiety which most educated Protestants felt before 1640 about the appeal of image and idol worship to the uneducated populace."[27] Those higher in rank felt the lower classes were more easily swayed and prone not only to popish idolatry, but also to other forms of superstition and popular pagan practices.[28]

Another element to consider in the case of the cross at Cheapside is the connection it had to royalty. It certainly had a long and varied history with many monarchs. As the destruction at Cheapside occurred shortly after the start of the first Civil War in August 1642, an argument can be made that it was representative of the political anger and frustration directed at the Crown in addition to being seen as an idol. Even Eleanor herself was a target. In a ballad printed in 1629, Eleanor's Spanish heritage was attacked. She was accused of corrupting English men and women in manners and dress. She, along with her customs, was condemned to fall. The "fall" in the ballad was related to Charing cross, which was apparently in great need of repair. It was also indicative of the anti-Catholic and monarchial feelings in the years immediately preceding the Civil War--factors also important in the Cheapside incident.[29] The Spanish connection was important at this time not only because Spain was a staunchly Catholic country, but also because the King was suspected of being pro-Spanish.[30]

The parliamentary actions directed against imagery can also be seen as an extension of sentiment against the Crown and were apparently interpreted that way by royalists. In *Mercurius Aulicus*, a royalist news book published in 1644, the author stated that "Kings and Queens, as well as apostles, fathers, martyrs, confessors, are counted monuments of vanity and superstition."[31] The act of toppling a monument allegorically stood for toppling the tyranny of the Crown both in religious and secular matters. This also accounts for the attacks on the ecclesiastical figures on the Cheapside monument, when the hated bishops and their elaborate dress associated with Bishops Laud and Neile were mutilated.

In answer to this, some of the more conservative factions in London (including the majority of Parliament) became concerned about the level of activity undertaken at the popular

[24]Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 62, 107 and 212.

[25]*Dialogue*, 2-4 and *Dagon*, 6.

[26]Eales, 315.

[27]Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (New York: Penguin, 1993), 258.

[28]Ibid, 263.

[29]*The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor, who for her pride and wickednesse by Gods judgement, sunke into the ground at Charing crosse, and rose up at Queene Hive* (London, 1629).

[30]King Charles I was suspected of considering military and/or financial support from Spain at various times during his reign.

[31]Eales, 320-21.

level. It was feared that things were getting out of control. An anonymous writer in 1641 argued against unrestrained destruction, stating that "God's word doth not allow or countenance mutinies, unlawful assemblies, or rebellions against Government, pulling the sword of justice out of the magistrate's hand, and using it, or rather abusing it, as we please."[32] Several tracts were written on this subject from both viewpoints. The more conservative royalist factions felt the Puritans and other religious sects were a direct threat to the order and security in London during an already tumultuous time. The more radical religionists felt they were carrying out God's duty --even if Parliament would not.[33] Popular reaction forced Parliament to take a position and gain control of the situation. They tried to do this by enacting legislation, including those against imagery specified above.

There were many reasons for the taking down of Cheapside cross. It was an idol, a reminder of royalty and their popish ways. It was a victim of Parliament's policies initiated to protect, reform, and control the masses. Depending on who the author was, documents were printed expressing all of these opinions. What was the particular viewpoint of *Dagon*?

Part Two: The Document

In assessing a document, its form, content and rhetoric can provide clues into the intent and message of the author. This is true for Dagon as well. After carefully analyzing how the author put the document together, what he included, and the wording, several telling features were discovered. Through this process, an understanding of the author's point of view and his feelings about the cross became possible.

The Forms of Dagon

Dagon contains several literary forms. Its layout can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. A prologue
2. A narrative by the author discussing current conditions in London
3. An autobiography by the cross
4. The cross' last will and testament
5. The cross' epitaph
6. Another narrative containing a short history of the cross
7. Reasons why the cross was taken down
8. Parting comments by the author

There are numerous examples of these literary genres that were produced in the early seventeenth century. In addition, they all have a more ancient past. The talking cross in English literature was used as far back as the ninth century in The Dream of the Rood. Narratives, poetry, and prose had all enjoyed varying degrees of popularity since antiquity. However, *Dagon's* closest model is a type that was steadily gaining in popularity at this time: the last will and testament. In his study on the literary uses of the last will and testament, Eber Carle Perrow identified seven typical elements:

1. The identification of the testator and his record of deeds
2. The stating of a religious creed and the testator's confession of shortcomings
3. The "adieu"--often a farewell with last wishes and instructions for burial
4. Advice and moral instruction
5. Advice to successors - often political in tone
6. Provision for the disposition of the body
7. Provision for the disposition of property[34]

Dagon contains most of these elements as well. The cross identifies himself and recounts his history, then states what others saw as his shortcomings. In his will he says that "I suffer so roundly and so patiently for my errours." His final moments are narrated, and a will expresses his last wishes and how to dispose of his body and property. Advice per se is not given by the cross, but he does denounce the current state of affairs and states that "time with all his hours and

[32]Eales, 319.

[33]Examples of these tracts include *Case* from the Puritan viewpoint and *Lamentation* espousing the royalist view.

[34]Eber Carle Perrow, "The Last Will and Testament as a Form of Literature," *Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 17, part 2 (Winter, 1914): 684-704.

years shall lament me and my violent undoing."[35] As all of the essential elements are present, the *Dagon* document fits securely into the last will and testament literary genre. But how can this help in its interpretation?

Last wills and testaments had been used as literary forms throughout the last two centuries (continuing as late as the eighteenth century) and may have derived from the New Testament "will" of Jesus where he left "peace and salvation" after his death. The history behind humorous, satirical last wills and testaments dates back at least to the fourth century. A Latin poem, *Testamentum Porcelli*, contains the testament of a pig, about to be killed by a cook, who leaves the parts of his body for various uses. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the last will and testament as a form of parody began to be popular and was firmly established as a literary form by the fourteenth century--particularly in France and England, where it grew in popularity until it reached its height in the seventeenth century. Parody, allegory, and satire were all adaptable uses for this form during the tumultuous years preceding and during the Civil War. Almost all of these types of documents produced at this time were satirical in tone and dealt with politics or religion (usually both) in content. Both prose and poetry were used.[36]

Content and Function

As *Dagon* follows the same form as other "last wills and testaments" produced during the early seventeenth century it is reasonable to assume that its function was also similar. Its contents are telling. Unlike other documents recounting the history of Cheapside cross, *Dagon* never mentions the many previous attacks it had suffered. In fact, it states that the cross "never suffered martirdome until now."[37] It does, however, give an extensive account of all of its adornings and connections to royal persons and processions. The omission of prior destructive acts served a twofold purpose: to exaggerate the significance of the final destruction and to emphasize the esteem it held in years past.

In addition, the cross is referred to as "stout and glorious" and described as being "builded

[35]*Dagon*, 2.

[36]Perrow, 701-706. Examples of other last wills and testaments produced during the first half of the seventeenth century include *The Last Will and Testament of Superstition: Eldest Daughter to Antichrist, the Eldest Sonne to Lucifer, the Prince of this World, of the Family of Popery, in the Kingdome of Idolatry: Being fallen into a grievous fit of Sicknesse, without all hopes of Recovery.* (London, 1642); *Romes unholinesse Discovered: Christs last Will and Testament Recorded. Or a Bill against the Pope and his Adherents, Cardinals, Jesuits, Monkes, and Fryers, who strive to keepe from the common people the holy Scriptures, and give out disgracefull speeches of the same...* (London, 1644); *The Last Will and Testament of Sir James Independent. Who lyeth now dangerously sick of a Disease, called by some, The Resolution of the Parliament and Citie, to oppose their mutinous Army; by others, the impossibilitie of Independencie. With his Confession, Admonition, and Legacies left to his deare Children, in and about the Citie of London. With his Death, Buriall, and Epitaph.* (London, 1647); *The Last Will and Testament of Sir John Presbyter, Who dyed of a new Disease called the particular Charge of the Army. With divers Admonitions and Legacies left to his deare Children of the Presbyterian Commons that have deserted the House: Likewise to Legions of perjur'd Priests residing in London, Westminster, or else where. With his Life, Death, Buriall, and Epitaph.* (London, 1647); *The Last Will and Testament Of that monstrous, bloudy, tyranicall, cruel and abhominable Parliament dissembled at Westminster the 15 of May 1648. Being desperately sick in every part of its ungodly Members, as well Committees, Sequestrators, Agitators, Sollicitors, Promoters, Clearkes, Doore-keepers, and all other her untrue and unlawfull adherents, in manner and form as is here specified.* (London, 1648); *The Last Will and Testament of Tom Fairfax, and the Army under his Command: Who now lie about Colchester, in a very sick and weake estate, past hope of life, and given up for dead, by their sworn Doctors, the Earle of Norwich, the Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas.* (London, 1648); *The Last Will and Testament of Richard Brandon Esquire, Heads-man, and Hang-man to the Pretended Parliament. With his severall Legacies to the Parliament and Counsell of State...* (London, 1649); *The Last Will and Testament of the Earl of Pembroke.* (London, 1650); and *The Last Will and Testament of Philip Herbert, Burgesse for Bark-shire, Vulgarly called Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. Who dyed of Foole-Age, Jan. 23, 1650. With his Life and Death, and severall Legacies to the Parliament and Councel of State. Also, His Elegy, taken verbatim, in time of his sicknesse, and published to prevent false Copies, By Michael Oldisworth.* (London, 1650). There are many other examples produced in the second half of the century.

[37]*Dagon*, 5.

for an Ornament to the City, and therefore was thought & held at that time for a glorious Fabricke, and would continue there for antiquity sake, rather then to give an occasion of offence to any...." The author further states that the cross "was ever held a gracefull Fabricke to London, till of late yeares; untill indeed many superstitious and foolish people have publickly adored it and worshipped it as they have gone by it; which offence is the maine cause of its pulling downe and defacing."[38] These statements were not presented in a sarcastic tone; rather, the author seemed to be endorsing the cross in these statements, not yearning for its downfall.

The pattern of similar documents of this time indicates that the beginning of a document contained the substance of the point the author was trying to make. In *Dagon*, the initial paragraph contains a denunciation against the many "sects, divisions and opinions" that were the cause of "error and schism being multiplied manifold." The cross continued the critique against particular groups in his autobiography--the Brownists, Familists, and Anabaptists being specifically named.[39] Even more were added under the section entitled "The reason why Cheapside cross was pulled down," but here the argument was against "ignorant people misled and misinformed."[40] Without doubt, the religious strife and theological debates that were dividing London and the rest of the nation were very important to the writer of this document. Catholics, radical Protestants, and superstitious common people were all criticized.

A similar document published in 1641 addressing this issue is *The dolefull Lamentation of Cheap-side Crosse: Or old England sick of the Staggers*. (Hereafter referred to as *Lamentation*.)[41] Its subtitle elaborates on its topic: "the dissenting, and disagreeing in matters of opinions, together with the sundry sorts of Sects now raving and reigning being the maine causes of the disturbance and hinderance of the Common-wealth." The purpose of this document was to criticize the factions that were, in the author's mind, to blame for all of the ills of society at that time. The first page begins as follows:

> It is a generall and common complaint, that trading, employment, and commerce in the Common-wealth is so astonished and dead, that all Callings and Vocations, are faine to make a cessation from their usuall wayes and endevours, which they attribute to the present doubtfulnesse and disturbance of the Times, which were never so full of faction, destraction, and contradiction, as at this present,...

The document goes on to criticize both Catholics, who were referred to as ignorant, and the "*Hydra*, or multitude of proud and precise Sects," who account all things other than their own beliefs "prophanation and superstition." The sects were the main problem, for they were to blame for "much tumult, much division, and much distraction to the great disgrace and scandall of the true Protestant Religion, and the glory and renowne which hath been in this Kingdom...." The document ends by discussing the January 24, 1641 defacement of Cheapside cross, predicting that the destruction will continue and pointing out the ridiculousness and extreme nature of the instigators' "hot and over-boyling zeale." The author also claimed that "they have not done me [the cross] so much dishonor as they have done themselves, and the honourable City, whose civill government is a patterne to all Nations." This document expressed the contempt and fear that many had over the seemingly out of control behavior of some of the more radical groups who were taking matters of reform into their own hands. It was also a plea to exercise reasonableness and discretion in what was torn down. The author saw no reason to destroy the cross and implied that it was "laudable and decent."

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[38] *Dagon*, 2 and 5.

[39] All of these groups were considered "radical" Protestant sects which advocated more progressive reforms than the established church, including liberation from laws and creeds, autonomous congregational governments, and adult baptism. They were subjected to varying degrees of suppression and persecution under the Tudor and Stuart monarchies.

[40] Ibid.

[41] See note 13.

This document has much in common with *Dagon*--not only in its subject matter, but also in its wording. One section of *Dagon* is almost identical to another in *Lamentation*. The first page of *Dagon* begins:

> It is an easier taske to reckon up all the species and severall kinds of nature, than to describe all the Sects, Divisions, and opinions in Religion that is now in and about this Kingdome and City of London; so that whereas there is but one Truth and one way guiding thereunto; the people of our land cannot agree about this one way: but Errour and Scisme being multiplyed manifold they can all finde out those waies to a haire; so that the times remaine still as corrupt in manners as ever any age heretofore ever did,...

On the bottom of page 3, the author of *Lamentation* states:

> It is easier to reckon up all the Species and kinds of nature, than to describe all the Sects, Divisions, and opinions in Religion, that is now in London; so that whereas there is but one truth, and one way leading thereunto, they cannot agree about this one way, but error and vice being multiplyed manifold, they can all finde out those wayes to a haire; so that the times remaine still as corrupt in manners as ever they did:...

While this similarity in wording and context does not necessarily point to a single author, it is reasonable to assume that similar motives were behind these two documents. Further evidence is provided by another document, *Dialogue Between The Crosse in Cheap and Charing Crosse. Comforting each other, as fearing their fall in these uncertaine times.* (Hereafter referred to as *Dialogue.*)[42] This tract was published in London in 1641 and was written by Henry Peacham, a man with royalist leanings according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Its concern was similar to that of *Lamentation* and *Dagon* in that it suggested the crosses should be left alone by the "fanatick brethren" of the times. The passage that *Dagon* borrowed from this document concerned some of the particular religious sects; on page 3 of Dagon, the following appears:

> And now I am accounted for a Papist, all my antiquity is lost from time to time, which if I could mention would weary you with the relation. I am esteemed and held not fit to have my abiding in the Citie, I am called by the name of the Citie Idoll, the Brownists spit at me and throw stones on mee as they come along the street, the Famelists hide their eyes with their fingers, the Annabaptists wish me to be knackt in pieces, as I am like to be this day, the sisters of the Fraternity wil not come near me, but go about by Watling Street, and come in againe by Soaper-lane to buy their provision of the Market-folkes.

Similarly, *Dialogue* contains the following passage on page 4:

> I am accused for a Papist, and not thought fit to have my abiding in the heart of the Citie: I am called and preached against by the name of the Citie-Idoll. The Brownists spit at mee as they come along, the Familists hide their eyes with their fingers, the Anabaptist wishes me knocked into a thousand pieces, the sisters of the fraternity will not come neere me, but goe about by Watling-street, and come in againe by Bow-lane to buy their markets of the Countrey women.

Again, this points to similar features in tone and context between these two documents, much the same as between *Dagon* and *Lamentation*. It is safe to say that all of these documents focus on the religious dissension and corresponding social disruption caused, in the authors' minds, by radical sects. They also have in common an apparent desire to keep the cross at Cheapside.

The Will and Epitaph

The will contained in *Dagon* also supports the theory that *Dagon* was produced as a criticism of the destruction of the cross and of certain religious sects in and around London during the time of its publication. There are seven instructions or bequests made in the will. They are satirical in tone and continue to harangue against the excessive behavior of radical religious sects. The first two items specify that the cross be treated gently, a sarcastic reference to its complete destruction. Also in the first item, a reference is made to its value--"for some parts of mee worth money," which is also the subject of the third item, where the cross states "the Gold which I am gilded withall I appoint to be filed and taken off by those persons which will give most mony for me."

[42]See note 3.

These references allude to the desire by those who were in favor of the destruction of images to use the value and money obtained from the monument for other purposes. This usually took the form of funding for the parliamentary war effort or building programs for the betterment of the citizenry.

Item four of the will leaves lead for bullets or building efforts, while item five bequeaths the iron and steel from the cross to the sword factory at Hounslow. This is another reference to the desire to use the monument to raise funds for the Civil War. The "Red-coate Souldiers" is apparently a reference to the red regiment, an auxiliary parliamentary force from London. Hounslow was used as a camping and recruiting ground for parliamentary forces in 1643.[43] The sixth item implies that the effort to demolish all imagery will be futile, since "for in time there will bee more Crosses in London then ever there was yet, &c." and leaves the cross' body and stones to masons and workmen to use as a pattern in the future. The last item makes reference to the roundabout path that some were taking to avoid seeing the cross. The cross gives the ground he is located on so there will be "a free Market-place, hoping that no more people will goe round as they have used to do about me." This not only points to ridiculous behavior, but also indicates a desire for market transactions undisrupted by religious strife.[44]

The epitaph in *Dagon*, consisting of a short piece of poetry, is more difficult to interpret but also contains some verses to vindicate the cross' position. The verses first admit that the cross had never done any good but only "stood like a stock that was made of wood, and yet the people

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[43] *A letter from one of the trained-bands now in the armie under the red and white regiment to his wife in London sent from Farnham-Castle, Novemb. 2, 1643.* (London, 1643); Henry Foster, *A true and exact relation of the marchings of the two regiments of the trained-bands of the city of London, being red & blew regiments, as also of the three regiments of the auxiliary forces, the blew, red, and orange who marched forth for the reliefe of the city of Glocester from August 23 to Sept. 28 wherein the most materiall passages of every dayes marchings are briefly delineated...* (London, 1643); *The Victoria History of the County of Middlesex*, William Page, F.S.A. ed. (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1911), vol. 2, 42.

[44] The last will and testament contained in *Dagon* was not the only one produced for the cross at Cheapside. Another one was included in *Articles* on page 5:

> In the name of the Virgin Mary, and of his Holinesse, Amen.
>
> I, the Crosse in Cheap-side in London, profest Catholike; being sore sick in body, but in perfect memorie, do make my last Will and Testament, in manner and forme as followeth.
>
> *Imprimis*, I do bequeath my Catholike ghost of consecration to him that gave it, my body to be buried in the divine *Sanctum Sanctorum* of S. Pauls, in full assurance to be Canoniz'd a Martyr, and for ever eterniz'd in his Holinesse Rubricks.
>
> Item, I give and bequeath all the Lead that is about me, to the hostile Catholikes in Ireland, to make Bullets to confound that cursed crew of Heretikes.
>
> Item, I bequeath the Miters that invest the sacred Temples of my Cardinals unto the Reverend Fathers the Bishops of this Land.
>
> Item, Their crosier staffes to the Catholike Shepheards of this Kingdome, for Sheephookes.
>
> Item, I bequeath the Iron about me to make a Clapper for his Holinesse passing-bell.
>
> Item, My poore Pilgrims that stand with their faces against all wind and weather, I recommend unto his Holinesse of Rome, to report the sad tydings of my most miserable and immature destruction.
>
> Item, The gilt that is about me, and such other sacred Reliques as my Executors shall think fit, to be sold next Lambeth Faire, for the discharge of my funerals.
>
> Lastly, I constitute and ordaine the Graces of Canterbury and of Yorke, my lawfull Executors for the administration of this my last Will and Testament.

This last will and testament is obviously very different in tone and its satirical attacks; it is primarily concerned with denouncing the Catholics and popery. This article was written by Richard Overton, a London pamphleteer who probably had Baptist leanings and was known to be against ecclesiastical structure per the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

would not say I was good." The cross then submits a prayer:

> For many women after this my losse
> Will remember me and still wil be crosse.
> Crosse trickes, Crosse wayes, and Crosse vanities,
> Believe the Crosse speakes truth, for here he lyes.

These verses again remind the reader that the destruction of the cross will not cure all ills. The last two lines are another reference to the overzealous destruction and superstition of some.

The Reasons for the Destruction

The last section of the document sets out the reasons for the destruction of the cross. Immediately preceding this section, a brief history of the cross (without mention of any prior destruction inflicted upon it) is given, and it is referred to as a "glorious Fabricke" and "gracefull Fabricke to London." The author states the main reason for the pulling down of the cross was that "many superstitious and foolish people have publickly adored it and worshipped it as they have gone by it; which offence is the maine cause of its pulling downe and defacing."[45] The stated reasons in the following section, however, focus on the image of the cross as an idol and conform in substance to the reasons set forth in a document authored by Samuel Lovedeay, published in 1642, in answer to the *Lamentation* document. Lovedeay's answer argues for the destruction of the cross and sets forth six reasons why it should be carried out. Some of these reasons are also stated on page 5 of *Dagon*:

> Because it is in its own structure a monument of Idolatry, and may better suite well with an Idolatrous place, as Rome and such like places, than for this civill Citie, wherein so much preaching and teaching of Gods word is used; Again, that many people by nature desire a visible God, rather than an invisible God; Also that it occasions many from comming to looke for Christ in an invisible way, so long as they can see him visible.[46]

Unlike the Lovedeay document which used Biblical references to support its assertions, the author of *Dagon* elaborated on the many superstitious practices directed at the cross. Almost a full page is devoted to the criticism of these acts which are seen as "very vaine, idle and rediculous." The argument for pulling down the cross in this section appears to be more of a quotation than an espousal of the author's beliefs. The difference between the two documents is in their focus: Lovedeay argued that the cross should be pulled down because *he* felt it was an idol, while *Dagon's* author felt the destruction was necessary because *others* thought it was an idol.

Dagon's writer seems to have reached a state of sad resignation to the cross' fate when he states

> so this crosse hath been a great meanes to cause superstition and idolatry from time to time in worshipping and adoring it... therefore seeing no redresse or helpe for the suppression of it; the Common Counsell of London did Petition to the honourable Houses of Parliament for relefe in this case....[47]

Like the more conservative Puritan authors such as Lovedeay, the author of *Dagon* was also very concerned about the appeal and affect the cross had on some worshippers. However, the author of *Dagon* as well as the authors of *Lamentation* and *Dialogue* really did not want to see its destruction. He had, nevertheless, resigned himself to that necessity.

Even though the author had accepted the necessity of the cross' destruction, he still emphasized that order was essential. Parliament issued a warrant for its removal (under the parliamentary committee discussed above) "by all the faire meanes they could devise" and enlisted the help of the Trained Bands to prevent an "uproare." With that, the author left the cross "to bee made levell with the ground this second day of May 1643." This section not only shows the author's concern with maintaining order in the city similar to the first section, it also shows his concern and distaste for

[45] *Dagon*, 5.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

the superstitious practices held by many of the common people as well as the support still given to the cross by others.

At the very end of the document, an italicized comment is given:

> And pray good Reader take notice by the Almanacke, for the signe falls just at this time to bee in the feete, to shew that the Crosse must be laid equall with the ground for our feet to tread on, and what day it was demolished; that is on the day when Crosses were first invented and set up, and so I leave the rest to your consideration.[48]

There are two additional references here to other "superstitious" practices: astrology and legal (holy) days. The reference to the almanac refers to the "zodiacal man" which showed the part of the body controlled by the zodiac at a specific time. This allowed planning medical procedures around the signs of the zodiac when the timing would be optimal.[49] In this case, the sign of the "feete" occurred on May 3, 1643 according to Richard Allestree's almanac for that year.[50] This reference implies that a particular date for destruction was targeted based on astrological forecasting, a common practice at that time. The "feete" apparently refers to the trampling, or total defeat, of the downed cross. The almanac itself had been questioned as to its appropriate use in a Christian society. Its information was felt by some to be diabolical in origin. It, too, could result in drawing men away from God through superstitious practices.[51]

May 3 was also the legal day for the Invention of the Cross, the day celebrated by Catholics as the occasion of Helen's (the mother of Constantine) finding the cross of the crucifixion. The cross was divided up and placed in many churches as a relic.[52] Relic and saint worship were, of course, also widely condemned as popery. These two additional superstitious practices were probably mentioned in order to cause the reader to further reflect on superstitious practices in general, as well as on how they were used in this particular incident.

Imagery

There are two images of Cheapside cross presented in the primary documents discussed: one in *Dagon* (Figure 2, right side) and one in *Dialogue* (Figure 3, right side). They illustrate opposite sides of the cross, but each shows an act of destruction in progress where the instigators are climbing over the protective railing to commence their vandalism. Presumably, this is the defacement that occurred in January 1641. An interesting feature of these drawings is that no religious imagery can be seen (although the central female figure in *Dagon* may be the Virgin), even though we know from the history of the cross that it was still there. Instead, the images portrayed are of ecclesiastical figures. This may be an important indicator of the perceived motives behind prior destruction, although the focus on ecclesiastical imagery does not fit with what is stated in these two documents. The image in *Dialogue* does, however, point to the accused perpetrators: the Brownists and the Anabaptists.

The Question of Authorship

Unfortunately, both the *Dagon* and *Lamentation* documents are anonymous. As noted above, *Dagon* appears to be connected to both *Lamentation* and *Dialogue*. We know the author of *Dialogue*, Henry Peacham, had royalist leanings. Based on this and the conclusions reached as to its content and meaning, *Dagon's* author also appears to have the same sympathies.

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[48]*Dagon*, 6.

[49]Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs 1500-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 30 and Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner's, 1971), 286.

[50]Richard Allestree, *A New Almanack and Prognostication of our Lord God, Being the third after Leap yeere.* (London, 1642). Almanacs were consulted for many reasons: to "read" a person's astrological forecast, to determine optimal dates for activities and as a calendar of important religious holidays. This longstanding practice and source of information became increasingly criticized as a form of magic, divination and superstition.

[51]Capp, 32.

[52]F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 710.

It would, therefore, be extremely helpful to know who wrote *Dagon*.

The only clue to the authorship of *Dagon* is that it was published for Thomas Wilson. There are references to one or more Thomas Wilsons active in the London area during the time *Dagon* was published. One was a preacher of fast sermons against popery, who gave a sermon on this topic on September 28, 1642.[53] This is probably the same Wilson referred to in *The Last Will and Testament of Charing Crosse*, printed in 1646. In this document, the will of Charing cross leaves items to "Mr. Wilsons Disciples that beleeve he ran mad for my departure."[54]

There was another Thomas Wilson (1601-53) who wrote a book entitled *The Quakers False Interpretations of Holy Scripture*. A minister in Kent who wanted to impose strict Puritan reforms such as the abolition of maypoles and drunkenness along with instituting Sabbatarianism, he was brought before the High Commission and suspended from service as of November 1640 over the maintenance of his duties.[55] Sir Edward Deering came to his defense in the House of Commons on November 10, 1640 requesting to see Archbishop Laud on his behalf.[56] The outcome of this request and the suspension are unknown, although he apparently preached again. Since he was obviously of a Puritan persuasion and also spoke out against "idols," it is entirely possible that these two Thomas Wilsons are the same man.[57] Either of these men, however, seem odd candidates for requesting the printing of *Dagon* due to its tone and content. Most likely, the Thomas Wilson who had *Dagon* printed was another Thomas Wilson. This name was a fairly common one. The readers of this document would presumably have had similar sentiments. Although it is possible that someone with a dissenting view wanted to read the opponent's point of view. Whoever it was, the audience would have been sophisticated enough to read between the lines to understand its satirical meaning.[58]

The authorship and distribution of the *Dagon* document are still unanswered questions. A handwritten date on the document shows May 3 in close proximity to the publication date. It is impossible to imagine that a document could have been written and printed in a twenty-four hour period in the seventeenth century. It does not seem likely that the document was written beforehand, since some specific details are given, such as the time the destruction occurred and what was done to the cross. The date is probably a later edition, perhaps from a collector or a purchaser at a later time.

Conclusion

While the authorship of *Dagon* remains an open question, its approach is more clear. As we have seen, its primary concerns were in maintaining order and stability in London and eliminating, or at least decreasing, acts of superstition. Additionally, it seems to be an appeal to leave secular monuments, such as Cheapside cross, standing because they were not in themselves popish idols. The writer of *Dagon* did not appeal for the destruction of the cross because *he* felt it was an idol, rather, he felt it was necessary unfortuantely, due to the superstitious ways of others. This approach would not have been taken by a strict Puritan, who would have positively interpreted the destruction of the cross at Cheapside. Evidence for this point of view is found in their published documents regarding this incident.[59] In addition, no Biblical references were used in *Dagon*, even

[53]Hill, 90.

[54]*Charing*, 7.

[55]Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 83-84.

[56]*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (London, 1887), vol. 17, 254.

[57]George Swinnock, *The life and death of Mr. Tho. Wilson, minister of Maidstone, in the county of Kent, M.A.* (London, 1672).

[58]Elizabeth Skerpan, *The Rhetoric of Politics in the English Revolution 1642-1660* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 30-31.

[59]In particular, this can be seen in *Resolution, Case, Answer, Tub Answer*, and *Proclamation*.

though Biblical references were a prominent feature in Puritan documents. While he was not a strict Puritan, this writer was not a Catholic either. He denounced popery and its superstitious practices. From what can be gathered, he was Reformed and against the use of idols, but not fanatical. He did not place Cheapside cross into this category.

Apparently, the author was saddened at the prospect of losing the cross due to its prestige and long history with the city of London, but trusted in the Parliamentary decision to see to its destruction. Its downfall was inevitable but not something to celebrate. Due to his support of Parliament, *Dagon's* author cannot be called a strict royalist. He does not stand up for the King who was gathering forces in the north at this time (in essence banished from London). It may be possible that his reference to the "honourable Houses of Parliament" is because he wants to align himself with the current faction in power, but this reference could just as easily have been left out. The best we can say is that he was for the cross but against superstitious practices, against radical sects and Catholicism and for the "one truth and one way" as he defined it, for order and stability and against uncontrolled, unlawful behavior. He seemed quite attached to the cross and its antiquity and amazed that such "superstitious and foolish people" could result in its downfall.

The destruction of the cross at Cheapside was one of many attacks on secular objects accused of seducing innocent worshippers to popery in the mid-seventeenth century. It is an interesting case because of the arguments, and resultant documentation, that revolved around the fate of this particular monument. Its supporters indicated that it was esteemed by many people and felt to be a landmark for the city and its citizens. Its would-be destroyers had multiple motives: for some, it was the end of an evil idol; for others it represented a further erosion of the power of the Crown; while still others may have felt its valuable components would be better used elsewhere. For the author of *Dagon*, its destruction was the inevitable result of superstitious practices by ignorant people. He was living in a time of great conflict and religious upheaval which he saw as the cause for disorder throughout his country. The cross was not an idol in his opinion, since it served a different function--to adorn the city. For Parliament and the Crown, the episodes of violence directed at the cross and elsewhere were threats to national order and stability. Indeed, the actions could, and probably were, interpreted as acts of willful disobedience if not outright subversion. For this reason, Parliament felt it was necessary to publicly sanction its destruction.

The cross and its destruction continued to be debated after it had already been taken down. A poem entitled *A Vindication of Cheapside Crosse against the Roundheads* was published shortly after the event on May 24, 1643. This poem is similar in tone to *Dagon* and *Lamentation* since it attested that the cross was not popish and was taken down for no reason. *The Last Will and Testament of Charing Crosse*, published in 1646, used the Cheapside event to argue against its own destruction. The incident at Cheapside obviously represented more than just the elimination of a monument. It demonstrated the increasing violence and destruction aimed not only at religious objects but also the Crown. Allegorically it stood for all that was wrong with society. Depending on the point of view, it revealed the lack of commitment by many Protestants, including those in Parliament, to aggressively reform the Crown and the Church of England in order to root out all traces of popery. Alternatively, it is evidence of the lack of sophistication and control of the superstitious masses. Most people probably fell somewhere in between these views, but there is little doubt that the Cheapside incident provoked strong feelings and emotions in everyone concerned.

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BRITISH WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES DURING WORLD WAR II

Shannon M. Crucil

In an exploration of the lives of British service women during World War II, this article details why women entered the military service, what life in the service was like, and the end results. Largely middle and upper class women chose jobs in the armed forces over jobs in industry. Military service was appealing as a means of patriotic duty, provided an opportunity for freedom from parental constraints, and offered adventure as well as a path to matrimony. Working at highly technical jobs, but never in combat, women quickly adapted to this labor. Yet their highly technical skills did not prepare them as well for a peace-time economy as women who had worked in industry. It was unacceptable to give women jobs that could go to men, especially higher-paid skilled jobs that women in the service were trained for. So, although women fulfilled many personal goals by serving in the armed forces, their economic status did not improve.

In the First World War, Great Britain's reputation of invincibility was shattered when the country was bombed by German Zeppelins and twin-engine bombers. Unprepared for this assault, the people of Great Britain experienced substantial loss of life as well as an economic depression. During the Second World War they once again experienced an air assault on their homeland. The "Battle of Britain," beginning in September, 1940 and ending in May, 1941, can be characterized as the period in which the people of Great Britain were introduced to "total war."[1] During that period, the cities and provinces of Great Britain were subject to day raids and seventy-six consecutive night raids by the German Luftwaffe. Approximately 1,400 people perished on the worst day of the battle, and 43,000 died in all of Britain during the 1940-41 air war.

Even before the war broke out, Great Britain had learned from her earlier mistakes of unpreparedness and had instituted programs which would attempt to secure and protect the people. During the Munich crisis of 1938, rearmament began and the production of war materials increased. On August 24, 1938, Parliament passed the Emergency Powers (Defense) Act, which stipulated:

> Government was empowered to make such regulations as appeared necessary or expedient to secure public safety, the defence of the realm, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of the

[1] The concept of "total war" is that in which no section of society remained untouched by air raids, the shipping crisis, military conscription, and the war economy. See Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939-1945* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), 31-2.

> war, or the maintenance of supplies or services essential to the life of the community; in short, to act as it liked without reference to parliament.[2]

The government formed a civil defense organization that employed all sections of society. The Schedule of Reserved Occupations was published in November 1938, listing both part-time and full-time jobs available to volunteers. In 1939, Parliament passed the Military Training Act, which allowed for the conscription of men from the ages of twenty to twenty-one. Additionally, the National Service (Armed Forces) Act was passed, which brought men from the ages of eighteen to forty-one under conscription. Over one-and-a- half million men were enrolled in the armed services by December 1939.[3]

This influx of men into vital war work and the armed forces changed the roles of women. Their mobilization into industry, home defense, and the armed forces during the Second World War is one of the most interesting and complex issues of contemporary history. Thus far, historians have explored the impact of war on women and questioned whether the roles they engaged in during the war improved or worsened their position in society. However, whereas most historians have tended to categorize women as one group with the same experiences, this study will delve into the expectations, experiences, and lifestyles of women in the military services—the Women's Royal Navy Service (WRNS), the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF), and the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS). Although women in these respective military units were introduced into a male-dominated institution, and accepted into a "man's world," they came out of the services with fewer options than had been available to them while in the services. Although this is not a comparative study between women in industry and women in the armed forces, the latter were equipped with less flexible and indispensable skills than those women employed in industry. The topics vital to this study will be the class of women each service attracted, the appeal and expectations of joining the service itself, the duties completed by women, the government's response to women in the service, and the prospects for women in the services after the Second World War.

It is first necessary to discuss the legacy of the women's services from the First World War. As in the Second War, women in the First were encouraged to join the military because of a shortage of men on the front lines. In 1917 the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) was formed. The objective of the WAAC, handed down in Army Council Instruction No. 1069 on July 7, 1917, was to "...effect substitution of women for soldiers in certain areas of employment at home, and at the bases on the lines of communication overseas."[4] A member of the WAAC was only to be employed in the service if a man was released from that duty and needed for a combat role. On stating why she wanted to join the WAAC, one woman said:

> We thought we'd be on the spot. And the advertisements said release a man for the firing line, which we thought was very heroic, and of course things were going very badly for us...everyday there were casualty lists in the papers and we'd look down them for someone we knew.[5]

The class of women the WAAC attracted were predominantly of the lower-middle and working classes. The authority figures, or commanders of the rank and file, were middle and upper-class women. The National Service Department suggested, "that these class distinctions should be built into the selection procedure....Letters from educated women applying for supervisory posts could not be treated on the same lines as those applying for posts amoung the rank and file."[6]

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[2] Ibid., 31-2.
[3] Ibid., 51, 54.
[4] Elizabeth Crosthwait, "The Girl Behind the Man Behind the Gun: The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, 1914-1918," in *Our Work, Our Lives, Our Words* ed. Leonore Davidoff and Belinda Westover (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble, 1986), 164.
[5] Ibid., 171.
[6] Ibid., 165.

The duties of the WAAC consisted of traditional women's jobs, such as cooking and cleaning. They also did clerical work, typing, and driving for the army. They were never posted to combat zones on the front-line. Their numbers rose to 40,000, and it was reported that approximately 8,500 were deployed to stations abroad.[7] The WAAC did not encourage women with children or women engaged in munitions work to join the service. Only those who were not needed at home or in their present job were encouraged to join the service, which left mainly young, single women as eligible candidates.

> Women who joined the WAAC did so for purely patriotic reasons. The army seemed to be more prestigious than any other war work and women felt "out of it," as if they were not an integral part of the war effort. One woman stated, "We wanted to do something, really, do something for the war, because after all we were just in a clerical job, we weren't doing anything as we thought vital for the war."[8]

Joining the service was also appealing because it offered adventure and a chance to leave home. When asked why she had joined the service one woman stated, "for the experience. I wanted it for the experience."[9]

A negative aspect of the WAAC was that people believed many of the women were sexually immoral and that they only joined the service to be with men. Women who went into the WAAC were sometimes looked down upon because they had left their homes and abandoned their "accepted female roles." One woman reported, "People thought we were awful people, camp followers. Of course they thought we were all coming home with illegitimate children, once we got out there with men."[10] These assumptions were fueled by the fact that women in the WAAC were able to fraternize with men without strict control. Ideas about women being promiscuous in the service were bound to occupy the thoughts of those who were not actually a part of the service. In 1918, under much pressure to investigate the accusations of women's improprieties, a Commission of Enquiry found that, "We can find no justification of any kind for the vague accusations of immoral WAAC."[11]

All of the women's military services were disbanded after the war. The prevailing attitude toward women and the military was that the "army in peace has no place for women."[12] Nevertheless, the women in the WAAC reported they had greater self-confidence and felt proud to serve next to the fighting men even if it was only on a temporary basis. Although there were negative assumptions about women who served in the military, women remembered the service as an opportunity to mingle with different people and build strong friendships. One woman reported:

> I think it was the finest thing, and we all say that, my crowd, it was the most marvellous thing that ever happened because there was a wonderful comradeship that you never lose, it is a marvellous feeling, and you meet each other and its [sic] still there. It's a lovely feeling that you went through so much together, I think it was wonderful.[13]

The women's military services of the First World War had very distinct features. Its ranks consisted of various classes of women and were commanded by upper-class women. Women in these services were required to do traditional women's work. The services of women in the

[7] Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield, *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 44.

[8] Crosthwait, 170.

[9] Ibid., 171.

[10] Ibid. 178.

[11] Braybon and Summerfield, 113. Although the WAAC was the largest group of women in the military during the First World War, it should be noted that women also served in the WRNS and the Women's Royal Auxiliary Air Forces (WRRA). The women employed in these units did similar work to that of the WAAC; however, WRNS did engage in coding and decoding work, and some were employed as electricians and telegraphists. The women in the combined women's services in the First World War totaled approximately 100,000. Ibid. 45. Also see Margaret M. Fitzpatrick, *The Role of Women in Wartime Britain: 1939-1945*, United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau (Washington: Pearl Ravner Research Division, 1950).

[12] Crosthwait, 180.

[13] Ibid.

First War were only temporary, and directly after the war all ranks were disbanded. The legacy of the women's services in the First War was multifaceted. Not only were new occupational skills learned, but women became members of an institution that had never previously recognized them as active or essential contributors to national security. Although the skills women attained in the First War did not result in improving their social status, they did come away with stories of their experiences which illustrated the satisfaction and pride they felt in serving their country. It is these stories that shaped the attitudes of women who joined the services in the Second World War. Patriotism, independence, comradeship, adventure and opportunity characterized the First War and enhanced the outlook for services in the Second.

In the 1930s a group of ex-servicewomen formed a voluntary organization "for the purposes of preparing a nucleus of officer candidates around which a new force could be created in case of emergency."[14] This organization was recognized by the government in 1936 and called Emergency Services. In 1938, the government formed the Auxiliary Territorial Service, and in 1939 the WRNS and the WAAF were reestablished. The founders of the Emergency Services were placed at the head of each of the services: Mrs. Laughton Matthews for the WRNS, Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan, D.B.E. for the ATS, and Miss K. J. Trefusis Forbes for the WAAF.[15]

In the first year of war, the members of these units were volunteers, approximately 43,000 strong.[16] When a shortage of men in the armed forces was recognized, the government decided to register women for the war effort. In April, 1941, the Registration of Employment Order called for women to register for work and to classify the types of work they were qualified for.[17] Although women were eager to serve their country, problems of incorporating them into the women's services began to surface. Women complained of the red-tape and dificulties they encountered at the registration office. A Mass Observation (M-O) report dated December 16, 1940 documented one woman's attempt to gain voluntary work. Upon hearing from one of the women's services in reference to her inquiry, she wrote:

> She enquired whether I realised that the work was entirely voluntary—which I already said I realised in my letter....She then apparently referred to my letter and saw in it that I'd given 18 hours a week as my limit—the point was, she said, that the War Office would not issue permits for this work except to workers who could give whole time work on a minimum of five days weekly. This of course knocks the whole thing flat out as far as I'm concerned, and I told her so, rather irritably, wondering what on earth was the point of ringing up to make an appointment when my letter must have made it quite clear that I was not in a position to be of any service...[18]

When the conscription of women was proposed, the government requested advisement from the Women's Consultative Committee. This committee was appointed by both the Minister of Labor and the National Service in March, 1941, to advise in "questions affecting the recruiting and registration of women and on

[14] Fitzpatrick, 7.

[15] Mary Cox, *British Women At War*, Britain at War Series (London: John Murray and Pilot Press, 1941).

[16] Calder, 54.

[17] Raynes Minns, *Bombers and Mash: Domestic Front 1939-45* (London: Virago Press, 1980), 43.

[18] Tom Harrisson. Mass Observation Archives. No. 530, "Women and the War Effort," (December 16, 1940), 17. Hereinafter cited as M-O. M-O was founded in 1937 as a reaction to the unstability in Europe. Tom Harrisson, an anthropologist, ornithologist, and professor at the University of Sussex, was the co-founder and director of M-O. The purpose of M-O was to document the observations, moods and opinions of the public during the War. Personal interviews and observations were recorded by full and part-time volunteers and paid employees, as well as diarists who were active participants in the War. Also see Tom Harrisson, *Living Through The Blitz* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976).



Barrage Balloonist, Ann marries her RAF Rear-Gunner, George.
Nicholson, **What Did You Do in the War Mummy?** (Chatto and Windus)

the best methods of seeking their services for the war effort."[19] In November 1941, Viscount Trenchard confronted the House of Lords with the issue of conscription of women into the armed forces. He advised the Parliament that more women were needed for the various women's auxiliary services, especially the ATS, where he called for at least 200,000 more recruits. He made it clear that the reputation of the women's armed forces was that women were doing an exemplary job in "skilled work on teleprinters, plotting, typing, short-hand and also useful work like cooking, orderly work, attending to the telephone, and driving cars."[20] He went on to say that although this type of work was monotonous, it was vital because women were "releasing men for the Fighting Forces and doing work peculiarly suited to women."[21]

On December 18, 1941, the National Service (Armed Forces) Act (No. 2) was extended to include women. Only single women and childless widows between the ages of twenty and thirty years were to be conscripted into the armed forces. In 1943, the act was amended to include nineteen year olds.[22] In this act women were given a choice between the auxiliary services and jobs in industry. Thus, women were compelled to join the war effort whether they had attempted to volunteer in the early stages of the war or not. Their presence in the military became vital to the safety of their country. Because there was a shortage of men on the front lines, women became substitutes for their male counterparts. J.B. Priestley indicated that:

> The chief object of these Auxiliary Services is, of course, to release men in the three corresponding services for more arduous and dangerous duties. If a girl can take a man's place as a clerk or a cook or a transport driver, then if that man is physically fit, he can be moved nearer the fighting front.[23]

With conscription, the number of women in the armed forces dramatically increased. As previously stated, in the first year of the war there were only 43,000 women in the combined services of the WRNS, ATS, and WAAF. By 1943 the total increased to 461,000, and women represented approximately 10 percent of the armed forces.[24] It is important to ask why women wanted to join the armed forces. What class of women did these services attract? What were the expectations they had of joining the service? What occupations did women engage in during their service? And finally, did the skills they acquired in the service prepare them for civilian life in post-war Britain?

In the early stages of the war, when women were joining the armed forces on a purely voluntary basis, they came from mainly the upper and middle-classes. In December, 1940, M-O reported, "there is a strong desire among many middle-class women to do something helpful, either for reasons of boredom, social example, or because they genuinely desire to take some part in the war effort...."[25] That report also indicated that upper and middleclass women were more likely to want to join the services because they had more time, whereas working-class women, "have less time, money and opportunity...."[26] When conscription was instituted, M-O printed a report on the attitudes of civilians towards compulsory service. Of the fifty-eight women and men interviewed regarding that issue, half said conscription of women was good because "rich" people would be made to work.[27]

Divisions of class existed in the services themselves. The WRNS was considered the more elite service to join because it was smaller, requiring fewer women to occupy positions than

[19] United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, No. 244, *Womanpower Committees During World War II: United States and the British Experience* (Washington: Bureau, 1953), 58-59.

[20] *Parliamentary Debates*, Official Report. (No. 125) November 25, 1941, 75.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Fitzpatrick, 7.

[23] J.B. Priestley, *British Women Go To War* (London: Collins Publishers, 1943), 22.

[24] Fitzpatrick, 9.

[25] M-O. No. 530, 18.

[26] Ibid., 28.

[27] M-O No. 919, "Report on Female Attitude to Compulson," (October 10, 1941), 3-4.

the other two services. The WRNS had a well-bred image based on its requirement of personal references and the its exemption from military discipline.[28] However, when women were questioned in regards to the service they would prefer to join, the WAAF was the highest preference, the ATS the second, and the WRNS the third. A February 2, 1942 M-O report indicated the types of class most likely to join the services:

> The WAAF were almost equally popular with B's and C's (uppermiddle and middleclass), but rather less so with D's (lower/working class). The ATS on the other hand had a predominantly D class appeal, while the WRNS was overwhelmingly a B class service.[29]

Another woman indicated she decided to join the WRNS because she "wanted to do a job which made a direct contribution to the war effort [and] because quite honestly I wanted to be with people I would feel comfortable with, and from what I had seen of the other two services I knew that wouldn't be the case."[30] Nina Masel, a WAAF, reiterated the class divisions among her unit when she joined the service:

> One aspect of this life which interests me immensely is the division of the girls into rigid cliques. A month ago, 42 of us were called up and met together for the first time in a large room in Victory House, Kingsway. Immediately, cliques were formed. The moment you entered the room, you knew exactly which group to join, almost instinctively. The noisy group in the middle was the working-class...At the side, the Colonel's daughter was surrounded by an admiring semi-circle of actresses, a dress designer and "ladies of leisure." A hairdresser, accountant's clerk, school teacher and mannequin formed another group....[31]

It would be correct to assume that upper and middle-class women predominated in the armed forces. Although there were working-class women in the services, most preferred to occupy jobs that would offer better pay and not take them away from their homes. Pay for the lower ranks was two shillings a day, and wages rose depending on the skills women acquired while in the service.[32] Accounts on pay have noted that, "in contrast to women in industry, the financial award was not the thing which women in civil defence and the services liked most about their work. Army pay was not generous and there were complaints at the beginning of the war that a woman needed a private income in order to survive...."[33]

In most accounts, the attraction women felt toward the services has been characterized as superficial. Although women indicated they wanted to join the services to help their country and do something valuable to contribute to the war effort, the main attractions can be summed up in three ways: independence, adventure and men. Of course, when interviewed regarding their experiences, women were more inclined to state that they were fighting for their country. However, most personal accounts indicate that women were bored with either their lives or their present jobs and had romantic fantasies about joining the service. The following excerpts illustrate the general feeling:

> ...it did give me my first taste of freedom. You were always on duty, so you were always away from home. You felt free in a different way from going to the office every day. You were in the WRENS and that sort of became an excuse for being out half the night and the day. Before this I'd had to account for everything—where I was going, who with, and what time would I be home? You just didn't really think about it until you had a chance to be much freer.[34] (WRENS)

> I don't think I had patriotic feelings about joining up and serving my country. I was much too self-centered. I would just have thought of it as romantic, and much more interesting than the life that I was leading. Without joining up I couldn't easily have got away from home. And I

[28] Priestley, 22.
[29] Braybon and Summerfield, 165.
[30] M-O No. 1083, "Summary of Report on ATS Campaign," (February 2, 1942), 7.
[31] Braybon and Summerfield, 200.
[32] Angus Calder and Dorothy Sheridan, *Speak for Yourself: A Mass-Observation Anthology 1937-1949* (Great Britain: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1984), 130.
[33] Minns, 43, 47.
[34] Braybon and Summerfield, 188.

> think for an awful lot of women that was true.[35] (WAAF)

Women who joined the forces expected to find a "romantic, gay, carefree life, plenty of men; ENSA concerts; officers galore; the distinction of wearing uniform; the thrill of co-operative work in a cause in which the majority sincerely believed; a breakage from ordinary routine..."[36] However, many women found the services like boarding school and their conditions less than satisfactory. M-O reported that many women were initially dissatisfied with army life and felt they had to "put up" with more than their male counterparts. The following is a letter from an older ATS member in March 1940:

> ...Imagine my disappointment on coming here to more muddle and more chores....I was awfully upset for a few days when I came here but I'm getting used to the concentration camp. It's absurd to think that the war is going on against tyranny and aggression, yet this place is full of it....Certainly, if I had joined in the usual way I would have gone out again at once after knowing the depot conditions.[37]

Nina Masel indicated that finding a man was one of the principal things women were after in the forces. She indicates that the men in her unit were categorized by quality: "rank, wings, looks, money, youth in that order," and she added that more prestige was given to women who had a quantity of men chasing after them. Also, the intensity or length of the relationship was a factor. Masel indicated, "I am happiest when I am conducting two or three successful affairs with eligibles...and I am second happiest when I am pretending to other girls that they are successful affairs."[38]

Initially, women in the forces were unpleasantly surprised to find out that army life was not at all how they envisioned it. However, to most civilians, army life seemed to be very comfortable. In comparison to the civilians, women in the army were fed better, supplied uniforms, given free medical services and housing, and three weeks paid leave once a year. Also, women were treated to numerous dances where they were encouraged to mingle and socialize with men. Like most people of Great Britain during the war, they quickly adjusted to the new environment and became an integral part of the war machine.

What these women lost in luxurious accommodations they gained in the satisfaction of the work they completed while in the service. At the beginning of the war there were very few trades open to women who served in the armed forces. However, at the end of the war approximately eighty trades were available to women in the ATS and WAAF. Most of these jobs were classified as skilled. It was reported that ninety-five percent of WAAFs replaced RAF airmen on a one-to-one basis. In the WRNS, it was reported that two-thirds of the women replaced naval officers in various positions, notably as cyphers and in technical and secretarial work. In all of the services women occupied traditional jobs, such as cooking, cleaning, sewing, as well as clerical work such as typing.[39]

When these services were formed by the Crown as military units vital to national security, they were officially allowed to participate in combatant service. The ATS were most widely known for serving in mixed anti-aircraft batteries, and in 1942 it was estimated that approximately fifty percent of the recruits would be used in these positions. Women in the ATS also became drivers, telephonists and teleprinter operators, and operated searchlights for enemy aircraft detection.[40] Their skills did not go unrecognized. In 1941, a Corps Commander wrote General Sir Frederick Pile, the Commander-in-Chief of the Anti-Aircraft

[35] Mavis Nicholson, *What Did You Do in the War Mummy?: Women in World War II* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1995), 131.

[36] Nicholson, 63.

[37] M-O No. 757, "General Picture of WAAF Life." (June 25, 1941), 1.

[38] M-O No. 530, 23.

[39] Calder and Seridan, 134.

[40] Vera Lynn, Robin Cross and Jenny de Gex, *Unsung Heroines: The Women Who Won the War* (Great Britain: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1990), 65.

Command, in regard to the duties carried out by the ATS:

> It has been an unqualified success. Probably the thing that impressed all observers immediately is the tremendous keenness and enthusiasm displayed by the ATS in assimilating their operational duties. They learn quickly and once having mastered the subject very seldom make mistakes.[41]

One woman who was in a mixed battery stated:

> We are here to relieve men for more important jobs, and we therefore have to work like men. It is a common sight to see girls working with shovels clearing the snow from a gun-site, filling sandbags, etc. When we arrived at our site we had all been trained for particular jobs, but since then we have learned to do every job in camp except fire the guns—and I bet we could do that too if we were allowed.[42]

The above statement is quite interesting and points out a trend that was present in all of the women's services: women were posted to dangerous areas on the front lines, such as in aerodrome operations rooms, anti-aircraft batteries, and searchlight units; however, they were not allowed to fire lethal weapons. General Pile indicated that in 1938 he consulted Miss Caroline Haslett regarding the use of women in Anti-Aircraft batteries. Miss Haslett informed him that women were very capable of running the searchlights and anti-aircraft instruments, "and, in fact, [can] do almost everything except fire the guns."[43] General Pile indicated he was not opposed to women firing weapons because he really saw no difference in operating a "G.L. set or predictor and firing a gun: both are means of destroying an enemy aircraft."[44] However, Pile was not interested in pursuing this issue, as he was far more concerned with getting clearance to use women in mixed Anti-Aircraft batteries to begin with. Pile stated the following regarding women and arms:

> ...that was a political issue: we were quite ready to let them fire light anti-aircraft guns, but there was a good deal of muddled thinking which was prepared to allow women to do anything to kill the enemy except actually press the trigger. Later on, when they [women] were on their searchlight-sites, the same political issue prevented them from firing back at any bomber which engaged them with its machine-guns. All that remained now to confound the last of the sceptics was for the girls to be tested in action.[45]

In the WAAF, women engaged in various occupations, such as radio, machine, flight and instrument mechanics, coders, plotters, range and height finders, and meteorologists. WAAFs also controlled and maintained the barrage balloons that were sent up to resist enemy aircraft. WAAFs were not actually allowed to fly in combat; however, two services employed women pilots on a non-combat basis: ferry pilots who transported new or repaired aircraft to the bases and nurses who flew ambulance planes.[46] For all their successes in the WAAF and their exposure to combat zones, women were restricted from flying aircraft on a combatant basis. In July, 1944, Air Marshal Leigh-Mallory petitioned the Chief of Air Staff to allow members of the WAAF to train as pilots and participate in battle. Of course, Leigh-Mallory suggested this idea because of the shortage of pilots available at that time. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Commander-in-Chief of the American forces, indicated he was hesitant to accept women in military roles; however, upon seeing their skill and helpfulness, he could not understand why there was any initial resistance to employing them in military activities."[47]

The WRNS were active in over 100 shore duties. They acted as plotters, manned harbor crafts, served as coastal mine-spotters, air and radio mechanics, and armourers. WRNS were also trained as welders and carpenters, and they maintained and repaired ships in naval bases.[48]

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[41] Ibid.

[42] General Sir Frederick Pile, *Ack-Ack: Britain's Defence Against Air Attack During the Second World War* (London: George C. Harrap and Co., 1949), 192.

[43] Ibid., 193.

[44] Ibid., 186.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., 193.

[47] Fitzpatrick, 8.

[48] Eric Taylor, *Women Who Went to War* (Great Britain: Robert Hale, 1988), 16, 199.

The question of WRNS actually going to sea was posed to Parliament on March 10, 1941:

> The answer is that the principle of Wrens serving afloat is not objected to by the Admiralty. I have no doubt that if you gave the Wrens half a chance they would be perfectly prepared to sail a battleship. In fact when the Wrens go overseas now they do take part in service on the ship, and help the men in a good many ways day by day. But the real difficulty about this proposal is accommodation on board...that is the real objection to my Hon. Friend's suggestion, but at the same time I can assure him that if when and where it is found practicable to employ Wrens afloat it will certainly be done.[49]

Eric Taylor asserted that the above excerpt was an example of how the government used the argument of a lack of lavatories for women on ships to deny them from occupying positions on sea-going operations. He indicated that, "it was the same argument in all three services. As soon as the possibility of having women on the unit was suggested to commanders, minds turned to the problem of latrines and ablutions."[50]

Women in the WRNS, ATS, and WAAF occupied a wide variety of positions in the armed forces. It is imperative to determine whether these newly-acquired skills prepared women for post-war Britain. Many accounts of women have been used in this study to illustrate the lifestyles and experiences of women in the armed forces. It is these same accounts that will illustrate the attitudes of women in regard to their future after the war.[51]

Many of the women had romantic fantasies about what they would do after the war. Nina Masel indicated that after the war she planned to do the following:

> In my mind (March 1943), I have a hazy sort of plan about what I would like to do after the war. When people ask this of me I always say I'd like to have a beer-garden in Prague, where left-minded intellectuals could come and hatch revolutionary plots over their glasses.[52]

This excerpt implicitly expresses the uneasiness women felt when asked the question, "what are you going to do after the war?" A Mass Observation report as early as June, 1941 reflected the uncertainty many WAAFs felt when thinking about what would happen after the war:

> Few have exact plans as to what they are going to do after the war. Vaguely, "I'll get a job" seems to be the general idea. A few have their jobs to go back to; quite a few are of independent means, or can rely on their parents; a very few would like to stay on and remain in the WAAF; most hope that they'll get married.[53]

It seems that most women had the idealistic view that they would travel or obtain an interesting job after the war. Most women did not want to return to the positions they occupied before the war: "Well, I'm certainly not going back to my office routine."[54]

Still others believed they would get married after the war. More importantly, women indicated that the skills they obtained in the war would not be useful to them in post-war Britain. The following is a conversation between two servicewomen:

> ...I'm going to do all the things I've meant to. I want to travel. See things!
>
> After the war, you won't have any money to travel, see things. You'll be on the dole, same as me.
>
> Yes — what are we fit for? What good will this be after the war?[55]

[49] Lynn, 66.
[50] Taylor, 121.
[51] Calder and Sheridan, 134.
[52] M-O. No. 757, 11.
[53] M-O No. 1620, "Report on After the War Feelings in the WAAF." (October 3, 1943), 3, 5.
[54] Ibid., 13.
[55] Braybon and Summerfield, 267.



Recruitment poster for the Women's Auxillary Air Force.
Nicholson, **What Did You Do in the War Mummy?** (Chatto and Windus)

Another servicewoman reported:

> ...I didn't think about doing a technical job, partly because I knew that at that time there would have been no way that one could have had a technical job that wasn't manual work. And I did not want to just do manual work ... it wouldn't have been demanding. And although I suppose there must have been a few girls going to university and training to be engineers, I didn't know any. I like my job. I loved it, but I couldn't really see myself going on and learning about engineering."[56]

The way in which women in the services were demobilized depended on their age and length of service. Those who were released received four weeks paid leave, clothing coupons, and the realization that they might not be able to use their skills after the war. Penny Summerfield noted the "assumption was that servicewomen could not expect to use their special technical skills in civilian jobs and should think in terms of entering university or training for one of the women's occupations, like teaching, nursing or clerical work.[57]

Servicewomen faced the strains of wondering what to do after the war and fear of returning to civilian life. For these women the prospects of returning to old jobs and facing the post-war world of inadequate housing, job shortages and queuing for food seemed very unpromising. Many women were enthusiastic to remain in the services after the war and very grateful when the government formed the Women's Royal Auxiliary Corps (WRAC), which called for experienced personnel to re-enlist.[58]

In conclusion, women in the armed forces during the Second World War engaged in unprecedented occupations. To some extent, in both wars women joined the services out of patriotism. However, in the Second War women were more enthusiastic about joining the services because of the adventure and independence it would promise. Women in the Second War also carried with them the stories of the First War and looked forward to the friendships that would result from their years of service.

The services definitely allowed women to become more independent, financially and emotionally. Although the wages were poor, most women did not completely depend on the financial aspect of serving in the military. A large number of women in the armed forces were from the upper or middle classes. Wages were not as important to these women as they were to women in industry. Emotionally, the military gave women the chance to escape from authoritative parents at home, as well as from boring jobs, or boring lives in general.

For the duration, military service was a self-fulfilling occupation. Servicewomen did not have the same pressures as women in industry. For example, there was no "double burden" of shopping and taking care of the home. However, being in the military meant that these women were not equipped with indispensable or socially acceptable skills which would support them in the future. After the war, many servicewomen went back to their old clerical or factory jobs, or to school. But most of all, a great number of servicewomen got married. As Nina Masel pointed out, marriage was, "the average woman's stand-by, the way out, the final security."[59]

The legacy of the Second World War is similar to that of the First: it brought all classes of women together and friendships were made that lasted a lifetime. It provided women with the opportunity to learn new skills and created some acceptance of women in male-dominated fields. The Second World War did not create permanent change in the social status of women, but it did help women take another step towards equality

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[56] Ibid., 266..
[57] Ibid.
[58] Taylor., 229.
[59] Braybon and Summerfield, 267.

TOO YOUNG FOR WAR:

How British Children Coped During World War II

LeeAnn Rippetue Erwine

During the Battle of Britain, when many children were evacuated to less likely targets, health officials undertook studies to determine the effects of wartime upon children. These studies, made from 1939 to 1941, provided interesting and disturbing results. Young children often ignored the realities of war, while older ones tended to exhibit antisocial behavior. Many children exhibited psychological and psychologically-induced physical disorders after evacuation and separation from their parents, as air raids affected most children less than did evacuation. Amid these dangers, British children found ways to deal with the upheaval inherent in their lives. Some drew pictures, wrote stories, or played new games with war-related themes; others confided in trusted adults; still others denied the war existed at all. The early children's studies concluded that because of their ability to adapt to rapidly-changing situations, children were able to cope with the dangers and privations of war.

On September 1, 1939, Adolf Hitler invaded Poland, and in response to Germany's aggression, Great Britain declared war two days later. As a measure to protect children from the expected German belligerence, approximately 1.5 million children under age fourteen were immediately evacuated from dangerous urban areas to the safer countryside. The evacuation was not a pleasant experience for many children. Germany did not attack immediately, and the subsequent "phony war," combined with homesickness and extreme ill-will between the evacuated children and their rural hosts, caused 77,000 children to drift back to the cities before the end of 1939.

Subsequent evacuations occurred when Germany finally launched an aerial assault on Britain's highly-populated urban and industrial areas from September 1940 through May 1941. This first attack, known as the Battle of Britain or "the blitz," ended after a valiant effort by British pilots but later evolved as the Germans launched flying bombs (the V-1 and V-2) in the summer of 1944. Evacuees usually returned home after the immediate threat was over, and because of the bad experience of the 1939 evacuation, participation never resumed the same initial level. This paper focuses on the time period between the evacuation of 1939 and the end of the blitz in 1941. The study examines the children who drifted back to the cities as well as those who remained evacuated, and it explores how both groups suffered psychologically as a result. In addition, it reveals insights into the ways that children found to cope with the war on the home front.

At the onset of Britain's involvement in the Second World War, nearly one million children evacuated England's potentially dangerous cities to safer rural areas. This raised a question concerning any detrimental effects the war might have on children. As a result, various organizations

conducted psychological surveys of these children in order to learn how they adjusted to the evacuation, air raids, and overall war stress. The results of these studies were analyzed to find a way to benefit children not only during the present war, but also future wars should similar conditions occur. As government officials, psychologists, sociologists, and teachers drew conclusions about what caused stress and how children adjusted to it, the children developed their own ways of coping with the war.

Many organizations studied the effect of war upon children in Britain, and their goal was to obtain as much information as possible about the main consequences of war, particularly those affecting the children themselves. One of the first studies, conducted from September 1939 through December 1939, was *The Cambridge Survey of Evacuated Children*. Dr. Susan Isaacs headed an ad hoc research committee which consisted of social workers, sociologists, psychologists, psychotherapists, and teachers. The findings of Dr. Isaacs' team, as well of those of other researchers in the medical field, were published in medical and psychological journals. These findings were examined by government groups, such as the Ministry of Health, and other organizations concerned with the welfare of children. Other groups gathered data primarily by observing and interviewing children. Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham operated three nurseries in the London area that became full-time foster care facilities and real life laboratories where they observed and recorded children's behavior. Mass-Observation reporters also studied and interviewed children in order to learn their feelings about war and how it affected their daily lives.

The researchers who studied children during the war had startling findings. Air raids and the evacuation each produced distinct types of psychological and psychosomatic problems. The researchers also observed how children's reactions to war varied according to their age group: preschool, junior school, or senior school. The findings of these organizations were significant, not only because they showed how children reacted to war conditions such as air raids and evacuation, but because they also showed how children used fantasy, games, drawing, and writing as constructive outlets to help them cope with an incomprehensible war.[1]

British children who experienced air raids and bombings, as well as those who were evacuated, suffered from both psychosomatic and psychological problems. However, the immediate reaction to the evacuation was worse than the reaction caused by air raids: evacuated children tended to develop more psychosomatic disorders, and children in air raid areas usually developed psychological disorders.[2] The Ministry of Health recognized that evacuated children's disorders were caused primarily by separation from their parents.[3] Although the government had evacuated the children from potential air raid areas to protect them physically, they were unprepared to handle the thousands of children who were emotionally unstable after being separated from their families.[4] Likewise, child guidance workers and government officials were surprised to learn that children who lived in the most dangerous areas had fewer psychological problems than those who had been evacuated. Contrary to what was expected, only a small number of children during the first six months of 1941 were referred to the City of Birmingham Child Guidance Clinic for problems which seemed to be directly connected with the effects of heavy air raids.[5] In fact, Malcolm Mac Donald, the Minister of Health, reported that bombing did not affect the nerves of children to the extent

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[1]Anonymous, "War Strain in Evacuated Children," *British Medical Journal*, (25 Jan. 1941): 128; Barbury, W. "Effects of Evacuation and of Air Raids on City Children," *British Medical Journal*, (8 Nov. 1941): 662; and Odlum, D. "Psychological Effects of the War on British Children, " 2, *American Medical Women's Association*, 2, (1947): 125.

[2]Anonymous. "War Strain in Children," *Lancet*, (25 Jan. 1941): 121.

[3]Anonymous, "War Strain in Evacuated Children," *British Medical Journal*, (25 Jan. 1941): 128.

[4]Barbury, 662.

[5]A. G. McClure, "Effects of Air Raids on School Children," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 10: (1943); 24–29.

feared and that evacuated children had greater mental stress than those in bombed areas.[6]

Many evacuated children, who lost the security of their family and surroundings, developed homesickness. For some it caused great emotional stress: although the evacuated children were safe in the countryside, they worried about parents and family who remained behind in the cities. Many children could not understand why, if the cities were so dangerous, they had been evacuated and their parents had not.[7] They made no connection between the evacuation and the avoidance of danger.[8] This caused the children to develop deep feelings of guilt. During the evacuation of September 1939, the apparent inactivity of war in England caused many children to believe there was no valid reason for the evacuation. They felt they had been evacuated because their parents had rejected them.[9] These feelings of guilt, rejection, and concern for loved ones developed into many psychosomatic problems which included enuresis (bed wetting), incontinence, speech disorders, and sleep walking.[10]

Just as enuresis and other psychosomatic disorders were associated with children who had difficulties with the evacuation, certain psychological problems were identified with the air raids and bombings. As children were exposed to physical danger in air raid areas, some developed psychoneurotic (behavioral) disorders.[11] A survey by the Birmingham Child Guidance Clinic reported that these children exhibited signs of increased aggression, anxiety, and nervousness. This survey, which represented 10,000 children, was taken by Birmingham teachers of their students between the ages of five and fourteen. The teachers also noted post air raid problems such as the cognitive difficulties of less concentration and less retention of knowledge. Children also displayed an increase in violent behavior and had difficulty conforming. One important consideration mentioned at the conclusion of the survey was that air raids and bombings were not the only causes of psychological problems. Instead, there were several factors that in conjunction with the air raids probably accounted for the change in children's behavior. Lack of sleep, disturbance of habit and routine, irritability of adults, absence of one or both parents from the home, and the psychological contagion of group unsettlement were all war conditions that contributed to the psychological problems of children who lived in air raid areas.[12]

As children began to suffer psychological and psychosomatic problems when suddenly faced with evacuation, air raids, and bombs, they soon developed ways to cope with the emotional trauma of war. The war was a threat from the grown-up world that created insecurity and confusion. The disruption of homelife caused by the war challenged children to find ways to understand the war on their terms in order to bring control back to their lives. Because no child was alike, the war affected each one differently. Consequently, when the children were confronted with the multitude of problems created by war, they in turn responded with numerous ways to cope with these problems.

The initial response unhappy evacuated children had to homesickness and the preoccupation about loved ones was an overwhelming desire to return home. However,

[6]"War Strain," *British Medical Journal*, 128.

[7]Freud and Burlingame, p.17

[8]Mass Observation Archive No. 299, 15. Hereafter, Mass Observation interviews will be cited as M-O (number).

[9]Odlum, 173. (Notebook)

[10]Elliot, M. "The Effect of War and Civil Defense," *Social Service Review*, (March 1942): 13. Of all the psychosomatic disorders caused by the evacuation, enuresis received the most attention because of its controversy. Many people, including Dr. Samuel E. Gill in his article "Nocturnal Enuresis" in the *British Medical Journal*, p.199 (August 10, 1940) , felt that enuresis was a social problem. However, there was an overwhelming number of people in addition to Elliot who felt that enuresis was a psychosomatic problem caused by the trauma of evacuation and other war conditions. See the following: Bodman, F. "War Conditions and the Mental Health of the Child," *British Medical Journal*, Part 2, (1941): 486; Anonymous. "War Strain in Children," The Lancet, (25 Jan. 1941): 121; and Barbury, W. "Effects of Evacuation and of Air Raids on City Children," *British Medical Journal*, (8 Nov. 1941): 661; "War Strain," Lancet, 121.

[11]"War Strain," *Lancet*, 121.

[12]McClure, 25–28.







Top, left & center: *Children enjoy refreshments and companionship.*
Top, right: *Children awaiting evacuation.*
Bottom: *Children in gas mask drill.*
Inglis, **The Children's War** (Collins Sons & Co.)



not all children who wanted to return home were allowed. These unfortunate children worried constantly about their parents who remained in the dangerous cities. Whenever they learned that their cities had been bombed, they anxiously waited for word from home letting them know their parents were safe. Some children who did not receive news from their parents after a major bombing occurred, actually ran away from their billets with the hope they would be able to return home and find their families unharmed.[13] Other children who missed their families used fantasy and acting out as ways to ease their emotional pain. One evacuated girl pretended she had siblings which made her feel that she was not alone.[14] Another child fantasized that she had an infant sibling who remained in London with her mother. She told her foster mother (billetor) that she needed to return home to help her mother care for the baby. However, once the girl began to help care for the foster mother's newborn baby, she felt less anxious about her real mother. Acting out in this instance helped the girl cope with the separation from her own family.[15] Although many evacuated children could not easily return home, most children who requested to go home were granted permission. Fortunately for them, the war remained temporarily inactive in England immediately after the evacuation. Therefore, most returned home by the end of 1939. The sudden onset of psychosomatic disorders (physical disorders caused by the emotional state), such as enuresis, that coincided with the evacuation, ceased after the children returned to the security of their families.[16] However, once these children returned to the cities, they inherited the new problem of air raids and again had to find ways to deal with the war.

Although air raids had a less negative psychological impact on children than the evacuation had, children still needed ways to express themselves in order to cope. To assuage the feelings of anxiety, nervousness, and aggression that resulted from the threat of air raids, some children found constructive ways to vent their frustration; others turned to misconduct as a way to express themselves. Some children who suffered from anxiety found that they felt much better if they participated in an activity that contributed to their security or to the security of others. One boy who was overly nervous in air raids became an air raid messenger. Once he assumed this responsibility, he soon became more emotionally stable.[17] Another way that children who were distressed after a frightening air raid often felt better was by recounting their experience to someone else.[18] For most children, the person they shared their experience with was a parent or another trusted adult; other children confided in their toys. Dr. Frank Bodman, Deputy Director of the Bristol Child Guidance Clinic, conducted his own survey on the effects of air raids upon children who were hospitalized. In an article published by the British Medical Journal, Dr. Bodman reported how Janet, a troubled three-year-old girl, improved after sharing her air raid experience with her dolls:

> Janet woke frightened by the sirens and wouldn't say a word to the grownup about what had happened. But at the end of three weeks she was overheard telling her dolls...After this discussion of the incident with her dolls she was much steadier; she sleeps through the sirens, and only wakes when the barrage is particularly heavy. She has no other nervous symptoms now.[19]

Not all children had parents who were available to listen to them because many parents had war-related duties that kept them away from home. Their absence, in addition to the instability of war conditions such as shelter life and displaced homes, made it difficult to exert regular discipline upon children.[20] As a result, the percentage of juvenile delinquents under the age of fourteen rose.[21] Interestingly, the highest rise

[13]Odlum, 175,
[14]Barbury, 660.
[15] "War Strain," *Lancet,* 121.
[16]Elliot, 13.
[17]Barbury, 661.
[18] "War Strain," *Lancet,* 121; (Towle, 156).
[19]Bodman, 486.
[20]Odlum, 173 and Elliot, 23
[21]Elliot, 23.

in delinquency in London and the South East Coast in the winter of 1940–41 also coincided with one of the worst air raids of the war.[22] Children saw the war and petty crimes as adventures. While war was an adventure exclusive only to adults, petty crimes were adventures available to their own age group. The association they made between war and delinquency helped their esteem because it put them on the same level as the adults who were participants in the war.[23]

Children's reactions cannot only be compared between those who were evacuated and those who were not but can also be studied according to their particular age group. Certain types of reactions normally belonged to either the preschool, junior school, or senior school age groups. However, since children were in a constant state of emotional development, a child in one age group might have responded with behavior that would be associated with another age group.[24] A preliminary look at these findings showed that there was a definite correlation between the age of the child and the response: younger children were less affected by war than older children, and each age group coped according to its ability.

The youngest of the age groups, the preschoolers (less than five years of age), had the least amount of difficulty coping with the war. There are two reasons why they did not have the same problems the older children had. First, evacuated preschoolers were usually accompanied by their mothers and therefore did not have the same concerns for their parents' safety as the older children did. Because they felt secure with their mothers nearby, preschoolers did not develop the same psychological and psychosomatic problems as the older children. Second, younger children who stayed in the cities with their parents were not as afraid of air raids and other war situations as the older children were because they were unable to fully comprehend the seriousness of the danger around them.[25]

Although most very young children handled war conditions quite well, there was a small group of preschoolers and infants who were not as fortunate. These were the children who were separated physically from their mothers. Whether the children were evacuated without their mothers, abandoned, orphaned, or sent to live in nurseries, all suffered because their mothers were not with them. The older children who were separated from their mothers had mostly psychosomatic disorders. However, these preschoolers also developed physical problems, including weight loss, lack of appetite, sleeplessness, feverish attacks, temper tantrums, and night terrors.[26] Freud and Burlingham noticed that these symptoms decreased or disappeared once the children found someone else to take the place of their mothers. After a child's first few days in the nursery, they usually favored one of the nursery workers more than the rest, and once a strong, trusting relationship between the child and nursery worker was established, the child began to show signs of improvement. The children's selection of maternal substitutes is one example of how very young children coped with the loss of their own mothers.[27]

A common way very young children coped with difficult situations was to deny that they occurred. Dr. Bodman's survey of hospitalized children indicates that many of the younger children who were in a dangerous air raid refused to talk about it afterward.[28] Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham's nursery children also denied that they were in physical danger when an unexploded bomb was found in the adjacent garden. After a week of indoor play, the children could no longer tolerate the bomb's presence and declared, "The bomb is gone and we shall go into the garden!" When the reality of the explosive became too unpleasant, they simply

[22]Odlum, p.174 and Elliot, p.23

[23] Elliot, 23.

[24]Charlotte Towle discusses children's constant emotional changes.

[25]Anna Freud and Dorothy T. Burlingham. *War and Children* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), 25.

[26]Odlum, 173.

[27]Freud and Burlingame, 156–161.

[28]Bodman, 487.

denied it existed so they could resume playing in their safe children's world.[29]

While the preschoolers in general acted favorably in conditions of air raids and evacuation, the junior school-age children responded well only to the air raids. Once junior school-age children, who were between five and ten years old, got over the initial shock of an air raid, they often joked about it afterward and looked back on it as an adventure.[30] They did not share the same enthusiasm about the evacuation, however. It was this age group that had the most confusion about the evacuation and felt they had been rejected by their parents.[31] The air raids were much easier for them to cope with because they had the security of parents or family, whereas in the evacuation, they did not.

The oldest of the age groups, senior school-age children (ages ten to fourteen) had difficulty adjusting to both the air raids and the evacuation. They were the most negatively affected by the war because they were caught between the child and adult worlds. These older children had a heavy burden because they felt a sense of responsibility to take care of the younger children and act bravely in front of them in times of danger even though they were terrified themselves.[32] Therefore, they were thrown into the reality of the adult world too early, which contributed to their disinterest in school, lack of goals, and uncertainty about the future. They felt restrained by the authority, billetors, rationing, and future conscription, and, consequently, they often rebelled in destructive ways.[33] This age group had an increase in juvenile delinquency not only in the cities during air raids but also in the countryside as evacuees.[34] Their negative behavior, in defiance of the authority they resented from billetors, helped them vent the frustration they felt from a war they could not control.

However, there were also a number of positive ways children successfully coped with the war. A creative imagination was often the most powerful weapon children had to combat the confusion, frustration, and fear they felt: their imaginations inspired the fantasies they dreamed, games they played, artwork they drew, and stories they wrote. Through these various techniques, children found within themselves the means to bring the war down to a level they could understand.

For the many children who felt helpless and unable to control what was happening around them, fantasy became an extremely important outlet. Children felt they were in control when they used their imaginations to envision a world in which they were the ones in charge. Boys and girls turned their thoughts to imagining how they were going to help the world when they were grown up. For example, Stephen, a nine-year-old boy, told a Mass-Observation reporter that he wanted to join the navy when he was big. Gay, a girl of twelve, said, "I don't think there ought to be wars, there's too many people get killed...I'm going to join the WAAFs when I'm big." This desire to join the military was also shared by ten-year-old Gerald who stated confidently, "I'm mad on the Air Force. I want to be a pilot. I know all the different types of aeroplanes...I'd like to bring lots of Nazi planes down, and I will when I'm big."[35] For these children, imagining how they were going to stop Hitler and restore peace to the world made them feel important.

As children envisioned their contributions to the war as grown ups, their imaginations allowed them to create games in which they pretended to be adults participating in the war. Although children continued to play as they did in peacetime, some games began to incorporate children's knowledge of the war. Even toddlers incorporated the war into their games: brick and sand castles were no longer knocked over but

[29] Freud and Burlingame, 27–28.
[30] Bodman, 486–487.
[31] Odlum, 173.
[32] Bodman, 487.
[33] Towle, 151.
[34] Odlum, 173; Straker and Thouless, "Preliminary Results of Cambridge Survey of Evacuated Children," 111.

[35] M-O No. 87, 5.



Top: *One last look at home.*
Bottom: *Children being evacuated to the countryside.*
Inglis, **The Children's War** (Collins Sons & Co.)



were "bombed down."[36] After the raids in March and May of 1941, Freud and Burlingham observed that young children repeated in play what they had seen or heard. In their nursery, children used a climbing frame in the garden to provide a high point for the bomber. One child climbed to the highest bar and threw heavy objects on the children underneath, while a three-year-old threw sand at other children and said, "This is a gas attack."[37] Likewise, familiar games such as "Red Indians" became "Germans," and horsemen became airplane pilots.[38]

Older children also used their imaginations and created new games that reflected war themes. A popular game among young boys was "Concentration Camp." Bert, one of the game's participants, explained the game to a Mass-Observation reporter:

> We play it outside the church because it has got railings, and we pretend it's barbed wire. Some of us are the Nazi guards. We've been taken prisoner, and they search us for the secret plans, but they don't know that we've made a lot of different plans; only one of them is real. The rest are only fluff, in case some of our own men turn against us. We try to surround the concentration camp and get our boys away. We slosh the guards and pinch their clothes, and then we get our own men free. We got the idea from the pictures.[39]

Another game children played was "Desert Warfare." The boys divided themselves into Rommel's soldiers and the British 8th Army. Then they threw sand at each other and tried to blind the enemy to make him retreat.[40]

Some games took advantage of the war's unique living conditions. The blackout was one situation that motivated children to create games. Although some children did not like the blackout because they thought it was a nuisance, others (especially boys) used it as an opportunity to play tricks on other people whom they normally could not tease. Unpopular schoolmasters and classmates became the brunt of many pranks during a blackout.[41] Other games that were inspired by the blackout or the war included "Black-out Bump" or "Bang-a-bang a Noses," a game in which players crawled on hands and knees in the dark to a selected goal, trying not to bump one another, "Identification Parade," a game in which someone stuck his head through a hole in the sheet while wearing a gas mask, and the rest tried to identify him, and the "Warden's Knock," which was a variety of postman's knock.[42]

In addition to playing games as a way to express their feelings about the war, children drew pictures of incidents they had seen, heard about, or imagined. In fact, drawing was an excellent outlet used by children who were unable to communicate their personal war experiences. Others used it in addition to verbal communication. Pamela, a four-year-old girl in Freud and Burlingham's nursery, described how she survived a bombing in which the ceiling fell down on her. Later she drew a picture of the front door of a house and said, "The door is broken, and there is a big hole in it."[43]

Drawing war-inspired pictures was also popular even among children who had not personally witnessed a war-related incident. When a group of boys between the ages of ten and thirteen was asked to draw pictures of any topic, only three out of seventeen drawings had no war reference, and the majority contained airplanes.[44] Mass-Observation reported that they had a collection of children's drawings in which airplanes appeared approximately five times more than any other war topic. Ships ranked next, followed by guns.[45] In most cases reported by Mass-Observation, more boys preferred to draw war-related pictures than girls. In one survey, twenty-four children between the ages of five and six were asked to draw anything they liked. None of the girls chose to draw anything war-related, but eleven out of twelve boys drew

[36]M-O No. 87, 7.
[37]Freud and Burlingame, 68.
[38]M-O No. 1910A, 4.
[39]Ibid., 3–4.
[40]M-O No. 87, 6.
[41]M-O No. 864, 3.
[42]M-O No. 299, 29.
[43]Burlingham and Freud, 66.
[44]M-O No. 299, 18–19.
[45]M-O No. 864, 4.

pictures relating to war. Three of these pictures were of airplanes, seven were ships (half of them with guns), and one was of bombs with a German soldier.[46] The observation of a seven-year-old boy further illustrates the high preference boys had in drawing war pictures. This child drew twelve pictures over the course of a week; ten of the twelve pictures were war related. The boy named some of the pictures himself with the descriptive titles: *Chamberlain walking past Hitler's bungalow to show that he is not afraid, Hitler as an air raid warden, Hitler and Mussolini on the Siegfried Line*, and *Hitler Dancing* (wearing a kind of ballet skirt). Other untitled pictures depicted airplanes, ships, or bombs.[47] Although girls did not draw as many war-related pictures as boys, they did not ignore war themes entirely. One six-year-old girl drew a complicated war scene which she described:

> Siegfried Line with Two French soldiers. The chief is reading a letter from his mother: "How are you getting on?" Air raid shelter at the end with notice: "Keep out of the shelter, no one is allowed to go into the air raid shelter, only the ones that are allowed." Two German planes, and three bombs dropped, "no damage was done." The sun is shining because it is a nice day. The German sign (swastika) is on the corner.[48]

Not surprisingly, drawings from countryside children differed from those of city children. A typical drawing by a child in the countryside showed black airplanes against a blue sky, and a white parachutist landing on top of a crimson bus in a bright green country lane. The atmosphere was exciting: fascinating things were happening, such as the parachutist landing. There was seldom anything obviously tragic in these drawings. In contrast, the pictures from the London suburbs showed more bombs, and occasionally a human figure suffering from the effects of the bombs. Most of the bombs landed on ships, with only a few pictures of houses being bombed.[49] Predictably, the pictures drawn by children in the country were more serene than those drawn by city children who were subjected to higher war activity.

Writing was another form of self-expression in which children could describe their feelings. This was a useful tool that not only suited older children as a way to articulate their thoughts but aided observers who wanted to better understand children's concerns. Just as war was the favorite topic in drawings, it was also a popular theme in children's essays. When a group of thirteen London boys between the ages of ten and thirteen were given a choice of writing either "A War Adventure" or "Youth and Age," only one child wrote about "Youth and Age."[50] Mass-Observation collected several of these popular essays and short stories that insightfully revealed boys' and girls' opinions of Hitler and the war.

Children had strong anti-Hitler feelings and felt that he was to blame for the war. While both boys and girls shared strong anti-Hitler feelings, the boys' essays reflected a desire for strong, direct action against him. Their essays revealed that they would like to take a physical role in stopping the German dictator and that they took pleasure in thinking about different ways of beating him up.[51] One boy's essay about Hitler revealed sadistic thoughts on what should be done with him. The essay, "If Hitler Were Captured the Best Death for Him Would be Dreadful Torture," began, "The best way to make him die would be to put him in a plaster of Paris, and make him suffer such agony that he would be glad to be out of it." The essay went on to describe more slow and painful ways Hitler should be tortured.[52] Another essay about Hitler by a ten-year-old boy described how he wished he was in control so he could stop the war: "I like to have a steel helmet and a gun and go over in an aeroplane and bomb Hitler."[53]

Girls' essays about Hitler, although equally strong in their hatred for the dictator, lacked the

[46]M-O No. 299, 18.
[47]Ibid., 19.
[48]Ibid.
[49]M-O 854, 6.
[50]M-O No. 299, 20–21.
[51]M-O No. 864, 9.
[52]M-O No. 299, 21.
[53] Ibid.

same amount of aggression of the boys' essays, as seen in the following example: "I know that Hitler the piggish hog has taken Denmark and part of Poland and Czechoslovakia and now is trying to break into northern France, but I think our men will tell him what they think of him, the beastly brute of a devil and cowardly dog or hog!"[54] Girls' essays were often more passive than boys' essays and mentioned concern for human life. In one essay, a girl stated that she did not like the war because her uncle was in France, and she was afraid he might get hurt. Another girl wrote that she did not like war because a lot of men would be killed. Girls' essays also tended to express the problems war caused in daily life.[55] For example, in another essay, a girl complained that sirens got on her nerves, gas masks were a nuisance, and food rationing was terrible. However children expressed their views, whether they were aggressive, passive, directed outward toward Hitler, or inward toward personal hardships caused by the war, writing was an effective outlet that helped children cope with the war around them.

When Britain entered the Second World War in 1939, war as a way of life became a reality for British children. Organizations concerned for the welfare of these children studied their reactions to war. Their findings were dismaying. The evacuation, which so many had hoped would protect children by keeping them away from the dangerous cities, failed because its planners could not forecast the high numbers of children who were psychologically disturbed as a result of being separated from their parents. Children who remained in the cities, and those who returned to them, were also troubled by the constant pressure of living under the threat of air raids. However, despite the children's many problems observed by researchers, children found a way to cope. They shared their feelings with others when they were frightened, looked to care-givers for nurturing, and helped with tasks that contributed to their peace of mind. With the use of their imaginations, children coped with war by creating fantasy, playing games, drawing pictures, and writing stories. As they looked inside themselves, these children discovered that they had the strength to overcome the trauma of war.

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[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

SPECIAL FEATURES

Public History Proposal

Introduction

A "request for proposals" often triggers a flurry of activity among public historians. When a company, government agency, museum, or other institution (a client) needs historical research, analysis, or writing, it may release an announcement requesting proposals from qualified historians to complete the work on a contract basis. The proposal itself is a written offer to perform the work in a specified way—it is a bid which will compete against other proposals. The organization requesting the proposals will award the job to the person or group offering the best way of meeting its needs. Proposals may also be unsolicited; in this case, they must be especially persuasive to interest the potential client.

The following article was written as an exercise in writing an unsolicited proposal for a public history project. In this instance, the course instructor left the subject of the proposal up to the student, requiring only that it be feasible. The other general requirements were to explain how it could be accomplished and why it is important to the general public. The instructor also specified the following:

1. Convince a particular audience of the feasibility and value of your project to their institution or business.
2. Sketch out a realistic plan for management of the project so that it is integrated into the ongoing efforts of the institution.
3. Develop a methodology which shows how the project moves from one research phase to another, utilizing various kinds of research techniques and tools.
4. Indicate the anticipated results of the study.

Since the article was written for a proposal in public history, there are differences in style and format when compared to an academic paper. The reference list is used instead of a bibliography, and notes would be in an author/date format. The proposal also contains a table of contents and numerous subdivisions to help the reader understand the proposal's contents.

Given this context, the proposal describes how creating a historical brochure and walking tour for the city of Azusa would help foster a sense of identity and pride among Azusa's citizens, and help interest young people in the world around them. The author outlines in detail the steps needed to develop the brochure: researching the general history of Azusa, and its historic places, investigating routes for a walking tour, condensing the material for use in the brochure, organizing and laying out the text and visuals, and printing the brochure. A clear writing style and careful selection of visuals and text would be crucial to the success of the brochure. Other considerations include the overall format, either an eight-panel brochure or double-sided card, and the costs of printing in one color or full color. Information for the text could come from sources such as the letters of Winnall Dalton, son of Azusa pioneer Henry Dalton, published books and articles, and other brochures. By presenting the highlights of Azusa's history through anecdotes, the brochure would entertain and educate the reader at the same time. Preparation of the brochure would require a minimum amount of equipment and time. Various groups such as the Chamber of Commerce, local businesses, and school boards could fund the brochure that would be distributed through the chamber to schools, businesses, and other locations.

EXCITING THE IMAGINATION:

A Historical Brochure for Azusa

Brian Keith Plummer

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Statement of the Project

The city of Azusa has a long and distinguished history, yet the unfortunate reality is that very few people are aware of it. People too often get caught up in their daily lives—work, school, family obligations—and simply take their surrounding landscape for granted, rarely giving it much more than a passing thought. When this happens, a community can begin to lose its identity, and its sense of progress becomes blurred. This process has occurred in the United States as a whole, especially in large urban areas, including Los Angeles. Azusa has, sadly, not escaped this phenomenon; its denizens see themselves as little more than minuscule parts of a megalopolis and their city as "just another suburb." Such a jaded view of one's hometown needs to be rectified.

One way to increase the pride of Azusa's citizens is to boost their historical awareness of the town in which they live. By laying out the history of the city for people to read and by pointing out remnants of the past, people's imaginations would be excited, and they could feel a sense of pride in their city and themselves. In addition, by learning about the area in which they live, young people could be excited by their "new findings" and thus become interested in history in general, which could lead to a greater understanding of the world at large. To begin the process of increasing historical awareness of the city of Azusa, small steps need to be taken. One such step is to create a brochure which would

outline briefly the history of the city and provide some ways for individuals to relate to their city's exciting past in a mental way as well as in a tangible manner. You in the Azusa City Chamber of Commerce can help make this a reality.

Review of the Relevant Literature

Although there is very little literature regarding the assembly of a brochure, some obvious considerations can be noted. A brochure needs to cover a specified amount of information within a limited space; therefore, the information provided must be adequate, yet brief. Clarity is also of the utmost importance in such a writing project: because of the nature of a brochure, the target audience does not often have an attention span which can take in a monograph on local history. Thus, rather than expounding upon the historical significance of an event in page after page of brilliant, wordy prose, writing in a clear style is essential to hold the reader's interest.

In addition to writing style, other considerations need to be made on such a project. Should the brochure be centered more on visuals or on text? If photographs are used, should the brochure be in color or black and white? Should drawings be used instead of photographs? What quality of paper stock should be used? Such considerations need to be thought through and agreed upon prior to assembling a brochure. In the following sections, I will propose several different methods which could be used in this project.

Research Plan

Brief Summary

This project would not involve a long, arduous process of data gathering and preparation; instead, it would be quite easy to complete within a flexible time frame. Six to eight months—one year at the most—should be all it would take to complete the Azusa historical brochure since much of the work is already done. I have been researching the city's history for several years and have a rough draft of a city history available at present. By the time a format is agreed upon, business sponsors are signed up, and the layout is organized, no more than one year should be necessary.

The steps I propose in this project are quite simple. The first step, of course, would be to research the history of the area from its first mention in 1769 up through the present day. This, as previously mentioned, has already been done. Other research, however, would be done, especially in the city's photo archives, which could provide interesting visual glimpses into the city's past. The second step would be to perform in-depth research into notable historic places in the city, such as the Gladstone House, the last Victorian-era building from Gladstone, "the city that wasn't," which ended up within the boundaries of Azusa. Detailed research on specific places could help show readers the physical reminders of the past, providing a link to Azusa's early years. The third step would be to research routes for a walking or driving tour which could be used by residents out for a stroll, tourists on vacation, or students from local schools. The fourth step would be to condense the available material for inclusion in the brochure. This would be done after consulting with city officials on the final format. The next step would involve the hands-on task of organizing and laying out the brochure itself, and the final step would be the actual physical production (printing) of the brochure. Thus, although the process is not a complicated one, it would take from six months to one year to complete.

Sources of Data

Although Azusa is not a large, well-known city, its history has been documented in several sources. Perhaps the best source on the overall early history of Azusa is the Huntington Library's collection of handwritten letters by Winnall Dalton, the son of Azusa pioneer Henry Dalton. These very detailed recollections were written specifically for a historical account and are an invaluable resource for early Azusa

history. In the letters, Winnall Dalton tells how his father carved out the area to develop his ranch from a Mexican land grant, eventually taking control of the area by 1844. Winnall describes his father's development of buildings (which could be useful in identifying several old structures) and industry; everything from wine grapes to cattle and horses to citrus fruit is itemized. The hard life of the early settlers is portrayed in harsh detail, from making their own bricks to diverting watercourses and chasing off squatters. In addition, Dalton's letters give a good overview of life at home for the Daltons and early residents in general, showing just how far we have come in the past 150 years.

Another account of Dalton's life is Sheldon G. Jackson's 1977 monograph *A British Ranchero in Old California,* which, though not as detailed and immediate as Dalton's letters, is still a valuable source for learning about Azusa's early history. In the book, Jackson describes Dalton's early years in England, his crossing of the Atlantic and the American frontier, and his eventual settlement in the Azusa rancho area.

One of Azusa's most important steps in becoming a community on the map took place when prospectors discovered gold in the surrounding hills in 1838 and again in 1854. John W. Robinson's *Mines of the East Fork* describes those exciting days in great detail, relating how Azusa Canyon became popular with the miners and how lawless the area became from the influx of ruthless people. The book tells the stories of independent miners staking their claims as well as major mining companies which had a say in the early running of the town.

Another area of historical interest includes cattle ranching and water rights, both of which were vital to the early settlers of the area. The *Azusa Herald and Pomotropic* (1937) details the water wars between the communities of Azusa and Covina, which divided the area into hostile factions. Robert G. Cleland's *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills* focuses primarily on the cattle business in early California in the area from Santa Barbara to San Bernardino. Although not specifically an Azusa history, it does mention the Dalton Ranch and narrates anecdotes about cattle rustlers and horse thieves who plagued the Azusa region. Yet another work of interest, Keith Plummer's 1990 "Time Capsule: City of Azusa," describes the early development of the Azusa Police Department and law enforcement in the frontier days of cattle rustlers and squatters.

Besides sources on Azusa itself, other local histories could be of use. For example, Donald Pflueger's *Glendora* (1951) recounts many stories of the area and its growth from the nineteenth century onward, including how Glendora and Azusa were forced by necessity to share community resources such as a cemetery and a post office. Helen K. Bettin's *This I Remember* is a series of interviews of Glendora's old-timers who relate the history of the early citrus industry, the growth of education and industry, and local problems with natural disasters. Because of the proximity of Azusa and Glendora, these two books provide valuable information which could be very useful in narrating a history of the city.

Other sources of data for this project would include various brochures and pamphlets which could provide ideas for this particular brochure. Some of these ideas are detailed in the next section.

Methodology

The procedures to develop the data are straightforward. The purpose of the brochure is to make the public aware of Azusa's rich history; therefore, the town's history must fit within a small pamphlet that must keep readers interested. The best way to accomplish this is to select the highlights of the city's history and to present them by using anecdotes. Historical highlights include the coming of the important pioneer Henry Dalton, who acquired the Azusa Rancho in 1844; the coming of the Santa Fe Railroad through the dusty town in 1886; the early water wars, including the 1888 water problems with nearby Covina; the city's incorporation in 1898; the planting of the staple crop, citrus fruit, in the 1880s; and the coming of the aviation industry in the early 1940s. Such major events in Azusa's history help indicate the

progressive nature of the city and give people a sense of historical continuity as well as a tangible link (such as the still-operating railroad) to the past. However interesting these historical high points may be, they need to be presented in a tasteful and stimulating fashion without attempting to "lecture" to the reader. However, they do need to be kept short and to the point.

Next, visuals would need to be selected. Drawings might be useful, but photographs—if shot utilizing interesting angles and perspectives—could bring the text to life. Using the city's photo archives, such stories as Henry Dalton's escapades could be made much more interesting than by using text alone. Extant period buildings such as the Gladstone House could also be photographed for inclusion in the brochure, thus providing a modern perspective on the past which still exists. In addition, a brochure's graphics could include non-photographic effects such as distinctive borders which catch the reader's attention.

In-depth research into the city's historic places could be performed in several ways. The most obvious is to delve into printed sources to research their background. A second method would be to find old photographs of the structures and thus possibly display "past and present" perspectives within the brochure. A third method would be to interview those "old-timers" who may remember stories about certain places; stories usually generate interest, and they lend a much warmer feel to buildings and places which otherwise might seem quite dull.

The step involving research of a walking or driving tour would be a challenge because of the large area the city covers. Because most of the historic parts of the city have been demolished in the name of "progress," there really is no "historic district" per se. However, with a little imagination and a good Thomas Guide, a walking/driving tour could be made to include the area in which Dalton's ranch house once stood, long-gone citrus fruit groves, and staging areas for gold exploration in the hills. Special consideration would be made for tours for children, especially students, as parks and rest stops would be included on the tour for their comfort. The tour would be an essential and invaluable part of the brochure for readers to learn more about Azusa's history.

The next step is the basic nuts-and-bolts portion of the project: organization and layout of the brochure itself. This is where all of the research comes together to give form to the desired product. At this stage, the historical highlights would be selected for their educational value to the general public, and corresponding photos would be included where space is available. How much information could be included depends on the format selected—a standard eight-panel brochure or a simple double-sided card. The double-sided card is obviously much more economical, but, of course, it could not give the reader as much information as the eight-panel brochure: overall, an average eight-panel brochure measures 9" x 16" or 9" x 4" folded, whereas a two-sided card is only 9" x 4." If an eight-panel format is chosen, then layout could proceed in the following fashion: the cover would be a generic one with perhaps a vintage sepiatone photograph with a title; the first page would give an overview of the history of the city and a general purpose statement for the brochure—perhaps a warm message from the mayor; the following pages would be organized chronologically with perhaps one page per significant historic event or place. A sample page could conceivably be arranged thus: the year 1844 would be printed in large type at the top, and below it would be positioned a photo of Henry Dalton covering about one third of the page; below the picture would be about half a page of print describing the early life of Henry Dalton and his settling of the area that would later become known as Azusa; with a distinctive border around the edge, the page would be complete. The rest of the brochure could be arranged the same way, and the only other step would be to take the layout to a printer.

The equipment required at each step would be minimal. All that would be needed for the first step is a keen mind and access to libraries and city records, including photo archives. In addition, the second step would require a tape recorder for recording the recollections and

anecdotes of the "old-timers." Because this would not be a formal oral history project, transcription services would not be necessary since only the participants' *general* ideas and memories would be used. The equipment for researching the walking/driving tour would require a car, gasoline, and a good variety of maps, including old city maps—the older the better. Layout would be done on a computer program with photos and graphics scanned in so that the overall appearance would be professional. After printing, the finished product would be given to Azusa's Chamber of Commerce, which would keep the majority of the brochures and disseminate the rest to various locations around the city, including schools (at least one to every teacher and administrator) and businesses.

Budget Considerations

In comparison with other public relations projects, a historical brochure is relatively inexpensive. Advertisements on public access television or local cable stations can be very expensive, even for a short-run project, but a stack of 1,000 brochures can be as low as $150. Most brochures include eight panels, although some are simple, two-sided cards; the following table lists a local printing shop's estimate of what some sample brochures could cost.

Type of brochure	Quantity	Job Cost	Cost per Copy
8-panel, one color	1,000	$150	$.15
	5,000	$500	$.10
	10,000	$900	$.09
8-panel, full color	1,000	$600	$.60
	5,000	$2,000	$.40
	10,000	$4,000	$.40
Two-side, full color	1,000	$400	$.40
	5,000	$1,720	$.34
	10,000	$3,200	$.32

Anticipated Results

After the historical brochure is produced and circulated, the public at large will have a greater knowledge about Azusa's past and be able to trace its progress over the years, thus gaining a well-rounded view of the city. Students will have a new appreciation for the city in which they live and go to school, and, may begin to develop a desire to learn more about the world in which they live, starting with historical awareness. In addition, by including certain topics in the brochure such as the water wars of the late 1880s, citizens could become more involved in city affairs and take a greater interest in issues—both political and cultural—that affect the community: by learning about the problems of the past, citizens could work to keep such problems from occurring again. Finally, by learning about Azusa's exciting and often turbulent past, people could begin to develop a greater sense of pride in the city instead of seeing it as "just another town."

The standard eight-panel format is probably the most desirable because it allows great flexibility for including text and visual material; the double-sided card, though smaller, might perhaps be ideal for a separate walking/driving tour because of its compact size. Although the prices for the color brochures are much higher than the price for a single-color brochure, the full-color format generates more interest and is quite eye-catching; hence, full color is more desirable from an aesthetic standpoint.

In regard to budgeting staff time, I would ask only a $500 flat fee for the entire project. My

responsibilities would include research at local libraries and the City Hall, and talking with older residents of the city on a one-to-one basis. In addition, I would require a considerable amount of time planning a historical tour route of Azusa. The $500 would help pay the cost of gasoline as well as personal time involved in researching and laying out the brochure.

Possible outside funding could come from local businesses, the owners contributing a flat fee in exchange for a mention of the business and its address somewhere in the brochure. The selling point is obviously increased exposure for the company (advertising) and showing the public that the company is committed to public education. School boards could also be another possible outside source of funding for much the same reason.

Qualifications of Public Historian

Although many people could collaborate on this project, I am the only person who needs to be fully involved. This would keep costs down and increase efficiency. I am a graduate student in history at California State University, Fullerton, and earned a bachelor's degree in history at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona; both institutions strive to promote local history within the community. I love the past with a passion and enjoy exciting others about it, which is one reason I am so enthusiastic about this project. I have excellent creative writing skills which would allow me to write the brochure in a clear, concise, yet intriguing manner. My work has been published numerous times, including articles in the *Pacific Union Recorder* (1995), the Cal Poly History Club Newsletter (1994–95), and the San Gabriel Academy yearbook, *El Fuego* (1989–91), of which I was the copy editor in 1991. In addition, I am an excellent photographer and have won two awards for my work at the Los Angeles County Fair (1987), and I am experienced in layout and design. As a final qualification for this project, I have lived in this area all my life and am quite familiar with its history, especially that of Azusa. My skills, experience, and enthusiasm make me well qualified to undertake this project to help benefit my community.

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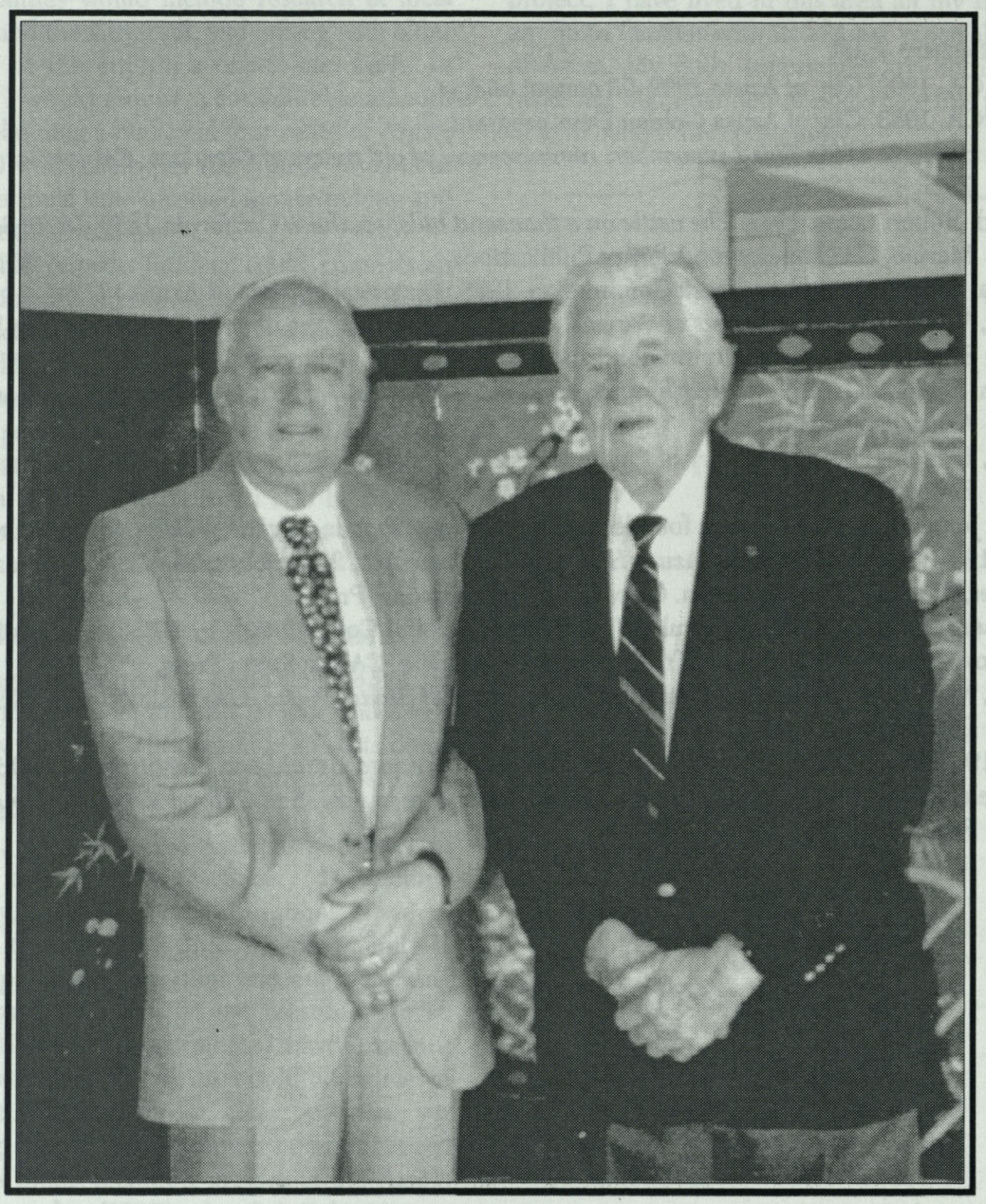

Tom Moon with Colonel Carl Eifler, his superior in the OSS.
Tom Moon Photo

DETACHMENT 101 IN BURMA:
Interview with an OSS Agent

Heidi Vion

Detachment 101 was a special unit organized in 1942 by the newly created Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the precursor of the CIA. Typical of units created during World War II to manufacture propaganda, gather intelligence, and carry out guerrilla operations, it fought hit-and-run warfare against the Japanese in Burma. These covert techniques would later be used in Vietnam. As a 19 year-old , Tom Moon was picked for this unit. He found himself in charge of an assortment of Burmese mountain tribesmen eager to aid the Americans. While surviving tropical diseases, seasonal torrential rains, and adapting to local culture, Moon and other Detachment 101 agents carried out a creative and successful guerrilla war. This interview gives a firsthand account of these covert operations and an overview of the China-Burma-India Theatre, as well as background and insight into the subsequent political developments in Southeast Asia.

On December 7, 1941, Bill Donovan received an urgent message that Pearl Harbor had been bombed. Donovan, Coordinator of Information (COI), then hurriedly called the COI Board of Advisors. The board contained many top minds of the United States, including some Ivy League professors. Donovan asked them what the future held. Their answer was that they did not feel competent enough to say. The reason for their answer was that the COI did not have its own agents at this time and depended on the other agencies' intelligence reports. These agencies had not sent any reports over to the COI, ignoring a presidential order to do so.[1]

After Pearl Harbor, the COI organized its own agents and guerrilla units. In 1942, the COI changed its name to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS)[2] and organized operations in both Asia and Europe. Its first unit of guerrilla fighters was Detachment 101 in Burma. Their job was to manufacture propaganda, carry out sabotage, and perform overall guerrilla operations against the Japanese. This unit was unique in its size and its varied duties.

Carl Eifler was picked to be Detachment 101's first commander after General Joseph Stilwell, Commander of the China-Burma-India (CBI) Theater, had recommended him.[3] Eifler accepted the position and then handpicked the detachment's original twenty-one members. He personally interviewed and screened the potential recruits with his second-in-command, John Coughlin.[4] Eifler

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[1]Anthony Cave Brown, *The Last Hero: Wild Bill Donovan* (New York: Vintage Books, 1982), 3.

[2]Thomas Moon, *This Grim and Savage Game: OSS and the Beginning of U.S. Covert Operations in World War II* (Los Angeles: Burning Gate Press, 1991), 102.

[3]Thomas Moon and Carl Eifler, *The Deadliest Colonel* (New York: Vantage Press Inc., 1975), 39.

[4]Ibid., 43.

and Coughlin told the candidates that this operation was both important and dangerous. Furthermore, the two leaders warned the candidates that they, in all probability, would be signing their own death warrants upon entering the unit. There were more than a hundred different jobs to fill, including investigators, electrical engineers, lawyers, chemists, medical doctors, radio technicians and operators, and locksmiths.[5] In an effort to teach the twenty-one members of Detachment 101 a variety of skills, they were sent to two different schools. Eifler and seven men went to an established British espionage school,[6] while the other members went to a newly opened OSS school.[7] At both facilities, training included lock-picking, arson, forgery, safe-cracking, narcotics, and demolitions.[8]

Detachment 101 arrived in India in 1942, and soon after, Eifler announced that Burma was going to be the unit's new home. Burma was an important strategic area because one could move from Burma into China, India, Thailand, or Malaya.[9] The unit quickly decided that the headquarters should be near the Burmese border, as close as possible to China. A Nazira tea plantation was chosen as the headquarters.[10]

By 1943, the Nazira camps were training native recruits for the unit. Men and boys of all nationalities received instruction in radio cryptography, demolitions, parachuting, assassinations, and other operations that they might need to perform. Almost immediately the original members of 101 realized that the unit needed the help of the natives because they possessed intimate knowledge of the area and the combat situation. The 101 members knew implicitly that to be successful they needed accurate information.[11]

Detachment 101 had no operation manual and only one directive. The instruction given to Eifler, during one of his early meetings with Stilwell was, "Go in there and I want to hear booms from behind the lines." With only this general instruction, Detachment 101 was left to fulfill the directive in their own way.[12] Given that much latitude, chaos was anticipated. However, the Detachment 101 members were extraordinary men who did not abuse their power.

Despite the many ethnic groups represented in Detachment 101, the native agents got along well. Before joining, these tribes had willingly ambushed each other. After they joined, though, they put their differences aside and fought gallantly together.[13] The two major native groups who worked with Detachment 101 were the Kachins and the Burmese. Several other native groups helped Detachment 101 to a lesser extent; these included the Nagas, the Karens, the Shans, the Palaung, and the Chins.[14]

The guerrilla lifestyle that these men endured was very harsh and different from their accustomed way of life. As guerrillas, they operated from the enemy's weakness, not their own innate strength. Their first priority was to remain anonymous and live with the enemy to discover their weakness. They then had to stay there and continually attack the enemy's weakness, yet still remain anonymous and invisible.[15] Not only did they have to worry about detection, but they also had to contend with wild animals such as tigers, as well as blood-sucking leeches during the summer months, and tropical diseases including malaria, jungle rot, and blackwater fever.[16]

"Knothead" was their first operative base behind Japanese lines—more than 130 miles behind those lines. At Knothead, Detachment 101 members kept an airstrip that was never

[5]Ibid., 42.

[6]Ibid., 49.

[7]William Peers and Dean Brelis, *Behind the Burma Road: The Story of America's Most Successful Guerrilla Force* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1963), 30.

[8]Ibid., 34.

[9]Ibid., 44.

[10]Moon, *Grim and Savage, 71.*

[11]Peers and Borlis, 60–62.

[12]Thomas Moon, interview by author, Garden Grove, Calif., 13 April 1995. Oral History Program at California State University, Fullerton, 3.

[13]Moon, *Grim and Savage,* 71.

[14]Peers and Brolis, 70–71.

[15]Moon, Grim and Savage, 88.

[16] Moon interview, 1, 17–18.

detected because of its camouflage. The airstrip was covered with movable huts until the time of an airdrop when unit members would move the huts and put the panels down. From the air, these huts looked like any other village that could be seen dotting the jungle. Knothead was the first but not the only operative base behind enemy lines. By 1944, there were about eleven operations similar to Knothead under Detachment 101's command.[17]

At this time, there were more than 200 agents and nearly 15,000 native agents in Detachment 101. Each of these individuals saw, learned, and experienced something a little differently, which makes the final kill-loss statistics phenomenal. In about 2½ years, Detachment 101 had a confirmed kill of 5,000 enemy troops, with an estimated 10,000 more killed, while suffering only a confirmed count of 15 Americans and 174 Kachin warriors killed in action. It was the greatest kill-loss ratio in military history.[18]

The following interview was conducted with Tom Moon, an original member of Detachment 101, and a freelance author who has written about the OSS and Detachment 101. Moon was born and raised in Lincoln, Nebraska. He entered the University of Nebraska in the fall of 1941, three months before the attack on Pearl Harbor. Drafted into the military in January 1943, after having moved to California, the nineteen-year-old Moon was assigned for three months to the Engineering Corps. The OSS then chose Moon to become a member, although he had no idea what the organization was until he arrived in Washington, D.C.

Moon found out that the OSS had picked him because he spoke a little French; they wanted to train him to go to France to work with the French underground, the Maquis. But, after completing his training, the OSS told Moon that for safety reasons, they were not going to send him to France. It seemed Americans had certain distinctive habits that made them easy to distinguish from Europeans, and the Nazis were making good use of this fact in spotting OSS agents. Consequently, the OSS officials decided to send Moon to Indochina to work with Ho Chi Minh. But by the time Moon arrived in Asia his destination had changed again, and he ended up in Burma with Detachment 101 and Colonel Eifler, to be a radio cryptographer at Knothead.

Tom Moon was one of the fortunate members of Detachment 101. He had the chance to meet, work, and talk with Father Stuart, an Irish Catholic missionary who had worked with the Kachins before the war. He became friends with Moon and joined Detachment 101 helping with strategy, as well as encouraging the Kachins to join, too.

On some missions, the unit members took only what they needed to accomplish their job. Sometimes they would not take any food with them, either eating on the trail or not eating until they returned to Knothead. Water was the one thing always plentiful in Burma; the rest of their supplies, however, had to be brought in and dropped by air.

Moon's involvement in Detachment 101 and Burma ended when Merrill's Marauders came through Knothead pushing the Japanese south. He remembers that by then, many of the Kachins were going home, too, as they saw the war was ending. By the time he left, Moon had managed to pick up a smattering of four new languages—Kachin, Hindustani, Chinese, and Burmese. Moon helped shut down the main headquarters in Nazira, India and inventoried all the communications equipment before sending it back to Washington, D.C. He remembers being on a United States carrier in the Red Sea when the news came that an atom bomb had been dropped on Japan and of Japan's subsequent surrender.

After the war, Moon became an insurance agent in Garden Grove, California. In 1970, he began writing about his war experiences in Burma, collaborating with his former OSS boss, Carl Eifler, on *The Deadliest Colonel.* Then, in 1991, he published *This Grim and Savage Game: OSS and the Beginning of U.S. Covert Operations in World War II.*

[17] Moon interview, 2–3.

[18] Moon, Grim and Savage, 297.



Tom Moon with Burmese Kachin natives. The spots are mold due to jungle moisture.
Tom Moon Photo

This interview was held on April 13, 1995 at 1:00 PM in Garden Grove, California. Heidi Vion (HV) interviewed Tom Moon (TM)

HV: Can you tell me a little bit about your personal background and family?

TM: I was born and raised in Lincoln, Nebraska and went through high school there. I entered the University of Nebraska in the fall of 1941 and three months later Pearl Harbor came. I came to California to be with my mother and siblings because my parents had separated and to wait out because I knew obviously I was going into the war. I was then drafted and in January 1943 I went into the service, only thirteen months after Pearl Harbor. I was assigned to the Engineering Corps because I was only 19 years old and had no basic skills. Three months into the Engineering Corps, the OSS picked me up and I had no idea what they were or why they called me out. When I got to Washington [D.C.], I found out what they were. What transpired that made them pick me up is my service record showed that I spoke French. I was fairly proficient in the language, but I wasn't really that good. I had three straight years of French, and my sister and I spoke it at home quite a bit just to practice on each other.

I was put in one of the [training] camps with a group of agents who were destined for France. We took our six-week course in lock-picking, arson, forgery, safe-cracking, narcotics and all those pleasantries. At the end of the time one other fellow and I were called in out of that group and they said, "You're not going to France." We asked, "What is our problem?" They said, "Your problem is that you two are Americans and all the other men are Europeans and Americans are being picked up by subconsciously doing things that only Americans do: [when] cutting meat, you transfer the fork, we turn our pie with the point toward us or cake and they don't do that. We sew buttons on crisscross and they put them on horizontally. Tying our shoes differently and so forth." Additionally, they said to me that I had a lot of fillings in my teeth—which I did have very poor teeth, "We would have to change them all to French fillings and we are not going to do it."

It sounds funny but in '47 a major Soviet ring was broken because a Detroit dentist reported his patient had stainless steel in his mouth and that's Russian. So, the Soviets lost a major ring because they didn't change their agent's fillings.

Anyway, they said, "We're going to send you to the Orient" and we were destined for French Indochina to work with a native agent called Ho Chi Minh who was then with us. By the time we got there, we were sidetracked and I was sent to Eifler's command in Burma and couple of months after that I jumped into Operation Knothead and then served deep in enemy territory. I did the cryptographs as well as guerrilla operations. [I also] distributed dope which sounds horrible, but we gave it to our guerrillas to smoke because we couldn't give them money. There was nothing they could buy in the jungle. That's it in a nutshell.

HV: What was the makeup of your group? Did you need two specialty areas? Is that true?

TM: No, that's not true. I didn't. I went in as a cryptographer and sort of wherever I was needed. If it was for a guerrilla operation, blind shoot to do that, for black propaganda which we used to create dissension and misinformation I did all that.

No, the commander of our group, Curl, his nickname was Knothead, who commanded Operation Knothead, was an army sergeant who served with Eifler in the Orient, in Hawaii. He [Curl] was just an army sergeant. Mel Corwin, who went in with me, was a radio operator from New York. All he did was operate a radio. Father Stuart, a Catholic priest...I don't think any of our people had two special skills.

None of us had any other special talents. We did know how to handle demolitions and we did pick up languages. We had to pick up some

Kachin, some Hindustani, some Chinese, some Burmese, smatterings of four or five languages by the time we got out of there.

HV: Did you ever meet Ho Chi Minh?

TM: No, I never did.

HV: Was there another detachment of the OSS working with the Vietminh? Did they have the same mission as Detachment 101?

TM: Our mission was to do anything to disrupt the enemy, their communications, to destroy anything militarily, that you could. We had Detachment 101 which was in Burma, Detachment 202 was in China, 303 was, I think, in Ceylon—that's where Julia Child was in those days, 505 was in Calcutta. Out of the 101 really [came] the Vietnamese branch. Nicol Smith went through training with the 101 and took his Vietnamese people into North Vietnam and worked with them.

HV: Where did you get the numbering system used on the detachments?

TM: The operation was to go out and we didn't want anyone to know that there was only one OSS unit at the time in operation because there were no others. We were the only ones. We can't say Detachment 1—the British, the Japanese, and everyone...especially our allies, so let's call it 101—so they said, "We'll make it Detachment 101," and instead of saying Unit 2, they said, "Let's say Detachment 202," and they kept up that sequence of numbers.

HV: Detachment 101 was stationed where in Burma, what part of the country?

TM: We operated out of a tiny village in northern Burma called Nawbum. From there our unit spread out. We would send a group of four or five men into this area to do this or a group of three or four men to do that. We [Nawbum] was the center of the wheel. All of our communications was at Nawbum which is where we were. All our supplies were requested from there and all of our airdrops came there. So we covered most of the northern area of Burma.

HV: Was there another unit in central or southern Burma?

TM: Not of OSS, no there wasn't.

HV: Did you work with the British in that area?

TM: No, not that much. The British really resented us being there because this was part of their empire and we were anti-colonialists in their eyes, which we were, and so they were really resentful.

When we first arrived into the area, Eifler asked for some assistance on something and they said no they [the British] couldn't compromise their men's position so to endanger them. We found out later, they didn't even have anyone there at all.

As we became very successful, the British came to Eifler and asked him for help. Eifler gave them the exact same reply—Well, I can't compromise my men.

General Wingate led some Kachin with the British infantry but they were just a hit-and-run strike force and they just came into small village areas to harass the enemy as much as they could.

Our job was not so much to kill the enemy and was more to harass and send back information. We supplied 80 percent of the target information to the Tenth Air Force. We would find their hidden ammunition dumps and places like that.

HV: How far behind the line did you jump?

TM: We jumped 130 miles behind the lines.

HV: How did this all come about? Did you all jump together or did you all do this separately or what?

TM: When we jumped in, there was already about five men on the ground who had gone in picking up natives on the way. They had taken about six weeks to walk in there. Then, they had, with the natives, hacked a crude airstrip out of the jungle. They were on the ground and through communications, they knew we were coming in. So, they had their panels out and we jumped into a secured area. About doubled the original size of the Nawbum operation.

HV: What were the operation procedures of Detachment 101? Was an operation manual available?

TM: We had no book and our directions were so general. See, this was a whole new phase of war. America had never done anything like

this. We had only one directive. Stilwell said [to Eifler], ***"Go in there and I want to hear booms from behind the lines."*** That was our only directive. So we knew that anything we could do to harm the enemy, we were free to do, including assassinations. It was just left up to us.

Sometimes, the air force would ask us to find something. For instance, Zeros were appearing and shooting down planes [which] were flying the Hump and they couldn't find the air base. They asked us to find out where these guys are coming from. Well, eventually, we captured one of their pilots and tricked him into telling us the area where those Japanese Zeros were coming from.

They had little revetments dug and when one of the planes landed they covered it with sod so that you couldn't see anything. So we gave the coordinates to the air force and then they went in and blew them all up. It cut down drastically in the air traffic. We would carry out things like that for them and then we would rescue their pilots—a lot of them would crash in China. We would always go pick up their pilots and the aircrew and see that they got back okay.

HV: Did you have any contact with any individual agents who would become a leader in an Asian nation?

TM: The daughter [Hang Su Chi] of one of our soldiers who won the Nobel Prize and is under house arrest in Burma. Syngman Rhee, the president of Korea [was one]. We were involved with a lot of the people who later became leaders after the war in their country or held very high posts.

HV: Did you know any of them personally?

TM: No, I never met any of them personally. The contact with Syngman Rhee went through the Catholic confessional. All of the information went through them.

HV: Were the missionaries working with the war effort on their own or was this under the Vatican's orders?

TM: I think the Vatican was just looking the other way.

I asked Father Stuart about it because some of the pictures showed he was always wearing a gun and plotting strategy. I said, "How do you feel as a priest about what you are doing?"

He said, "I view it as spiritual warfare expanded. I'm here to serve the people, these very poor and ignorant natives in Burma. But I can't do a thing while you guys are here trampling the grass, so I figure the sooner I can get this war over and get rid of the Japanese and get rid of you heathens"—that's what he called us; he had a wonderful sense of humor—"then, I can go back to the work I am supposed to do. My job is to end the war as quickly as possible using the talents I have." He [Father Stuart] had a very bright military mind, too. So, that's how he worked with us, as did other priests.

HV: When you went out in small groups for short-term missions, what supplies or equipment were sent out with you?

TM: Generally, whatever they needed for the type of mission they were doing. If they were going to booby trap trails, they might have certain types of explosives. If they were blowing up a bridge, they would have different types of explosives. And they would then have the normal guns and hand grenades. Everything they might need to harass the enemy patrols.

Every time they got a chance to knock off a patrol, they did because it was psychological play on the Japanese too.

Opium was also carried. Opium was a great thing. And other things of value to the natives—needles and salt. Money was nothing. The native women would walk days to get just one needle because the needles went to hell so fast in that humid jungle. Those needles and also salt were extremely valuable.

So for Americans, our values changed so drastically. There, what was valued was opium, salt, and needles. Money had absolutely no value.

HV: Were radios sent out with the groups so the members could send back messages and information?

TM: Yeah, they did. We invented our own little radios. They were really state-of-the-art. They were made out of packaging crates. We hand wound the condensers and later on, these became...

At one time, I sold a picture of one of our guys operating one to *Time Life Books*. The messages would be sent in Morse code. They didn't have the range to reach our base in northeast India so they would send their messages to Nawbum. We would then encode them and send them up to Nazira, our secret base in northeast India. It was on a Lipton tea plantation.

HV: Now was Stilwell there or where was he?

TM: No, Stilwell was in New Delhi and in China. His offices were in both of those places. He wasn't on the OSS base.

Stilwell was in charge of the entire theater, CBI—China, Burma, India—Theater. That whole area was his.

In fact, he called us "thugs." He'd say, "You thugs, go do this!" That was his term for us, which we were.

HV: When Kachin natives first met the five men who walk in, how did they react to them, at first? Did they know immediately that we were on the same side?

TM: Yeah, they did. They were at war with the Japanese. Of course, they were at war with everybody. They fought the Burmese, the British, the Chinese...

So, of course, we had to orient them immediately that we were Americans. Of course, a lot of them would ask, "What is American? Well, where is America? Where are you guys from?"

Father Stuart, who had their confidence, was invaluable in telling them that we were the good guys, that we were not English, we were from another country entirely. They were utterly astounded.

These were people who had never seen a flashlight, a zipper; who had never seen a wheel. They called themselves the most ignorant of people, which they were.

They didn't even have a counting system. They would come and tell us that there were enemy soldiers in a little village. We would say, "How many?" They couldn't tell us. They didn't even have a numbering system. They were that primitive.

They worshipped evil spirits. We had black magic to contend with as well as wild animals. We had a lot of different battles with them. It was an education and a half!

HV: Then, they were more into black magic than the good magic?

TM: I asked Father Stuart, "How on earth do you try to preach Christianity, that there is one God, and Jesus is the son of God? How, when they have all these evil spirits? They sacrificed dogs and had a little bench for Nats, the evil spirits that were in them. They had them inside their homes. Whenever they went, they had to put a pinch of opium on the bench before them.

HV: Did you have any dealings with the Vichy French?

TM: No, the British were in charge of Burma and the Vichy were in Vietnam.

Just a bit of history quickly. We were very close to Ho Chi Minh. He liked us. He knew our Constitution. He liked what we had done in the Philippines. We had saved his life.[19] OSS men had trained with Giap [Ho Chi Minh's assistant] who was really ***their strategist*** in the Vietnam War. And he [Ho Chi Minh] wanted to become a U.S. protectorate after the war [World War II]. We got along well with him.

When they [the Vietminh] marched into Hanoi to proclaim their Republic of Vietnam, the OSS marched in with them. "The Star-Spangled Banner" was played first and then the Vietnamese national anthem. The OSS and the Vietminh saluted each other.

By this time, the French were having a fit. They said this is our territory. You get the hell out of there. We [OSS] said forget it. Finally, they petitioned the State Department that they were our allies in Europe and that we were interfering with their colony.

We were ordered out and Ho Chi Minh said, "If they [the French] came in, we're [the Vietnamese] going to fight."

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[19]There is more on our involvment with the saving of Ho Chi Minh's life in an interview with Denny Cavanaugh by Heidi Vion. The taped recording of this interview is kept by the Oral History Program at California State University, Fullerton.

We [the OSS] said, "We've done all we can, Ho Chi"—and that's the history of it. We almost avoided it.

HV: Were there any other nationalities involved, like the Aussies [the Australians]?

TM: We had all nationalities—we had Lithuanians, we had two Aussies that had come in. They came in because they had been working as engineers in Burma. They knew the area so they hooked up with us. We had a Catholic priest from Ireland. We had Burmese, Chinese, Indians. We had a bit of everything in there.

We had American civilians, coast guard, army, navy, marines—every branch of the service was with us.

HV: How did the OSS pick the people?

TM: A lot of them were not OSS trained at all. A lot of them were picked—a lot of them were infantry and were leading the guerrillas in, as we got stronger militarily which we hadn't intended on doing.

Then we had a lot of natives. They began to learn to use our weapons pretty good so we began to send in infantry officers. They would simply take them out of the infantry and they would come over and come in to Nawbum.

They would take a squad of guys and go out in the field and start shooting the Japanese up. They were not trained as agents per se, but they were part of OSS.

A lot of your radio people were from the Signal Corps because we needed people that could send the Morse code and simply, they were radio operators. Of course, everyone had to know how to handle a gun.

HV: What were the living conditions when you were out on the short-term missions? What did you eat?

TM: We would sometimes get airdrops, but we would sometimes have to live off what we could get in the jungle. We had a little barking deer. It was bigger than a German shepherd and it was a deer that barked like a dog. That was very good. We had wild boar which had white meat and tasted just like pork. It was excellent! We tried tiger, but it was terrible. It was too salty. We tried snake; it wasn't all that bad but a lot of times we didn't eat that well.

There were times we would try to go into a Japanese camp and would run them out, so we could steal their food. Sometimes, they had canned oranges and little things like that.

Back at Nawbum, we ate fairly good because that is where our supplies were and our general rations were there. Sometimes, the natives would find chickens and we would cook up a chicken. Of course, that was good.

When you were on the trail, sometimes, you just didn't eat for a day or so.

HV: Were you all right on your water supply?

TM: We were blessed by some little clear crystal streams up in the mountains where we were. So we always had good clear water. Probably, better water than what we are drinking today.

HV: How did you deal with prisoners when you caught them or did you?

TM: Well, if they were Japanese, of course, they were so valuable that the Tenth Air Force would come in and fly them out for interrogation. If they were natives and a lot of them we called prisoners because we weren't sure who they were working with and we would question them, and we had little makeshift bamboo prisons.

If we felt they were real dangerous, or if they showed it which not many of them did...Some of them had been pressed into working for the Japanese and they would say, "Yeah, we were working for them but they picked us up. We were their scouts and this and that." The natives would give us a little information and many of them turned and worked for us.

Sometimes, the natives would come in and they would be convinced that these guys [prisoners] were bad guys and sometimes during the night you would hear a burst of gunfire. The next morning our native agents would say, "They tried to escape and we had to shoot them to stop



OSS Agents about to be dropped 130 miles behind enemy lines: [from top to bottom] Mel Corwin, Radio Operator; Bob Rhea, Cameraman; Rex King, Burmese Agent; and Tom Moon.
Tom Moon Photo

them." We knew that wasn't true, but you didn't ask any questions and just said, "okay."

HV: How did you pick the natives that became your agents?

TM: A lot of it was just gut feeling and they would come in and would want to go to work for the U.S. government. They knew what we were doing and they would have little basic tests that were for weapons and shooting to see if they could handle a gun well. And then if they showed a special talent or if they were curious and asked special questions and things that would show they had a good mind.

Then, we might give them a small assignment to go into one of the cities, the small villages, and to come back with certain basic information. For example, how many soldiers are in there? Do they have any special design on their uniforms? This way we could figure out which units are up there. Really, the whole thing was the Eighteenth Division, the ones responsible for the rape of Nanking.[20]

It was a very tough unit [the Eighteenth Division] who was our enemy in northern Burma. We were aware that it was very powerful unit and cruel, but all Japanese units were cruel. They were cruel to their own people. They would behead their own soldiers just like the Chinese.

We realized that we just had to stay out of their way. We all had access to the "L" pill which was a coated cyanide capsule that we could take it. You just had to bite into it and thirty seconds later, you were dead.

I don't know of anyone who used it in our theater, but they did use it in Europe. Some of the women did, rather than face what the Germans were doing to our women.

HV: Were there any women in the Asian theater, especially any in the OSS?

TM: No, the only women there were support people, like back at the bases. For example, Julia Child was on Ceylon, now called Sri Lanka. She served there in communications and in the records division. But, no, they were never in enemy territory.

They were never posing as...well, you know in the Orient, we couldn't pass as anything but Caucasians. We couldn't make ourselves look Chinese, Burmese, or anything.

Of course, in Europe, a lot of them did because they could pass off as any of the Caucasian nationalists of Europe.

HV: How many people stayed permanently at the Nawbum base?

TM: At the base, we probably normally had 8–10 people. Operating out of there, we probably had, maybe, 40–50 agents leading up to 8,000 guerrillas [natives]. All of Detachment 101 had 800 men [agents] in it.

HV: So, Nawbum was not Detachment 101's only base?

TM: [Detachment] 101 had a staff, support bases, the training bases, and about eighteen different camps in northeast India, where different groups of Asians would train. Therefore, we had training officers there. We had supply officers, so you had a lot of back base support. The other bases were Operation Luce, Skittles, etc.

We were probably the biggest base out of 101. There was probably, though, eleven–twelve other ones operating around. Some of them might have just two or three men. They were usually told not to engage in conflict with the enemy, unless you have to shoot yourself out of a situation. They were told not to go out and attack anybody, just to stay in the shadows.

HV: Were the smaller units given different directions about the prisoners?

TM: There were no different directions. You were on your own to go out there and create all the hell you can. Anything you can do to harm the enemy, you do it.

I don't know if we had anyone beheaded. It was standard that if you wanted to get rid of some, just to say to the natives, "Take him to the edge of the village, and free him. Let him go." They would always come back and say, "They tried to escape," even though they were taking them out to free them anyway, so it was kind of foolish of them to try to escape when we were

[20]There is more information provided about the Rape of Nanking in the interview with Denny Cavanuagh by Heidi Vion which was mentioned in a previous footnote.

letting them loose anyway. It was nothing to the natives [to kill them].

HV: When did your segment of the war end?

TM: Well, it ended when Merrill's Marauders and the Chinese infantry came through form the northern part and pushed the Japanese down [farther south]. Well, once the Japanese were out of the area, there wasn't much for us to do.

Some of us did go ahead and act as scouts for the British Fourteenth Army down in Mandalay. But once they got down to the plains of central Burma, then all the Kachin, who were all soldiers, who were hill people said, "Man, we're not going down here. We don't want to be this far from our homes." So, they began to desert and go back.

Well, they had really done their bit so the term "deserting" sounds kind of harsh. Really, they began leaving and told us that the war was over, which it was for them. Eventually, the enemy was pushed out of Burma and that ended our mission.

There was really nothing else for us to do. A lot of the men did go up into China because the war was still going on, so the operations in north China began expanding. That was Detachment 202's [area].

HV: After you came back, did you stay in touch with anybody, especially the Kachins?

TM: None of the natives, even though some of them are here. Our top Burmese agent, Harry Hengshoon.[21] I never knew his name until after the war. His code name was Skittles. We still do call him Skittles because we knew him for years as that. We weren't allowed to know any native agents' names in case we got captured. Then, we couldn't identify anybody. He is here now. He speaks thirteen languages and lives in Fountain Valley. His wife was a Burmese princess from the old royal family. When they left, they smuggled a lot of the old crown jewels out in a CIA pouch.

Anyway, we closed down the base at Nazira. I shut down the communications and catalogued all of the equipment and files and sent them back to Washington, D.C., and came back here.

I was on the boat August 1945 when the war ended, when they dropped the atom bomb. We were in the Red Sea when we got the news over the radio that Japan had surrendered.

Then, the OSS was disbanded in September 1945 by Truman. He said that we don't need spies anymore, the war is over. J. Edgar Hoover, who had always hated us and had done anything he could to destroy the OSS had said, "Get rid of these guys, they are bad news." So, Truman disbanded us and then realized a couple of months later that he had made a mistake.

That was when the CIG was formed. It stands for Central Intelligence Group, [and became] the Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA.

HV: The OSS was the forerunner of the CIA and the Green Berets?

TM: Yes, and the SEALS and all the Special Forces came out of the OSS.

HV: Now, who thought of the OSS?

TM: Roosevelt realized that we needed some sort of...there were fourteen separate agencies giving intelligence to Washington, D.C. The Department of Agriculture had its own people, the State Department, the Navy Intelligence, the Army Intelligence, [etc.] and all those reports were being given to Washington and there would be no real coordination. Nobody seemed to be able to pick up the reports and be able to say if there was a pattern there. "This seems to tie into this." That they would read all the reports and say "So what?"

So, finally, Roosevelt said, "We need some central group that will gather information and will analyze the other information that other groups bring in and look for trends and see what we should be doing."

So, then he formed the COI [Coordinator of Information] in July 1941. Then Donovan was appointed to the head of COI.

HV: Now, for clarification, did Donovan go over to Burma with your detachment?

[21]There is an interview with Harry Hengshoon, Skittles, by Heidi Vion on file in the Oral History Program at California State University, Fullerton.

TM: Well, he visited and he came over but only after the operation was well-established and operating. Donovan, prior to the war, was in Yugoslavia and had talked to King Peter II, the king of Yugoslavia. He had talked King Peter into refusing the Germans permission to go through Yugoslavia to attack Greece, which [King] Peter did. It delayed the Germans' timetable about six weeks, which harmed the Germans a lot.

Donovan was also involved in Bucharest, doing all sorts of subversive things prior to the war, on behalf of the government [the U.S.].

HV: Were there any other operations, besides Knothead that you were involved with?

TM: Knothead was the only one I worked with and then the bases. I lost sixty pounds at Knothead through malaria. There was 100 percent malaria. Nobody in that area got away from malaria or malnutrition. They took me out and hospitalized me for awhile.

We had private hospitals too. They wouldn't put us in normal military hospitals for fear that under delirium, they didn't know what we would say. Then I was sent to Calcutta and worked there for awhile in the communication base. Then I went back into central Burma and recouped a little more around Mandalay.

I think we had Operation Hefty, Marty, and Skittles which really spun off from us. So, a lot of them were little subdivisions of the bigger things and we would go out for maybe two or three weeks on a very specific mission and then come back. Like to go blow up a trestle or upset the natives about something.

We did "black propaganda" which was very effective against the Japanese. We would print things supposedly that the Japanese had printed—making rash promises, promises that they could never hope to keep. Well, when the day came and they didn't keep them, they lost immense face...

Of course, to the Japanese to lose face, particularly to other Asiatics, was very embarrassing to them. They would deny it and say, "We wouldn't do this." The natives would reply, "Well, then, who did?" The Japanese would try to say we [the Americans] did it. Then the natives would reply, "Well, you had our village occupied when the stuff was handed out and given to us. So what do you mean you didn't do it?"

Our native agents would sneak in and hand the stuff out very surreptitiously. Then the Japanese were classified as liars and would be really embarrassed. It embarrassed the hell out of them. It was called "black propaganda" or misinformation.

HV: What was Colonel Eifler doing during Operation Rangoon? Was he involved with this mission?

TM: No, at that point, he was back in Washington, D.C. because he was supposed to go to Germany to kidnap their top atom scientist or kill him, Werner Eisenberg. So Colonel Eifler wasn't involved with it. He left the theater, probably in mid-44.

He had also been running the OSS base on Santa Catalina Island where we were training the Koreans to go back into Korea to foment a revolution. The base was on Toyon Bay. That was where the MUs, which is the Maritime Units, were trained. They were later called "frogmen" and now they are called the "SEALS." They trained them in Catalina.

HV: Were we already training the Koreans in 1944 or are we talking about after World War II?

TM: This was against the Japanese. They were going to go in and pull up this revolution to tie up the Japanese communications in Korea. The Japanese had a very effective Kwontung army in Manchuria and we knew that when we invaded Japan that they would bring back that army to defend the mainland.

They would have to go through Korea. Our plan was to tie up all things in Korea—to destroy all rail traffic, then the airfields and everything and just have total turmoil and chaos in that country [Korea] so that the Japanese could not move that army back to defend Japan. That was the mission of those guys—these fifty-five agents training on Catalina Island. It was called Operation Napko.

HV: What were some of the different ways they showed you to kill someone?

TM: Okay, well there's, of course, the different pressure points. Some of the women were shown how to kill using a newspaper—rolling it up into a tight thing and then a sudden jab right under the chin could kill a person.

Besides your normal weaponry, the women had poison lipsticks which actually was a lipstick built around a syringe. She would pull it out like she was going to put lipstick on and then at the last minute, plunge it into the neck and push the bottom part which was the plunger.

They had the Machiavellian rings which had little compartments which swung open. You would distract somebody and out of the compartment would drop a pill into their drinks.

The "K" pill was the knockout pill and the "L" pill was the death pill. We had many things of this nature. Compacts with special powder that a lady would go to powder her nose, if she was having a tough time and slightly blow the powder into someone's face. It was just loose powder that was used as a device to escape a situation.

We had a cloisonné cross that turned out to be a lock pick and then the chain had spurs on it to cut through bars. We had a lot of "James Bond" gadgetry that was available. [Some other examples are] exploding pens, pens that would start fires for arson jobs.

HV: Did you have these items on Nawbum in your supply warehouse?

TM: Well, we had catalogues of the stuff. And you ordered what you needed. We did have crossbows and blow pens—I have one of these. They [blow pens] come apart and become a dart gun to get out of a hot spot.

We had catalogues of equipment like briefcases with false bottoms, exploding briefcases—if someone didn't open it a certain way, it would blow up on them. We had a lot.

Someone took a lot of the OSS things and wrote about them in a book called *The Anarchist's Cookbook,* which never should have been printed. It shows you how to derail trains, bring down airplanes, how to start riots, and burn buildings. In the hands of some of the cuckoos out there...I can't imagine anyone really printed that stuff and made it available for all these nuts.

Anyway, you go through the catalogues and say, "For this mission, I'll need this and this," and then the supplies would come from Washington, D.C.

HV: What did the Aussies do who joined your group?

TM: They had lived and worked in the area having been engineers there in the hills. So they knew the people and they got along well with the people.

They could warn us about certain things, like the monsoons that would come. You might get twenty-eight inches of rain in six hours. This little stream that you would only wade up to your knees would then be eight feet deep and a roaring river. So, if you're going to be in this area, don't be over on this side of the river when the monsoons come or you are going to be trapped over there. Make sure you get back as soon as the rain starts.

They also told us how to use the information militarily, like the Japanese couldn't come over against you because, of course, they couldn't get by those streams either. They gave information and showed us how it could work to our advantage or disadvantage.

If they could warn us in advance about an area, it helped us out. For example, tigers are very heavy in this area. See, the tigers' pecking order was upset because the fighting drew other tigers down from the North. Each of them had their own territory. Well, new cats would come into that and the cats would become pretty skitterish and they would fight each other and then they would go after us. Normally, the tigers would leave us alone.

We had a lot of problems with wild animals. The wild elephants and the Bengal tigers [are two examples]. That plus the disease, like the blackwater fever and malaria. It just wasn't a good place for a white man.

HV: What is blackwater fever?

TM: They called it that. Again, it was the heavy shakes and everything. You would get very weak and couldn't stand up. A lot of vomiting and diarrhea.

HV: Was there much opium use by the Americans in Burma?

TM: I don't know any of our people that used it. When we got it and I distributed it. Here I am twenty years old, distributing dope, machine guns, etc. I had been in the army for one year and I'm 120 miles behind the lines giving out dope and planning ambushes, this is ridiculous.

What we got was thirty seers a month and a seer was a square about like that (Tom makes a motion with his hand about the size of two paperback books on top of each other) and it was a substance of tar with pieces of straw in it. The natives would put it in their pipes and smoke it at night. They'd be there all dreamy-eyed, all gassed up, but it never affected them the next day. They didn't have hangovers or anything. They weren't hooked on it like people get hooked on dope.

Sometimes we wouldn't get our airdrops so we wouldn't have it for four–six days. We would just say that we didn't get our airdrops so we don't have any. And the natives would answer back and say, "okay." It wasn't a big deal but they really wanted and liked it.

One time I had a very bad toothache and Father Stuart prevailed on me to take a pinch of the opium and eat it. I said, "Oh no, I'm not going to mess with that stuff." He said, "No it's not like that. You can't get hooked on it that way. All it will do is deaden the pain like a couple of aspirin. You won't get the craving for it if you do it that way or if you smoke it, you won't get hooked on it." So I did eat a little piece of it and it did help. That was no place to get a toothache—I can tell you that.

HV: Did you have, for example, dental services if it came down to an emergency situation?

TM: No, you had to just tough it out and if the pain got too bad, they would try to get you to an area where they could fly in a small plane and pick you up and get you out of there. Then, at that point, we went to normal military installations where they had dentists and doctors and stuff.

HV: Where were some of the other bases?

TM: Kunming in China; New Delhi was the main headquarters of the CBI Theater Command. In northeast India where we were, they had a big airfield called Dibrugarh, a big U.S. airfield. Planes were taking off there and flying the Hump to China. That's where we would go. I went there once when I went back to get some glasses and have some dental work done.

HV: Did you get R & R days?

TM: Yes, they tried to rotate us and bring us out. Usually, though, they had plans and you'd have to come out sooner because everybody was so sick. We were eating poorly and we were just in a very hostile environment too, to the American way of life. We were always sick it seemed.

HV: What was the weather like?

TM: It would get very hot and steamy and then it would rain like crazy and then it would get to 100 degrees, and then steam would just rise off the jungle floor.

That would bring out the leeches that would jump on you and start sucking the blood out of you. They were hard to get off because you couldn't just pull them off because you would leave their heads in you, which would then become infected. The only thing you could do was put salt on them and then they would release their grip and you could flick them off, or the heat of a cigarette.

They were nasty little things. We would pull up our socks, then put our pants down over the socks, and then put on jungle boots and lace them and still, that night when you went in, they would be clear down on your ankles, which would be full of blood.

You could see them if you were walking on the trail. Somebody would say, "Hey, you got one by your ear," and you would feel back and be able to get rid of them right away.

They [the leeches] were about the size of a tick, with blood. They'd be about the size of your thumbprint when they were full of blood. They would be about half that size when they jumped on you.

You could see them when they were on the leaves of the plants. They had little sensors that

you could see. They would be waiting and as you went by, somehow they would get from there to your body. I never saw one jump, though.

HV: Besides losing a lot of blood, did the leeches carry any diseases?

TM: No, they did not carry any disease. Sometimes, though they would leave an open wound, though, that wouldn't heal. You would continue bleeding which was very unpleasant.

Now, the natives would cure it by black magic which drove Father Stuart up the wall. They [the natives] would tie an elephant hair above the shin and do their mumbo jumbo and take some poor dog's head off and the next day, it would be completely gone. There would be no evidence; it was like it was never there.

Father Stuart would say, "Well, that's our black magic." Not too easy preaching Christianity because the natives would say, "Well, can your God do that for us?"

And I told Father Stuart, "Yeah, I see your problem. You're trying to tell them that your God is the greatest of all."

HV: Did you use the elephants at all?

TM: The Japanese had captured them from the British and the natives and we took them back from the Japanese.

We used them for transporting our men and our equipment. It was a good thing to have around.

HV: Were the elephants pretty tame?

TM: Yeah, they were. The men who knew them [the elephants], handled them. We never had any problems with them.

One of them got drunk once off some native wine, which was called "*Laku.*" They gave the elephant a little canteen cup full of it. The elephant laid down in the middle of the trail for two days.

We thought he might be dead, but the handler said no, he was just sleeping. Two days later, he finally got back up on his feet. He was still pretty groggy, but he was normal again.

HV: Now, did you guys have any pets, like a tiger cub?

TM: Yeah, we did. We had a really cute little one [a tiger cub] which we called "Lucy" after James Luce. He had found her one day. We don't know if her mother had been killed or just what. We kept her around our quarters until she was fairly good-sized.

Of course, those animals are very powerful. They're all muscle. So she grew and was getting dangerous at that time. She'd practice her stalking and jump on you. She'd bury her fangs in your thigh and it would hurt.

Eventually, we had to take her to a zoo in Calcutta, because we knew we couldn't let her loose. She couldn't take care of herself in the jungle. We all really liked Little Lucy.

HV: Now, were there monkeys around where you were?

TM: Yeah, we had some monkeys and some jungle birds. And you would hear some of those strange sounds and you would wonder whether those were real, or are those enemy forces using signals? Of course, we did the same thing because you were used to those noises in the jungle.

So the call of the jungle bird might be real or someone signaling to someone else that they were moving into position to do something that wouldn't be too pleasant.

HV: How did you keep the Nawbum base hidden from the Japanese, especially with an airstrip?

TM: Yeah, we were in heavy jungle and then the airfields. We had bamboo shacks that were moveable so when an airdrop was coming in, or they were going to drop an agent or a plane was going to fly in, then they would give us an approximate time they were going to arrive, and we would go out and the men would just pick them [the bamboo shacks] and carry them to the edge of the jungle. Suddenly, there would be an airstrip.

After the drop, we would put the shacks back. From the air when you looked down, you would see a clearing but the huts would be on it. The Japanese never bothered us, though. However, twice the U.S. Air Force strafed us and we got word back to them to quit it. They would then apologize and they would come over sometimes and drop us bags of candy, especially,

after we would rescue some of their pilots. Obviously, we had a very close relationship.

They were very apologetic but they had some new pilot, and we would be in areas that they didn't know we were in. We told them that we would try to tell them, but we didn't want to tell them or anyone exactly where the OSS men were. It was a problem. We would tell them our general area and that we would probably have men in that area so don't always assume they are Japanese when you see soldiers with guns.

It was difficult for them [the U.S. Air Force] because they wanted to do their part of the war, but they didn't want to hurt us either.

HV: Did the air force and the OSS have any common missions?

TM: No, normally they did not. No, however, they did cooperate with us beautifully. We could order an air strike and within two hours it was done.

One time we did have a village wiped out because the village would not cooperate with us. In fact, they were hostile to us. So Eifler ordered the whole village to be destroyed which the air force did. We're not very proud of that, but you did what you had to do. It was a message to others too.

Sometimes, the villages were not very far apart and you got your coordinates but when the guys flew overhead and then they'd see one little village and close by, there was another one. They would ask which one was the one they were suppose to hit. There was a terrible danger that they might hit the wrong one. There was no city streets so you couldn't lay out a block.

HV: Was there any mistakes made like that?

TM: No, none that I know of. A couple of times some of our other units did get strafed. Happily, I don't think we were ever hit by U.S. air power. But a lot of us did do some diving behind trees and yelling.

It was very frustrating. Usually, when you are attacked by somebody, you can relieve some of the frustration by shooting back at them. Even though the odds were very rare that you would hit anybody.

Well, of course, there was no way we were going to lie down and take a shot at an American plane. We would just lie down and tell them to get out of here.

HV: Could you contact the pilots with the radios you had?

TM: No, we had no communications with airplanes. We didn't have audio, it was all just Morse code. And the planes weren't equipped with one of our radios.

Now, today with our communication equipment, the ground could call up to the plane and say, "Hey, you idiot, we're friendly down here, leave us alone."

No, we would just have to send it back and then have it reported to the air base that their planes at 3:45 attacked an area and strafed American forces. Don't do it again, please.

HV: What other types of training did you have besides on listening carefully to sounds?

TM: They were always training you for your senses. Just to be alert.

One night we had an assignment to break into a big old haunted house. They would say that there's agents in there and there is only one way to safely get into this house and one way to get out. Then, you were on your own.

So you would start at night when it was dark. You'd be going through a wooded area to get to this house because they made it as Addams Familyish as they could. Well, guys would come out from behind the trees and start throwing tennis balls at you. Dumb things like that to see what your reaction would be. Were you going to go after them and pound them? Or just what were you going to do about it? How you reacted to something?

There was no right or wrong—well, there was some wrong if you had gone chasing them. Your mission was to get in that house.

They would give you pictures of the house before you went. The pictures would include the four sides of it, the roof, the surrounding areas. You would use them to see if there was a tree, could you get down through a chimney, or where was the one chink in the armor of the house. The answer was the only way to get into the house safely was through the front door. The lesson was not to ever overlook the obvious.

At another training session they'd take you out and say that you were in charge of four or five men in the woods. You would have a metal toolshed that you had to assemble. They gave a stack of parts and a stack of tools. You were to assemble it and they would pick you up at 5:00 and go back to base at night.

You all get off and are looking at the stuff. You'd say, we'll put it up over here and then do this. "Hank, pick up the side!" and Hank would reply, "Hell with it! I'm tired." Well you had to get it up and Hank would answer that with, "Nah, get somebody else to do it, I've got a headache!" and then he would go and sit underneath a tree.

Then you would ask another guy and he'd reply, "We've got time and anyway, I don't think we have all the parts." Well, your reply was that they had told you that all the supplies were there.

Eventually, at the end you began to figure out that these guys were not trainees but were part of the staff. There was no way that they were ever going to help you. You were never going to get that thing assembled. They wanted to see what your breaking point was. At what point would you finally get into a fight with somebody.

There were several fights and one guy did get his arm broken. Would you try to do it on your own? What was your reaction? How would you handle this very stressful situation? The thing was never built. These were just some of the ways they would test you.

They would take you down to a department store. We would have to look into a window at mannequins with men's or women's clothes. They would just tell us to study the window. Well, you would think they were going to ask "How many mannequins were in there? How many colors were used?" You would come back and they would ask for the dimensions of the plate glass window. They were trying to make you see everything all the time.

An example of the types of questions they would ask us is this: "You are taking a bus and there's fourteen people on it. At the next stop two get on and five get off; at the next stop six get on and none get off and at the next stop fourteen get on and twelve get off."

You are going through calculations real fast and then at the end they ask these two questions. "What was the bus driver's name?" and "How many stops did the bus make?"

Well, you weren't told anything that could tell you. You would have to go back to the initial statement, "You're taking a bus..." The answer would be your name. Crazy things like that.

Another one is: "You are at one spot hunting and you walk five miles due south, five miles due east, and now you are five miles from where you started and then you shoot a bear. What color is the bear?"

Well, there's only one spot that that could happen and this is the North Pole. So, there's your answer on what color the bear was...white.

They gave you word games like this just to test your reasoning ability and how fast you could do it. They also gave you ethic questions—one of the situations they use now on CIA agents is:

Your wife has a serious fatal disease. You are working in a laboratory where they are working on a serum or something for this. You know that this one thing that is being tested is probably the answer to saving her life but a series of tests are going on and you cannot take any out because it will destroy several years of research that has gone into it. But you are convinced that it will save your wife's life. What are you going to do?

See a lot of these things, there's no real answer to it. It's basically how would you handle it? This is your life.

During the war, Churchill had one of these decisions. When we had broken the German code, we knew that they were going to strike Coventry. Well, to evacuate the city would tip off the Germans that we had broken their code. If we did not evacuate, it would result in the death of a lot of people.

Churchill had to say to let them go because we would save far more lives in the long run with the German code than we will lose in British lives. Well, that was a tough decision. I think, 8,000 people were killed that night. But there is a lot of decisions that there is no black nor white

areas. You have to weigh one group against the another.

This patrol is probably going to all get killed but to call them would break radio communication and alert the enemy that there is a bigger force back here. Let them go.

HV: Did you have any situation like that occur?

TM: We had three of our men captured and were being tortured by the Japanese. We knew that the Japanese were waiting for us to come in and try to free them—to attack them militarily. We weren't really strong enough to do it.

So, we asked the Tenth Air Force to take them out so they [the Tenth Air Force] blew up the jail and killed them. It was a quicker death than the slow death the Japanese had in mind for them.

So the Tenth Air Force got the three men, and whatever poor people happened to be in the jail at the same time went with them [our three men].

HV: Did you know any of the three personally?

TM: No, I didn't. Those are very nasty decisions. You know you go out and as I mentioned before, we had assassination authority which we did. Yet, at the same time, if we knocked off some high political figure or something and there was a big stink, then our country would have to deny it. We knew that's the way the game was played.

When Eifler was supposed to go into Germany and kidnap Werner Eisenberg and get him into Switzerland, and there, in violation of Swiss neutrality, a U.S. bomber was to fly in and pick him up [Eisenberg] and take him out.

Eifler said, "Okay, I get my man into Switzerland, but before I can get him out, the Swiss police surround the place. What are my instructions?"

They said, "Your instructions are to deny Germany his brain."

Eifler said, " Okay, I follow that. I bump him off. What about me?"

They said, "We have no idea what the hell you were doing over there. You were not authorized to be in that area. We are going to court martial you as soon as we get our hands on you. You've done something very bad—you've embarrassed our country."

Eifler says, "I knew that's the way the game is played. I just wanted to hear how they would word it. Of course, that's what they would do. They would denounce me as a rogue and everything and in the background, they would be doing everything to get me set free."

That's just a part of diplomacy to say, "We wouldn't authorize something like that—killing an atom scientist."

HV: Now, did Eifler get sent on that mission?

TM: No, the Manhattan Project broke and we got the secret first so they called it off. It was almost a sheer suicide mission because the first thing was to try and get Eisenberg out. They wanted his brain so they wanted him alive. But they told Eifler, if he couldn't get Eisenberg out alive, then deny Germany his [Eisenberg's] brain.

HV: Did the OSS have any contact with Chiang Kai-Shek? or Mao Tse-Tung?

TM: Mao Tse-Tung, yeah.

I finally got permission to use a story at Eifler's request and that was that Eifler almost killed Chiang Kai-Shek at Stilwell's request.

Stilwell said, "I want you to figure out how you are going to do it but I want that SOB out of here. He is not fighting the Japanese. He is working with them, in fact. You come back later and tell me how you are going to do it, first."

So Eifler then did figure out how he was going to do it and told Stilwell. Stilwell said, "No, I've had second thoughts. I do not feel I have the moral authority to kill the head of the world's largest nation. I wish somebody would kill him, though!" So Eifler wouldn't do it.

Mao was up north and Detachment 202 was having dealings with him.

Stilwell's belief was that if we got rid of Chiang Kai-Shek and unify all those men with the men of the north, it would drive the Japanese out of China and the war would end very quickly. That was Stilwell's thinking.

HV: Was Russia involved in this theater?

TM: Russia wasn't involved with the Japanese. They didn't come in until after Germany surrendered and until it was obvious that Japan was about to surrender. I think they came in so they could seize Japanese territory. That they could move in and occupy it. They were very much opportunists. There was hardly any fighting between Russia and Japan during World War II.

HV: Was the OSS doing activities in Okinawa and that area of the Pacific?

TM: No, because General MacArthur did not like us and he wouldn't have the OSS in any of his areas. He had nothing to do with the OSS or the CIA in the Korean War.

When MacArthur was pursuing the men back into North Korea up to the Yalu River, the CIA told MacArthur to not go to the river because the Chinese would come in.

MacArthur replied, "I don't listen to you guys, I have my own intelligence. They've told me that the Chinese won't come across the river and they won't become involved. I'm going through to the Yalu River so to hell with you."

Well, he went to the Yalu River and the Chinese came over and became involved in the Korean War. But MacArthur wouldn't have anything to do with us.

So all the island hopping in the Pacific, that was just all Army and Navy Intelligence. They analyzed air photos [among other things].

An interesting thing on analyzing air photos and stuff. On one little island which I can't think of the name of it, they were wondering how many Japanese might be on that island.

It was one of our women [OSS] who figured it out. We didn't have a lot of women, but the female mind works so differently than the male mind. This woman said, "Bring me an aerial shot of the island." So they did. She looked at it and made little notations and stuff. Then, she said, "There's 5,400 Japanese on that island."

They asked, "How did you come up with that?"

She answered, "Well, the Japanese are very much by the book and for toilets, they dig slit trenches. They have a habit of a slit trench for so many men. I counted this many slit trenches and multiplied by that." She only missed by fifty men.

It was just like the woman who found the German rockets at Penamunde. They were shooting the rockets up at Allied forces. It was a woman in the British Intelligence who began to study hundreds and hundreds of aerial photographs and finally saw these five odd shapes there. She said, "Look at this. Blow these things up. That's got to be where they are, where they are coming from."

Another woman determined how to tell if the rail lines in south France were open and needed to be bombed again. She did this, and only a woman would think of this—she checked the prices of oranges in Paris. If the prices of oranges fell, must mean the rail lines were open. So they could tell the air force that they better go scouting again, the lines were open. The air force would then go bomb them again. Who but a woman would think of a thing like that?

I love those stories about the women. No one knew about our women. There weren't many OSS women but the French and the British women, there was a lot of them. A lot of them were killed, murdered and were tortured very badly. The things they did were so heroic, brave, so cunning. I want to see them get credit.

HV: Did we have many American "spies" in the European theater? the Asian theater?

TM: Yes, we did. Again with unorthodox operations again.

Another incident I thought was fascinating. General Singlaub fought with us in the 101 and was also in the Vietnam War in the CIA. He said that they were dropping in North Vietnam fifty-pounds blocks of ice into the jungle. I told him that I couldn't figure that one out.

He replied that by the time the enemy discovered it, the ice would be melted. They would discover six–eight parachutes and they would be empty. They would then start asking about where the Americans were who came down in those parachutes.

So they [the North Vietnamese] would take battalions of their men and scour the area. They would be asking the natives about where the Americans were. The natives would answer that

they had not seen any. The soldiers would answer back that there were parachutes there so the Americans were around here somewhere.

It was a harassing type of thing but it would tie up soldiers. Who would think of dropping blocks of ice into the jungle. It takes a unique mind, a chess playing mind [to do that]. You are playing chess. I find it fascinating. I have always loved the field of intelligence—the thinking of unorthodox things to do to people.

HV: Do you think that Ho Chi Minh learned some of his subversive tactics from the OSS?

TM: Yeah, they did. Of course, as far as jungle fighting, we learned from them. But they did learn our methods of operating which enable them to analyze how the Americans would react if they did something.

They knew the military response, on how we would respond, and the effectiveness and the range of some of our weapons. They did learn a lot from us. They learned some of the camouflage tricks from us. They learned certain things from us. Some of the very men we were fighting, we had trained earlier.

Do you remember the capture of the ship off the coast of North Korea by the North Koreans? It was a number of years ago. It was captured by the North Koreans and the crew was imprisoned...supposedly, this very latest up-to-date ship. It had all this special equipment on it. The crew was beaten up pretty badly.

It was a real blight on American Intelligence that this ship would fall into enemy hands. It was the first American ship captured without a fight.

Now, the truth is coming out that this was a plant. It was the biggest intelligence coup we have ever had. The ship was deliberately rigged to be captured with special equipment on it, knowing that they [the North Koreans] would use it. When they did, we had certain electronic equipment reporting back to us what they were doing. This enabled us to break their codes. It warned us in advance of the Tet Offensive in Vietnam and a lot of other things. That's playing chess for some pretty big stakes.

HV: Did the crew know they were a decoy?

TM: No, they didn't know at the time they had been set up. They figured it out. There was a picture taken of the crew by the North Koreans for propaganda purposes. The crew was all sitting at a table or standing behind the chairs, showing their middle fingers.

Well, later on, the North Koreans found out what that little gesture meant and they beat the tar out of them [the crew].

After they were released, the crew said that was not intended for the Koreans, that was intended for the Americans, for whoever planned it. They had realized that they had been deliberately set up to be captured.

HV: Did most of the natives support Detachment 101?

TM: Well, they tolerated us. At first, they were pretty hostile to us until they realized we weren't English. We went through villages on the trains and they would be out giving us angry and nasty gestures.

I asked a British soldier one time why the natives were so hostile when they didn't know us.

He replied that that was the problem that we were white men and we were in uniform. The natives thought we were British. The British soldier then told me that the natives did that to them all the time and that the natives hated them. He then advised me not to let it bother me. I replied that it didn't, that I was just curious.

HV: Did Detachment 101 have the highest success rate in deaths of Japanese? Can you tell me by chance when you killed quite a few besides when you blew up the one village?

TM: Yes, that is correct. Not one mass battle or anything. There would be 50, 60, and 80 here and eventually, there was 5,000 killed. Since the natives couldn't count, they would say that they had wiped out a Jap patrol so we had them start bringing in ears and figured out how many were dead.

One time they came back and somebody said that they had wiped out a good-sized patrol and gave a body count. We weren't really too sure. Somehow, we got back into the area and it was half again what they had estimated had been killed. You couldn't really rely on any of their figures.

They didn't have a written language either. That is what the priests were trying to give them—their own language.

HV: How many different languages were there in that area?

TM: There was the Kachins, the Shans, the Karens, and the Burmese. There was probably about four languages in that area of north Burma. Also, the Chinese had come in there so there was Mandarin. Of course, we had Indians there so there was some Hindu. We had a smattering of all types of languages.

The Kachins were the extreme north up to the border. Then the Shans came next to the south of the Kachins. More to the south were the Karens and then you got down to the plains of Burma where you had the Burmese.

"Duwa" was a respectable term the natives used for us.

HV: Do you have any other part time job?

TM: No, I speak on cruise ships and that's a nice way to travel. I also do lectures at different schools and campuses. That's about it.

Since our reunion two years ago, I think we've lost forty of our men. Our number keeps dwindling.

We have set up an agricultural school in Burma which we support financially. We try to train the people to farm better and in particular, to get them away from their poppy crop.

I can understand them doing it because they are so poor and this puts money in their pocket, and without that crop, they would go hungry. Well, of course, they are going to grow it. So you can't fault the people. They told us that if we would find them a different way to support themselves, they would do that but that they had to support themselves in the meantime.

It is not like they are doing it deliberately to destroy us. They are just trying to survive.

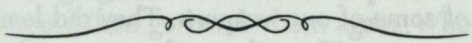
HV: Do you think you will ever return for a visit?

TM: No, I really don't have that much interest in the place. I support them financially, of course, because those people were a big part of my life and God knows they probably saved it many times by just being there and helping us. So I will support them financially and we're going to have a reunion in October at LAX. [October 1995]

HV: Did they need encouragement to make up the Green Berets or did the idea come into being on its own?

TM: The Pentagon realized the need for Special Forces, for special strike team that could go out—little units that could slip in and slip out and do things like a rescue mission for someone who has been kidnapped. They [the special forces] were quite valuable.

They could send in a team of eight to ten men. The team could go in quite quickly and then get the hell out of there. Rather than going in with military force which is almost like being at war. So these guys would go in, do the operation and come out. It's like the things Tom Clancy writes about—they are ***special forces.***



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AN ANALYSIS OF THE "X FACTOR":

Generation X and Their Perspectives Toward Historical Study

Karen W. Petillo

The importance of History in postsecondary education and attitudes of contemporary students toward it are the focus of this survey given to two World Civilization classes at California State University, Fullerton. Questionnaires were administered at the beginning and the end of the semester to ascertain the impact of course material, text, performance, and teaching methods. The classes consisted of students with different majors, varied ethnicity, in their late teens to early twenties, representative of what is commonly called Generation X.

Academic instruction must reflect the climate of the times if it is to remain relevant. Yet, the cultural climate varies greatly from generation to generation. The current culture has changed partly because of the rapid pace of technological and psychological advances of the past several decades. These changes have produced a unique generation of students—students who perhaps question the necessity of such studies as the humanities as well as their relevance—students who are programmed for instantaneous communications and instantaneous rewards. In response to these current cultural shifts, the experts are debating the purpose, value, and curricula regarding the discipline of historical study as required for all university undergraduates.

Representing one area of professional opinion is Lynne V. Cheney, former chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities, who argues for a stricter code of accepted standards in all aspects of historical study and a traditionally-based curriculum. In contrast, professionals in the genre of Charlotte Crabtree and Gary Nash of the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles, advocate a broadening of ideas with emphasis on cultural interaction and diversity to best reflect the milieu of the times in world society as a whole. Underlying the entire debate, however, is the more basic premise of some of those outside of the profession, including university students, who may question the actual value, pragmatic or intrinsic, of the study of history or the humanities. In an era of technological and communications revolution there are those who would submit that the practicality of the Renaissance legacy of *studia humanitatis* itself is even open to debate. All of these views could be classified as those of essence, or the underlying value and purpose of historical study.

Debate over the merits of history must also consider the "X factor"—the generation of university students for whom these courses of study are designed. How their individual perceptions concerning required course study in history are formed and affected is the subject of this study. As are all generations preceding them, they also are a product of their times. The majority of those enrolled in

the required general education courses in the humanities are predominantly members of this group in our society differentiated as the Generation X subculture. This group has specific characteristics that are unique to its own environment and which greatly influence its world view. Many members are characterized as visually oriented (the MTV syndrome), requiring instant gratification, and addicted to the computerized communications age. Most have spent far more hours of their eighteen or nineteen years watching movies, television, and computer screens than reading. In the words of James Kinneavy, University of Texas, Austin, "they see a surface picture, dominated by television, film and radio, in which the acts of writing and reading are not viewed as important or even relevant. The cultural heroes are athletes, actresses, actors, politicians and big business tycoons..."[1] They have been reared in a society that has surrounded them with a constant barrage of incoming messages to be sorted, digested, and processed moment by moment in a way in which no earlier generation has been required to do. They have been weaned on sound bite journalism and a social upbringing best described as relativistic, if not existentialistic.

Those who are attending universities also face a highly pressured career market. Consequently, from a strictly pragmatic view, time spent on course study that does not directly correlate with a chosen field of endeavor and future employment could appear unessential at best, perhaps even wasteful of valuable resources in return for a questionable gain:

> Today's college students have a strong vocational orientation, and the high cost of higher education may offer one explanation. As students become concerned about being able to pay for college, they may well be attracted to courses that promise direct vocational benefit... The judgment and perspective that can come from studying history, for example, while of great value both professionally and personally, are, nonetheless, intangibles that students—and parents—may not consider when facing tens of thousands of dollars in tuition bills.[2]

Therefore, several areas are open to exploration from the world view of these students themselves in relation to the entire concept of the study of the humanities in general, and historical study in particular. How does Generation X view the desirability or value of history as a discipline and degree requirement? Where do they find themselves regarding the current debate of substance versus essence in the historical curriculum? What has uniquely influenced their generation and set them apart in this area of study by virtue of the unique qualities of their environment and culture? These are questions concerning the intrinsic essence or value and purpose of historical studies filtered through each student's personal world view.

The second area of focus and exploration from these students' perspectives deals primarily with issues of technique. How does the student of the X generation best absorb and retain course information? Is the lecture format still of value to the members of the sound bite generation? Is interaction with a professor an important variable that depends upon the style of the individual professor? If so, what effect does it have on the X factor? What is the impact, if any, of "historical" films on their view of events? Do outside primary readings contribute to a student's understanding of history? And perhaps, most salient, is it possible to change the student's perceptions of the study of history itself in the course of a semester, and if so, in what manner, to what extent?

In an attempt to examine, correlate and interpret the views of Generation X regarding such issues, two individual survey studies were completed. The first was administered to students enrolled in different sections of the

[1]The National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk, The Imperative for Educational Reform*, by David Pierpont Gardner, Chair (1983), 52.

[2]National Endowment for the Humanities, *Humanities in America, A Report to the President, the Congress, and the American People*, by Lynne V. Cheney, Chair (Washington, D.C.: September 1988), 4.

general education course *World Civilizations to the Sixteenth Century* at California State University, Fullerton, at the beginning of the Fall 1995 semester. The follow-up survey was administered at the close of the same semester to the same two sections of students. This is a required course for the bachelor's degree regardless of the student's major field of study. The same professor taught both sections of students using the same text and lecture materials.

The base group consisted of 145 participants in the first survey, with 118 of the same participants responding to the second survey. To obtain as open and uncensored information as possible, both surveys were voluntary and anonymous. A class categorization was compiled, separating freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior levels (see table 1)

Table 1: Class Level Represented in Each Survey

	Survey One	Survey Two
Freshmen	67	46
Sophomores	46	42
Juniors	22	19
Seniors	10	11

Both sections of students represented a wide range of major fields of study. For purposes of this survey study, student majors were organized under several classifications, except for history majors and those who had not yet declared a field of study. The category of Mathematics and Business also included the related areas of Accounting and Economics; Humanities and Liberal Studies incorporated Communications, Foreign Language, Theater, Arts, English, Philosophy, Political Science, and Criminal Justice. Science and Technology also included Computer Science, Biology, Psychology, and Child Development. Consequently, a wide range of various major fields was represented in the base group (see tables 2, 3, and 4).

An added dimension to this study was the ethnic diversity within the class sections, each providing an integrated societal cross section that included African American, Asian, Hispanic, and Caucasian students. In addition, there were students in both of the course sections for whom English was not the primary language. Gender

Table 2: Majors Represented in Each Survey

	Survey One	Survey Two
Math/ Business	45	29
Humanities/ Liberal Studies	45	44
Science/ Technology	29	26
History	2	2
Undeclared	24	17

representation was approximately equal in each section. It should also be noted that California State University, Fullerton, is a publicly funded state institution which is primarily a commuter campus. It is located in a predominantly conservative, middle-class area of southern California. These are constants that contribute in unique ways to the interpretation of the data. To illustrate: Would the favored area of interest in the field of required historical study be influenced by the ethnic background of the individual or not? How, from the students' perspective, would this correlate with the former heavy emphasis on Western culture or the "Eurocentric" position? (It should be noted that the traditional general education core requirement of "Western Civilizations" has been replaced with courses in "World Civilizations" in the California State University system.) These areas of exploration are more subtle and difficult to quantify, due to the desired anonymity of the studies. However, some insights are possible based upon students' individual written responses. Wherever applicable, these are quoted directly as a reflection of a particular

student's world view and also to illustrate general trends.

Various viewpoints and arguments can be articulated in defense of the underlying premise of the desirability and value of the study of the humanities in general and history in particular. According to Cheney, one of the basic purposes is substance.

> Formal education should follow a plan of study aimed at comprehensive vision, not just of the present, but of the past. It should convey how the ideas and ideals of our civilization have evolved, thus providing a basis for understanding other cultures. It should provide a framework for lifelong learning about ourselves and the world in which we live.[3]

The less tangible aspects of historical study are also critical. Cheney further adds, "What gives the humanities their abiding worth are truths that pass beyond time and circumstance; truths that, transcending accidents of class, race, and gender, speak to us all."[4]

Table 3: Class and Major Representation in Survey Study 1

	Fresh.	Soph.	Jrs.	Srs.
Math/ Business	21	13	7	4
Humanities/ Liberal Studies	20	14	9	2
Science/ Technology	12	8	6	3
History	1	0	0	1
Undeclared	13	11	0	0

Crabtree and Nash, project directors of the National Center for History in the Schools which developed the World History Standards for grades K through twelve, view the value of historical study from a somewhat different perspective. Nash and Crabtree certainly agree with the necessity of the humanities, particularly history, in core course study, although their rationale differs from Cheney's.

They stress the relationship of history to a democratic society, with knowledge of history as "the precondition of political intelligence." History is essential to a common societal memory of "where it has been, what its core values are, or what decisions of the past account for present circumstances." Without history, there can be no sensible inquiry into the political issues in society. "And without historical knowledge and inquiry, we cannot achieve the informed, discriminating citizenship essential to effective participation in the democratic processes of governance and the fulfillment for all our citizens of the nation's democratic ideals."[5]

Table 4: Class and Major Representation in Survey Study 2

	Fresh.	Soph.	Jrs.	Srs.
Math/ Business	8	10	7	4
Humanities/ Liberal Studies	18	18	6	2
Science/ Technology	9	8	5	4
History	0	0	1	1
Undeclared	12	5	0	0

Crabtree and Nash advocate historical study so that students may comprehend the problems, choices, and consequences that societies have faced in the past in order to have a "deeper awareness" for the future. Such a perspective fosters "the kind of mutual patience, respect, and civic courage required in our increasingly pluralistic society and interdependent world."[6] Thus, they find the primary value of such endeavor to be the elevation of the society as a

[3]Ibid., 5.
[4]Ibid., 14.

[5]*National Standards for World History, Exploring Paths to the Present,* Charlotte Crabtree and Gary B. Nash, Codirectors (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, University of California), 14.
[6]Ibid., p.1–2.

whole as well as each culture's overall relationship to other societies.

In contrast to this broader view by Crabtree and Nash, Cheney advocates the discipline of historical study for the purpose of elevating the individual on a personal level and primarily for personal enrichment. "The humanities are about more than politics, about more than social power."[7] Therefore, although these are somewhat differing professional views concerning the basic purpose of the discipline of the humanities including history, in reality, they borrow from and transcend one another in many respects. Cheney, Crabtree, and Nash would all agree on the imperative of a society educated in historical thought: as the individual benefits the culture does as well.

Within the classroom setting itself, however, there are those who find the students of this X generation to be generally uninterested in historical study. Assuming that the experts are correct in their assessments of the value of historical study, what is the reality within the classroom for this generation of students prior to entering college? Bradley Peters has taught senior level history for five years at Ayala High School in Chino Hills, California. Keeping his seventeen year-old students' attention on the subject matter is often challenging. "Just standing and talking about history doesn't go anywhere with Generation X. I believe it's due to television—just the constantly changing images, sounds and sights. They're programmed to expect the same thing in the classroom." Many of these students will be entering universities in the near future—universities which will require general education course work in history to obtain a bachelor's degree. According to Peters, this particular generation has difficulty assessing any personal value in such study. "Most high school juniors do not see history's relevance to real life. They commonly question why they need to know this. And unless it can be drawn directly into their day-to-day life, I think they're too young to see how the present day is connected to the past."

[7]*National Endowment for the Humanities*, 14.

What are the perspectives of the X factor students themselves, concerning the purported value of historical study? In response to the question on the first survey study, "Do you believe the study of history is valuable or not? Briefly state your reasons pro and con," the base study group overwhelmingly answered affirmatively. Of the 145 participants, including all five major categories and class levels, 132 responded that they believed the study of history to be valuable. In a related survey question, "Do you consider yourself and your life to be a part of 'ongoing' history? Why or why not?" 123 responded positively, 14 negatively, and 8 were unsure. Thus, the underlying premise that there is a value to the study of history at the university level as a requirement for all majors was statistically well validated by a sample of Generation X.[8]

The most illuminating aspect of the X factor responses was in the individual written comments which some students chose to offer expanding on their choices. "It is important to learn about the past and use that knowledge for the future...decisions and actions of today influence the future, making us a part of history," wrote a twenty year-old Communications major. A Political Science sophomore stated, "It enhances and adds to any line of education or major." A Business/Computer Science major wrote "It allows you to see how our society developed and know the strengths and weaknesses of human nature...We all witness and create tomorrow's history." A student majoring in psychology perceptively noted, "It gives perspective to one's life... We are already known as Generation X."

In addition, most of the students felt themselves to be important participants in

[8]All student quotes in this article are taken from: "Student Survey—History 596, Graduate Internship in Post Secondary Teaching Group Study," History 110A, General Education *World Civilizations to the 16th Century*, (California State University, Fullerton, 1995) or "Follow-up to Student Survey—History 596, Graduate Internship in Post Secondary Teaching Group Study," History 110A, General Education *World Civilizations to the 16th Century*, (California State University, Fullerton, 1995).

history and as such had a deep sense of responsibility. One student stated, "I believe the study of history is valuable because we can learn from the mistakes in history and prevent it from happening again...My actions and attitude can help shape and make history." In the thoughts of another, "What we do now will have a consequence on society. Therefore, it will change society making it historic." Simply phrased, "What we do in our lifetime will affect the generations that come after us." The consensus from this particular Generation X study base group agrees overwhelmingly with the professional views of Cheney and Nash that history is of value as a discipline, regardless of the student's class level or major. The less tangible area of the basic purpose is less easily defined. While some mentioned personal values such as "It broadens your horizons," the most notable trend was the sense of being a member of a culture, learning from the past to be responsible in the present, and being accountable for the future. It is admittedly a fine differential between the informed and enlightened individual and the responsible citizen. This feeling of societal responsibility may be attributable to the psychological idealism of youth as well as the practicality of a generation reared on technology which stresses accomplishments that are concrete and purposeful. In the fast-paced culture in which Generation X has been reared, there is little time for contemplation of purpose for its own sake.

Does the Generation X pragmatic perspective transcend to the historical curriculum itself? Once again, Cheney, Nash, and Crabtree present varying views on precisely what should constitute the historical curriculum criteria. In what areas does the X factor correlate with their expert opinions? Cheney argues in favor of the fundamental, traditional approach which stresses the necessity of facts, dates, major events, and historical context with a continued emphasis on the Western tradition yet incorporating the important study of other cultures' contributions.

> Formal education," she writes, "should follow a plan of study aimed at comprehensive vision, not just of the present, but of the past. It should convey how the ideas and ideals of our civilization have evolved, thus providing a basis for understanding other cultures. It should provide a framework for lifelong learning about ourselves and the world in which we live.[9]

Others in the humanities echo such encouragement of a basic framework of knowledge beginning in primary and secondary education as well. William J. Bennett, former United States Secretary of Education, wrote

> California's new kindergarten through twelfth-grade plan for history and social science is rooted firmly in the American tradition, using it both as a source of lessons applicable to today's problems and as a lens through which to focus students' understanding of people and events in the rest of the world...But the central tenets of the Western political tradition remain the curriculum's heart, preparing students for life in a diverse but well-functioning democracy.[10]

Thus, the curriculum at all levels of education, according to those professionals of the Cheney and Bennett philosophy, should stress the Western, chronological, empirically-based content.

In contrast, Nash and his colleagues offer an approach to the context of historical curriculum which emphasizes "active questioning and learning" on the part of students, as opposed to "passive absorption of facts, dates, and names." Nash continues

> Standards should strike a balance between emphasizing broad themes in United States and world history and probing specific historical events, ideas, movements, persons, and documents...Standards in world history should include different patterns of political institutions, ranging from varieties of democracy to varieties of authoritarianism, and ideas and

[9]National Endowment for the Humanities, 5.

[10]Department of Education, *American Education: Making it Work* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 1988), 27.

aspirations developed by civilizations in all parts of the world.[11]

Consequently, a broader, less structured, and less Eurocentric approach is taken by those of Nash's genre. Although debating the criteria for historical study at all levels, the two differing professional viewpoints have some commonalities. Ultimately, precisely what basic information will comprise the course curriculum, and how that information will be selected, is dependent upon the professional's individual underlying perceptions of the primary purpose of historical study.

In comparing the views of Generation X students participating in the survey study with the comments of Cheney, Nash, and Crabtree, several questions used in the first and second survey studies remain pertinent. These relate to assessing the selection of the course curriculum, and the students' perceptions of the value of specific factual information. How this history course was structured required the students to master core information which included specific dates, places, events, peoples, and ideas. The students in the survey study base group were required to use the same departmental text as all other students in the *World Civilizations to the Sixteenth Century*[12] courses at California State University, Fullerton. In addition, their professor required a text with various selections of interrelated primary materials.[13] The course of study was constructed chronologically and a skeletal lecture outline was included for the students.

Three comprehensive, multiple-choice examinations were administered, with a brief essay included on the final examination. The essay examination questions were designed to have students extrapolate from the course of study and interpret the factual information for its overall historical impact. Thus, the traditional aspects concerning the cause and effect of events, geographic locations, dates, and the importance of major historical figures were emphasized. The field of study incorporated a broader range than Western civilizations alone would have, with treatment of other cultures including Asian, Indian, and African societies. Therefore, while the broader topic of world civilizations comprised the general core curriculum, the standards, requirements, and material were basic and traditional.

The curriculum-related survey questions had two aspects: the first dealt with the specific amount of importance of factual data to the historical discipline, and the second concerned students' individual areas of interest in particular areas of historical study. In response to the question, "Do you believe that knowing dates of major individuals and events is important to an understanding of history? Why or why not?" of the 145 students, 85 responded affirmatively, 51 negatively, and 9 were unsure. This represents slightly more than 58 percent of the students responding positively, and about 35 percent responding negatively. What was the rationale for the negative responses and were they as absolute as the statistical data would imply?

The written comments of the students illuminate the underlying reasons for this discrepancy. Many students responded that specific dates and names were not important, although maintaining that general time frames were essential. A typical example was, "No, however, I think knowing the approximate time is necessary," or "No. It's more important to know the event and generally what period of time it occurred." Consequently, those responding negatively tended to qualify their answers, affirming that the overall context of events was of value even if specific dates were not. As one Communications major noted, "I believe history should be learned as an overall concept, not to be downplayed by statistics." A junior majoring in Psychology added, "I think the technicalities of dates are irrelevant, but the reasons for the events are what need to be taught." A Psychology major stated, "I believe

[11] *National Standards*, 3.

[12] The text used for History 110A is *World Civilizations to the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Harper Collins Custom Books, 1995), by Mark Kishlansky and others.

[13] The supplemental text is *A History of World Societies: Lecture Outlines, Textbook Assignments, and Additional Readings*, 2d ed. (New York: American Heritage Custom Publishing Group, 1995), B. Carmon Hardy, ed.

causes and consequences are more important. Although some dates do help with regard to commemoration of those events."

In addition, some students displayed a self-imposed selectivity. A Business major responded candidly, "If it's something major like JFK's assassination, yes, because he was important. I don't care about King Tut." And in the same area of thought, a junior in Pre-Business noted, "I don't think a date such as 835 B.C. is relevant. It is beyond what we know and grasp, but something like 1929, in the 1900s in general, [is]." This implies that the closer the events are to the students, the more importance they place upon the knowledge of specific information. This correlates with the tendency in the earlier responses concerning the value of historical study itself. Practicality makes it relevant and therefore important. How subject matter relates directly to them and their own place in time is of consequence and therefore lends value.

In contrast, the students who responded affirmatively tended to believe a necessary context was given to the concepts being studied by factual information such as specific dates and names. As one Biology major wrote, "Yes, since it helps us understand the time period that the individual was from or when the event occurred." Another response stated, "Yes, because it provides you with information so that you can relate the specific events with that time period which probably contributed to that event." Or, as a junior stated, "It is relatively important to give a person a sense of how one event took place in relation to another." A Communications freshman well noted, "Yes, so you can reflect on the repercussions of those events and people." Thus, the majority of the students found the traditional format of dates and names to have validity in order to understand cause and effect, and therefore the consequences of events. The major divergence between the two groups was a trend by many with negative responses to view a general time frame as being more valuable than specific information. The former would agree with Cheney and Bennett; the latter would agree with Crabtree and Nash.

Concerning the area of historical course content, students in the first survey study at the beginning of the semester, were asked to respond to the following question, "Are there any specific time periods, people, events, etc. in which you are particularly interested? If so, who or what are they?" Of the 145 students in the survey study group, 99 responded affirmatively, 33 negatively and 13 did not respond to this question. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this question concerned the students' choices of favored areas of study. Although the responses ranged from the Neolithic era to the Vietnam War, several interesting patterns emerged. First, the largest single interest group for students was the twentieth century, with 28 students (or more than 25 percent of affirmative responses) choosing this time period as their favorite. More specifically, several students mentioned the civil rights movement, the Holocaust, and JFK. The second area of interest was ancient civilizations, particularly ancient Greece and Rome, followed by ancient Egypt.

In the second student survey at the close of the semester, two related questions were asked: first, "What area of the required course did you find most interesting? Why?" and second, "What area of the course did you find least interesting? Why?" Responding to the first question, 56, or more than 50 percent of the students chose ancient Greece, Rome, and Egypt in descending order. In comparison with the survey study question at the beginning of the semester which simply inquired generally what the student's most favored area of history was, this illustrates that when twentieth century and American history were not considered, the overwhelming single choice remained ancient civilizations, Greece in particular.

The next most favored topic of study was world religions, by 10 students, followed by Asian history, by 4 students, and the prehistoric era by 4 students. The remainder of the study group base had varying responses to the question. Thus, it appears that for a strong majority of the X generation students, the most interesting topic remains ancient Greece, the seed of Western tradition. This is further

validated by the choice of essay questions on the final examination. Four selections were offered, ancient Greece and Sparta, the Renaissance and neoclassicism, a comparison between polytheism and monotheism, and the cultural contributions of ancient China and Islam. The largest percentage of students in both course sections chose to write on ancient Greece.

When students were asked to respond to the study of history in general, the more current periods of historical study pertaining to American culture in the past hundred years held the most interest. There appears to be an added dimension consisting of an overall fascination of the X factor with the twentieth century.

There were, however, notable and important exceptions, such as the student who understandably stated he enjoyed the "early Asian civilizations because it's part of my cultural background." Or the student who wrote, "Being a Mexican-American, I would like to know more about the Mexican history." In addition an English major responded that she is most interested in, "the Seneca Falls Convention, women's rights, Abigail Adams, Lucretia Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton," which was a clear reflection of her desire to know more about women's issues from a historical perspective. A response by a Political Science major that he most enjoyed the study of Egypt, "because that's where my parents are from" was perhaps most illustrative of the value of personal identification for all students.

The least interesting areas of the course work also included all aspects of the course material at the conclusion of the semester. Seventeen students found ancient civilizations, particularly Greece and Rome to be the least interesting. Fourteen students responded that prehistoric study was their least favorite. Eight students were less interested in ancient China and India than other fields. Four students found the religious areas to be their least enjoyable. The rest of the students who responded either had varying answers or did not answer the question.

Corresponding with this less tangible area of the survey studies were questions on the use of required primary readings during the course. Reading itself has been an area of much concern on the part of education professionals during the last decade. William Bennett bemoaned that among young people during the 1980s "84 percent are reading at an 'intermediate' level, meaning they can answer questions based on longer written passages and can recognize paraphrases of that information." He was especially concerned that "fewer than 5 percent possess 'advanced' reading skills, those which NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress) deems necessary to 'comprehend material such as primary-source historical documents, scientific reports, or financial and technical documents'—in other words, reading skills 'often needed to achieve excellence in academic, business, or government environments."[14]

Cheney documents the lack of interest in reading that exists among young people raised in the sound bite era.

> By the time a young person graduates from high school, he or she will have spent almost 20,000 hours watching television—as compared to 12,500 hours in the classroom. As a result, our common culture seems increasingly a product of what we watch rather than what we read. A professor at Wright State University reported not long ago that after the students in his class had read about Adam Smith, only 29 percent could identify the eighteenth-century philosopher. Ninety-five percent, on the other hand, could identify Spuds MacKenzie, the dog used in television advertising for light beer.[15]

Cheney submits that the television is not conducive to the type of contemplative reasoning that great writing has always encouraged. However, on a more positive note, she also illustrates that this medium can offer expanded possibilities in the future through advanced technology and its accessibility to millions. "Time and again, television has led to dramatic increases in sales of good books: Before PBS aired *Brideshead Revisited*, Little, Brown & Company was selling fewer than 10,000 copies a

[14]Department of Education, 10.
[15]National Endowment for the Humanities, 17–18.

year of Evelyn Waugh's book. When the series aired in 1982, sales shot up to nearly 200,000."[16]

Where do the responses of the X factor in the survey study base group correlate with such assessments? Do these students fully comprehend primary documents required in university level historical courses? Do such primary selections retain their interest? Or have they, as a generation, been immunized by the persuasiveness of the visual medium?

In an effort to analyze and interpret these more subtle aspects of historical study at the university level, students were asked to respond to the questions, "Did you enjoy the selected additional readings? Which ones did you prefer and why? Which ones were your least favorite and why?" and lastly, "Did these selections contribute to your understanding of the course work or not? If yes, how?" Fifty of the 118 students in the first study group responded affirmatively to the first question, 22 students responded negatively, 32 responded that they enjoyed some of the readings, 11 stated that they did not read the selections, and 3 did not answer either of the questions. For those students who stated that they generally enjoyed the readings, various reasons were given. One English major wrote, "They were fun to read. Caught my attention. The poems and stories were wonderful." A Liberal Studies sophomore stated, "I liked the readings. They helped me understand what really went on in ancient times and it was much more interesting than textbooks." A freshman wrote, "Yes! The readings were helpful primary sources. I liked poems and descriptions of life and nature." She went on to note, however, that some of the selections were "extremely long." Still, another freshman added, "Yes. The most interesting selections were the ones which spoke of the religions because it is important to me to know a little about how others think and believe. There really weren't any which I disliked."

Of the 50 positive responses to the reading selections, all but 6 affirmed that these primary sources actually contributed an added depth to, and therefore assisted in, their study of the course. A senior majoring in Accounting wrote, "Absolutely. They [the selections] gave me an idea that I would compare to the lecture." A freshman History major responded, "It was more clear and as if I were in that time period." And, "I could better understand the people from their [own] writing," stated another freshman. A senior Psychology major responded succinctly, "Provides insight." A junior wrote enthusiastically, "Yes!! It makes all the information more personal, easier to relate to, easier for me to grasp." Thus, slightly more than 42 percent of the overall study group believed they had benefited from the primary source readings.

A discussion of those who either did not read the materials or determined that they did not enjoy them is also crucial to an understanding of the X factor's perceptions of historical study. Is their visual orientation a consideration? Are their reading abilities of university caliber? If there appeared to be a single commonality among many of these students, it was simply not understanding the material. A Political Science major explained, "I didn't care much for the readings. Some were too complex." A freshman expressed her frustration by saying, "I didn't really enjoy them because I didn't understand them. I didn't know how to study them. If I understood, they would probably have been interesting."

Whether such comments have to do with reading, processing, or comprehension levels among Generation X is difficult to assess. However, the reality remains that those who did not enjoy or understand the materials were therefore unable to benefit from them. One student stated there were "too many readings to read." Another student noted that she simply, "did not have the time." In addition, a sophomore admitted that he had not even purchased the text.

Despite these exceptions, the vast majority of the students (including those who stated that they enjoyed at least some of the materials) did admit that the selections assisted in their overall comprehension of the course. Perhaps each

[16]Ibid., 20.

particular reading selection had a definite effect on the student's interest just as the various areas of history itself did. The primary materials compiled by the professor for this student survey group included poetry, classics, religious writings, and first person accounts from differing periods, classes, and cultures. Thus, curriculum decisions that incorporate primary readings to correlate with the text and lecture materials require a wide and diverse range of views and perspectives to appeal to the majority of Generation X students. They have choices in obtaining information of which reading assigned textbooks remains only one of many.

There is competition from outside of the academic setting that influences the Generation X historical world view. Some of this competition, such as films, appeals to their highly visual orientation. Two of the survey study questions addressed areas of outside information students have access to in the current culture. Students were asked, "Have you read any books (fiction or nonfiction) which deal with historical events, people, themes, etc. (for example, *The Scarlet Letter, All the President's Men*)? If so, name one, and state briefly what your opinion of it was and why." And, "How accurate do you believe movies describing historical events and people are? Please respond only if you have seen one or more of the following, and state which of these films you watched. *JFK, Jefferson In Paris, The Last of the Mohicans, The Three Musketeers*." (It should be noted that the initial student survey was completed prior to the release of the film *Nixon*.) Of the 145 students, 106 responded to one or both of the of the questions. The remaining 39 either only listed a book or movie with no assessment, or did not answer the question.

The students' responses concerning films are best assessed in general trends and patterns. However, selected comments can give additional insights. A freshman discussing *All the President's Men* stated, "It told me the dark side of the political environment." Another freshman wrote, "*All Quiet on the Western Front*—very descriptive novel on the emotions of the people during war." Concerning *The Scarlet Letter* and *Huckleberry Finn*, a Psychology student stated, "They both described their time period with realistic facts that were interesting—things came up that were never mentioned in history books." Thus the X factor seemed to feel that historical books and films did add a depth and color to the study of a particular period, indicating they believed them to be accurate.

Their perceptions of the films listed on the survey study was far more varied. While those who had seen them believed that *The Last of the Mohicans* was fairly accurate (although one student did comment that it was not as accurate as the book was), the comedy adaptation of *The Three Musketeers* was viewed as simply that, with little historical value or merit. Perhaps the most salient aspect of this current discussion of films is the atmosphere of "Hollywood history" and its creative license. Cheney offers a crucial caveat:

> Historical documentaries and docudrama present the past differently from the way books do. When these documentaries and dramas are well done, they aim, nonetheless, not only at the spirit of the times, but at truth. It sometimes happens, however, that the facts of the past are sacrificed in the name of dramatic interest...scholars and filmmakers working together can produce work that is both enlightening and engaging...[17]

Of the 41 survey students who had seen the Oliver Stone film concerning the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, 24 asserted that they believed the film to be basically historically factual, 7 were unsure, and 10 disagreed (including one student who wrote, "JFK: ??? fiction"). However, a sophomore responded, "Yes, I believe it because they used the facts to make the movie." A Psychology major stated, "I thought it was quite accurate in portraying the events and highlighting the controversy." A freshman noted, "It was interesting and 'real.'"

The X factor is admittedly a group that has been immersed in television and films. In addition, recent history appears to be an area in

[17]Ibid., 21.

which many of them are greatly interested from a historical perspective. However, the treatment of history in films dealing with these events and persons does not always delineate a clear line of demarcation between truth and opinion. The X factor students may have more of a tendency than previous generations to accept the veracity of such films by virtue of their visual orientation combined with youthful naivete. However, it should be noted that this is the same generation that receives most of its knowledge of current events from sound bite journalism, as opposed to previous generations who read newspapers more frequently. If film is presented as "news" and realistically portrayed, it can be difficult for them to distinguish fiction from historical reality.

Another area that is significant in assessing the X factor and its view of history is whether students would elect to enroll in another nonrequired history course. Students were asked to respond to two questions in this regard. First, "Would you choose to take another course in History (if it was not required)? Why or why not?" Second, "If you would choose to take another course in History, what area would you choose and why?" Sixty-one, or more than 50 percent, of the students responded affirmatively, 48 responded negatively, and 9 were unsure. Some of the areas that students would choose to study in additional courses included American, current, religious, ancient, and art history. In an additional note, 11 students stated that they would take another nonrequired course in history if it were taught by the same professor who taught these courses, citing that he made it "interesting" to them.

Corresponding to this aspect of the survey studies, two final interrelated questions were used, one in the first survey study and one in the follow-up survey study. At the beginning of the semester, students responded to, "What do you expect or desire to learn from this course or take with you from it (besides your grade), if anything?" At the close of the semester they were asked, "Have you in any way changed your perceptions about the study of history and its importance or lack of importance after completing this course? If yes, in what way?"

The vast majority of the survey study base group, 125 out of 145 students in the first study group, responded positively to the first question concerning what they hoped to learn from the required history course at the beginning of the semester. Twenty of the students did not respond to this question or were unsure.

One term appeared consistently in the students' written responses to the first survey—"understanding"—an understanding of others in an attempt to better understand themselves and their personal world and time. This is what they hoped to obtain from the course. There was an overall innate desire to comprehend through other cultures, persons, and events and thus, through the study of history, find their own unique place. A senior stated that she wanted "a better understanding of how life progresses. A good basic understanding of the beginning of our world." An Accounting major wrote, "I feel I can get a better grasp on the things and events that shaped my environment and culture." A freshman desired a "knowledge and understanding of past events that paved the way for the present as well as the future." A Psychology major wanted to learn "everything and anything I could possibly absorb that will help me to better understand today." Similarly, a sophomore noted that she expected to gain "an understanding of how we (society) came about and learn the struggles and interesting events that play an important part of our lives today!" Consequently, the X factor expressed a strong tendency to view themselves as important and responsible citizens. They view historical study as the means to an end—to fulfill the role of educated members of a culture that is the product of its past in order to help mold that culture's future in a positive direction.

As with several other areas of the survey studies, these responses were of a less tangible nature, requiring the exploration of patterns, trends, commonalties, or variances, and interpretations based upon written responses. The most salient issue for those students who had a change in their historical perceptions is what precisely caused such a refocus? Is it possible to note a trend or a common aspect that

had a positive influence? Also, if it is possible to determine one or several factors, are they variables, implying that they can be manipulated and improved upon, or constants that are beyond the control of the academic setting?

The final survey study question given at the close of the semester dealt with the changes in each student's personal perceptions concerning historical study. Of the 118 students in the study group, 59 students responded affirmatively, 37 negatively, 13 had no change in their perceptions (it should be noted that all 13 of those with no change in their perceptions responded that they had always found historical study to be of value), and 9 did not respond to this question.

Did the students who responded positively, however, gain the understanding many had desired (based upon the previous survey study question) by the close of the semester? The students did gain an increased knowledge of the past which they hoped would benefit their future. A senior stated, "Studying the rise and fall of great empires and states causes me to reflect on my conceptions of our own country and its future." Another senior added, "Yes, history can definitely shed light on what is happening currently." A Psychology major wrote, "Yes, I can see that it (history) contributes alot [*sic*] to how things are today." Or as one freshman stated, "I see history as more of a way of learning about ourselves now." In an evolutionary sense a sophomore wrote, "Because everything builds and improves on the past."

However, one other important aspect was evident in analyzing the affirmative responses. Approximately 30 percent (or 18 out of 59) of those students who responded that their view of historical study had changed positively after completing the required course, attributed their attitude primarily to the professor, most notably citing the impact of the lectures.

A Child Development major stated, "I found how interesting history can be from taking this course. I look forward to taking other courses as well." This particular student had noted earlier on her survey study that she would take another course in history if it were taught by the same professor. One freshman responded, "This course was very organized and presented in an interesting way which was very beneficial." A sophomore in Communications added, "I really enjoyed the instructor. He made the class interesting to come to every week." As a result some were extremely enthusiastic about the discipline itself. "I never thought I'd enjoy a history class. The professor is *great!* It was a total pleasure." Or as one freshman noted, "This course has only strengthened my interest in history and is inspiring me to learn more about it!" A Journalism major wrote that she "actually learned alot [*sic*] and in the past I had no interest at all; so he changed my perception of it." Another freshman simply described her changed attitude toward the subject matter "because the teacher was very involved and excited about teaching it and that made me somewhat more excited about learning." It would appear that despite the impersonal aspects of the computer age of which they are a part, the personal enthusiasm and direct student-professor relationship is more important than ever to developing positive perceptions toward historical study.

In conclusion, various all-encompassing trends and interpretations can be drawn regarding the discipline of university-required historical study, and incorporating the added dimension of the X factor's unique environment and world view. The first concerns the essence or intrinsic value and purpose of historical study; the second concerns the substance or effective techniques used within the discipline.

In the area of essence, the X factor views historical study from a pragmatic perspective. As a discipline, its purpose for the students is history's relevance to the world in which they live as citizens. A deep sense of responsibility for the future is an underlying theme with this generation of students. Their world in many respects is smaller due to instantaneous communications. Therefore, it is critical for them to understand this narrower world in ways unlike others before them. Most of the X factor generation, whether consciously or not, seems to innately understand this necessity. This also

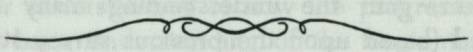
correlates with the philosophy of Crabtree and Nash: "We are part of an ancient chain, and the long hand of the past is upon us—for good and for ill...just as our hands will rest on our descendants for years to come."[18]

This sense of responsibility and practicality may explain the fascination of the X factor with twentieth century historical study. As evidence of this, when asked to respond to the study of history, the more current periods of historical study, particularly pertaining to American culture in the past hundred years, held the most interest for many of the students.

In the area of technique, the breadth and depth of the responses by the students in the survey studies reinforce the traditional view of the critical impact of effective academic lecturing. Of all of the data compiled in these survey studies, this remains perhaps the most crucial to professionals. The X factor, just as the generations before them, responds to the style and expertise of the instructor and this can, and often does, affect their entire experience in the course. Regardless of being a visually oriented subculture used to brief sound bites, the X factor survey students clearly demonstrated the positive results of an interesting, well-structured, pertinent, and stimulating academic environment through their survey study responses. The interaction between a professor who is willing and has the ability to demonstrate such skills is an invaluable component from the students' perspective. In the view of Cheney, "The kind of teaching that will bring students to a love for the humanities is difficult to evaluate...Good teaching is the surest method for bringing students to understand the worth of the humanities, the surest method for encouraging lifelong exploration of what Alexis de Tocqueville called 'the empire of the mind'."[19]

Thus, although the X factor does possess unique qualities of its own, they appear to desire from academia several fundamental concepts concerning historical study. They require a deeper knowledge of others to better comprehend the world in which they live. This is perhaps of more importance in the impersonal technological age in which they have been born than in any previous period.

In addition, from their perspective, this is still most effectively accomplished through interaction with a knowledgeable and committed professor. Despite descriptions of brief attention spans, instant gratification, and a predominantly visual orientation, the X factor students are both motivated and capable of having their world views expanded. A university education should offer them no less. In the words used throughout many of the survey student responses, they desire "knowledge," "understanding," and "perspective." Whether individual or societal, these aims remain of value in every generation.



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[18] *National Standards*, 2.
[19] National Endowment for the Humanities, 11.

THE WEBER THESIS:

An Historiographical Essay

Dale Larsen

In 1904 German sociologist Max Weber attempted to explain the economic success of western Europe and North America since the late 18th century, as compared to other countries which had remained at subsistence levels during the same period of time. The "Weber Thesis" suggested that the most economically powerful countries were those most affected by the Protestant Reformation. This correlation between the rise of capitalism and the Reformation, specifically the work ethic, hinged on changing attitudes toward making money. This essay traces pro and con arguments for his thesis from its inception to the present. Among opposing views is the argument that Weber's sprit of capitalism existed long before the Protestant Reformation and that acceptance of capital accumulation was evident among medieval Roman Catholics as well as later Protestants. Rebuttals to the Weber Thesis also argued that the growth of moneymaking among Puritans was a reflection of capitalism's momentum subverting its followers, not the faith creating capitalism.

In the late eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution burst upon England and Western Europe, bringing a wealth and increased prosperity which, for the first time, included the common man. Throughout history, rich and poor had always been equally dispersed among all nations. Now, that homogeneity was disrupted. By the mid–nineteenth century, it was impossible to escape the realization that some countries had acquired a significant level of wealth and technological development while others had barely progressed at all and remained backward and poor. It was further obvious that most of these developed countries were in western Europe and North America. This blatant disparity and the desire of the nondeveloped countries to get a piece of the economic pie has driven the quest for an understanding of the factors that stimulate economic prosperity. How was it that these wealthy nations had managed to far outstrip the rest of the world in their ability to produce and amass material goods? What was the reason for their ambitious production and incessant activity? Why did certain nations invest in and develop their economies while others continued at a subsistence level?

In 1904, Max Weber, a German sociology professor at the University of Heidelberg published a series of articles suggesting a solution to these questions. Though several others had already alluded to this idea in the late nineteenth century, Weber was the first to clearly articulate and defend it convincingly; thus, it became known as the Weber thesis. In short Weber suggested that one could notice that the countries which were the most economically powerful were those most affected by the

Protestant Reformation; thus, it stood to reason that there must be some correlation between the rise of capitalism and the Protestant Reformation. Weber proposed that the rise of the Protestant work ethic, specifically as represented by the Puritans, was the cause for the development of capitalism in the Western world.

Weber's argument set off a literary controversy that has lasted to the current day and involved nearly every discipline. Historians, sociologists, theologians, and both capitalist and Marxist economists all joined the fray, each one adding his voice to the mounting cacophony. Why this subject generated such passionate interest is a compelling question in itself but certainly so much has been written in response to this question as to make it impossible to cover it all in a paper of this size. Thus, this paper will first attempt to discuss the most significant early works in a loosely chronological order, paying attention to how each author altered the flow of the discussion. Then, it will cover some of the more recent publications showing how various themes have continued to reappear in the progression of the argument. In order to set the stage for this discussion, it is necessary to begin with a brief explanation of the Weber thesis and its major propositions.

Weber's thesis hinged on the realization that Western society had experienced a change in attitude toward the idea of making money. During the Middle Ages, both church and secular societies had accepted the necessity of making money to survive. However, it was at best a necessary evil, not a worthy aspiration. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, making money simply for the purpose of acquiring wealth had become a normal and accepted motivation in the Western world. Weber saw this as more than simple avarice and greed which he agreed had existed from time immemorial. What had developed then was a 'spirit of capitalism'. This spirit was an attitude that not merely admitted the necessity of making money but came to laud it as a worthy activity and occupation. In searching for the source of this developing spirit of capitalism, Weber found that it was most evident among the Protestants of the reformation. Among these, it was more readily evident among the more ascetic groups, especially the Puritans.

The origins of the change in attitude toward work and capital accumulation, could be traced to a key passage in Luther's German translation of the Bible. Instead of using the word 'work' as the original language seemed to call for, Luther chose to employ the word 'calling'. With this simple change, Luther implied that one's everyday work in the secular world was what God had called us to do during our sojourn on this earth. This was a novel idea, yet even Luther himself, too steeped in the Roman Catholic tradition of separation between secular and sacred, could not apply this teaching to his life. It took the systematic and hardheaded John Calvin to create a theology that fully developed Luther's teaching. If man's purpose is to glorify God and God has called us to work, then we must do so diligently and seriously to please God.

According to Calvin, since God independently chooses those who will be saved and those who will be lost, one could never be sure if he were damned or saved. However, success and diligence in one's calling was an important indication that you belonged to the elect of God. Yet it was essential to always maintain the right motivation. Work was ultimately for the purpose of glorifying God, not for one's own gain. This meant that a good Puritan must work long hard hours, which in turn would bring in much money, but he should continue living a simple, ascetic, disciplined lifestyle, not given to satisfying his desires for material gain or comfort. The inevitable result of hard work with little expenditure could only be, as Weber pointed out, capital accumulation.

German compatriot Felix Rachfalls almost immediately published a response to Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. In his "Calvinismus und Kapitalismus" from the *Internationale*

Wochenschrift fur Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, III of 1909, Rachfalls insisted that Weber had given too much credit to religious motivations for the development of capitalism. Other motives, such as the desire for power or the need for security, were stronger forces in the development of modern economic attitudes. He then went on to dispute Weber's emphasis on the new definition of work as a calling of God. The Roman Catholics had long held the belief that the believer was to be God's representative in the secular world. Furthermore, said Rachfalls, there were many other and much better reasons for the development of Western capitalism, which had already shown itself to be quite alive well before the reformation. Principal among these was the appearance of the great capitalists, such as papal financier Jacob Fugger, who had displayed all the symptoms of a true capitalist long before the arrival of the Puritans and their spirit of capitalism.

This argument has appeared again and again, submitted by different authors with various subtle differences. Rachfalls' publication was apparently not as coherent as others who followed him and thus his works have not been translated into English. Werner Sombart was later to articulate this argument in a much clearer fashion, but before he did so, Weber received a strong vote of confidence from his coworker at the University of Heidelberg.

Ernst Troeltsch in his two volume work entitled *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, published in 1912, agreed with Weber on all his major points. He agreed that Luther's understanding of the 'calling' of a Christian, which was later taken up by Calvin, produced the Puritan ethic of hard work and discipline and contributed to the rise of capitalism. Troeltsch expanded the thesis still further by examining in more detail the social and economic regulations in Calvin's Geneva and how this affected the rise of modern capitalism. Though John Calvin was certainly not a friend of mammon, Troeltsch argued that Calvin recognized the necessity of making money to earn a living and was not opposed to charging a reasonable interest for the use of capital. But he was unswayed in his determination to insure that business would always be conducted in a Godly fashion. So influential was Troeltsch's book that the Weber thesis has become known also as the Weber–Troeltsch thesis.

In 1913, Werner Sombart published *The Quintessence of Capitalism*. It was translated by M. Epstein and published in English in 1915. Sombart did a better job of articulating the criticisms of Weber's thesis that had been initially proposed by Rachfalls. He did extensive research of the scholastics as represented by Thomas Aquinas and showed that their teachings and writings were actually more practical and amenable to the concept of making money and the collecting of interest than were those of the Puritan preachers. The Roman Catholic Church, therefore, had much more to do with the rise of capitalism than did the Calvinist reformation. In fact, he said, Protestantism could be seen everywhere to have a retarding effect upon economic development and the rise of capitalism. He supported this view with examples of the Puritans in Scotland and England, where the movement was particularly strong, yet boasted very few of the great capitalists of that time. Sombart did disagree with Rachfalls on one critical point. Unlike Rachfalls who had taken the Marxist view of economic determinism, Sombart agreed with Weber that religious motivation was in fact a very significant factor in explaining the causes of economic modernization.

Italian Lujo Brentano, in *Die Anfange des Modernen Kapitalismus*, published in 1916, joined forces with Sombart and Rachfalls. Essentially making the same arguments as the previously mentioned, Brentano also noted that in reference to the 'calling' passage, the Latin vulgate had used the same concept as Luther. Thus, there was really no unique idea of 'calling' in the Protestant churches that had not already been present in the Roman Catholic Church. He also added a reference to

his own relatives who had been Italian bankers. By every possible criterion, they had certainly been capitalists, and this long before the Reformation.

Nothing new entered the discussion until 1926 when a well known British historian, R. H. Tawney, published *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. Once again, Tawney's book began by showing that capitalism had been around for a very long time. Even the spirit of capitalism which Weber insisted was distinct from the practice of capitalism, was as old as history itself. The Reformation really added nothing of significance to the Western economic tradition. While it was true that Calvin did have somewhat of a more liberal approach to money making than other Protestant reformers, his regulations on the charging of interest and profit taking were still so restrictive as to make business very difficult. The only contribution that Calvinism brought to the development of Capitalism was an increased sense of individualism and independence. This Tawney suggested, was the hole in the Puritan armor and allowed Calvinism to eventually become subverted by the growing momentum of capitalism. In other words, Tawney claimed that Puritanism had stood against the tide of capitalism that was pushing in from all sides. In the end, it was not able to withstand the pressures and succumbed to the temptation of mammon.

Tawney's argument had stood the Weber thesis on its head and in the process managed to make Calvinism out to be a backward reactionary religion resisting the forces of modernization and progress. The predictable reaction was not long in coming. Henri See responded to both Weber and Tawney in his article "Dans quelle mesure puritains et juifs ont–ils contribue aux progres du capitalisme moderne?" *Revue Historique* (1927). See first took up the question of whether there is actually such a thing as a spirit of capitalism. He then defended the heavy Puritan representation among middle class merchants. This was because Puritans were restricted by law from any other form of business, not due to their propensity for capitalism. He did not refute Tawney's assertion that the Puritans had become corrupted by the force of secular capitalism, but he noted that it was very difficult to distinguish the causes from the effects.

By far the most passionate and vociferous response did not come until much later. In an article entitled "Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism," *Church History* (March 1949), Winthrop S. Hudson, an American theologian, took issue with both Weber and Tawney. He claimed that neither man understood the Puritan mind–set. Puritans were not interested in monetary gain. All of their teachings show that the chief concern of man was to glorify God. Avoiding the sins of avarice and greed were of prime importance. In his attempt to refute Tawney's claims that the Puritans were conquered by the spirit of the age, Hudson appeared to appeal to semantics. These were not real Puritans he said. The real Puritans remained unaffected by the rush to accumulate wealth. Only the unfaithful were taken in by the capitalist spirit.

In 1933, a book by H. M. Robertson entitled *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism* appeared. In his book, Robertson took Tawney's arguments a step further. He began by criticizing Weber for limiting his research of capitalism to the Puritans. There were many other secular groups who also displayed the same desire to accumulate money as the Puritans yet without the religious sense of a 'calling'. Therefore, the 'calling' was unnecessary. Robertson spent a great deal of time showing how the Roman Catholic orders, especially the Jesuits, all displayed a nascent capitalist mentality. They also were known for their ascetic lifestyle and for preaching the values of this lifestyle to laymen. However, this did not mean that the Roman Catholic orders were responsible for the rise of capitalism. No, all of this was merely the result of other pressures that had begun many years ago and was fueled largely by scientific progress, especially the science of mathematics. Mathematics and the

development of a systematic accounting system were the real sources of what became the capitalist spirit. In the end, unrelenting pressures of modernization and economic advance engulfed all religions.

Robertson's book brought an angry retort by James Broderick in his book, *The Economic Morals of the Jesuits*, published in 1934. Though the book did nothing to further the argument concerning capitalism and the Protestant ethic, it was significant in that it brought into question many of Robertson's sources. Broderick did a careful study of the history of Robertson's main primary source. Its author was intent on destroying the Jesuit order which made his writing highly suspect. Thus, Broderick showed that the sources that Robertson used were biased and therefore his conclusions about the Jesuits were inaccurate.

Another author who ended up in the same camp as Robertson was the Swede, Kurt Samuelsson. His book, *Religion and Economic Action*, appeared in 1957. Though an articulate writer with a sociological bent, he really did not say much that had not already been said. He agreed with Weber's critics that the church, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, had always taught that one should not lay up treasures on earth but in heaven. Therefore, any activity that went contrary to these teachings could only be an aberration or apostasy. Mercantilism, Enlightenment, and Darwinism certainly had much more effect on the development of modern economic theory than religion. In fact, all religions had been obviously influenced by these secular trends. This was what eventually caused the church to turn to capitalism.

Due to his sociological bent, Samuelsson also noted that there was no evidence that Roman Catholic countries were really any worse off economically than Protestant countries. This was a complete reversal of the presuppositions that had led Weber to his thesis in the first place. Until Samuelsson, no one had even questioned the assumption that Protestant countries were economically more sound than Roman Catholic countries. Samuelsson's bold statement would eventually lead to much discussion and generate a whole branch of research.

The discussion continued with very few new ideas appearing. Most critics by now had agreed that capitalism had existed prior to the reformation. The major question now appeared to be whether Protestantism had actually had some effect on the development of the notion of capitalism, or whether it had been influenced by and adopted the spirit of capitalism. Two authors who wrote varying opinions on this subject were Amintore Fanfani and Albert Hyma.

Fanfani, a well known Italian economist who later served as prime minister, made several new suggestions in his book, *Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism*, which was published in 1955. He took as a given that capitalism existed prior to the Reformation. However at this point he made several interesting observations. His first was that many had suggested that Puritans displayed a high degree of independence and self motivation. This had been attributed to their Calvinist theology. Fanfani proposed another explanation for that phenomenon. Most Puritans had been displaced from their original homeland and had become immigrants. Immigrants tended to be very industrious and self-motivated. They also would be the ones most interested in a government that allowed free enterprise since they were the most likely to be repressed. These factors, more than their theology, made Puritans ready to adopt the capitalist mentality. Fanfani also noted that Protestantism, in direct opposition to Catholicism, did not believe in the need for works to acquire one's salvation. As such it released men to be able to dream of acquiring wealth. Therefore, Protestantism certainly did not hinder the development of the capitalist drive; yet, it also did not motivate it. It was like everything else driven before the winds of modernism and thus Calvinism accepted capitalism.

Taking issue with just about everyone who had written to date was Albert Hyma. A

Church History professor of Dutch extraction, Hyma has written extensively. His first work on the subject appeared in 1955 and was entitled *Renaissance to Reformation*. Hyma claimed that most had no accurate understanding of the Puritan teachings and especially of Calvin's theology. With extensive documentation, Hyma showed that John Calvin rarely spoke about money or financial matters. In fact, Luther who was supposed to be less interested in worldly things wrote a great deal more about economic subjects than did Calvin. The capitalist mind set had been around for quite some time and really owed nothing at all to the reformation. Then how was it that the Puritans began to display a certain interest in accumulating money? Here Hyma sided with Hudson in stating that the dominant world view was able to distort the teachings of the church which became apostate. True Puritanism never accepted the doctrines of capitalism. If someone called himself a Puritan but held to the practice of making money for money's sake, he was simply mistaken about his own identity.

By now the controversy generated by the Weber thesis had nearly exhausted itself. It had begun with criticism by Rachfalls, Sombart, and Bentano all of whom had taken issue with Weber's definition of the spirit of capitalism. The scholarly community had mostly agreed that capitalism had existed prior to the Protestant Reformation. With Tawney, Robertson, and Samuelsson, the argument had changed its course. The new question was whether the Puritans had inspired capitalism, whether capitalism had affected the Calvinist theology, or whether both of these had been affected by some other phenomena. Hudson and Hyma had both vehemently denied that true Protestantism could have given rise to secular capitalism or have absorbed it. Fanfani sided with Robertson and Tawney in stating that Calvinism was affected by the momentum of the new economic openness while See maintained a noncommittal position.

In an attempt to reorient the discussion Ephraim Fishoff, a religious sociology specialist, published "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: the History of a Controversy," *Social Research* (1944). In this article Fishoff attempted to explain some of Weber's basic presuppositions and methodology. He admitted that Weber had some problems with his research. At the same time, he explained that Weber had never intended for his thesis to be exclusive. Protestantism was not the only factor that brought about a spirit of capitalism, but it was a rather important one.

At this point the discussion began to branch out and take several different routes of investigation. The sociologists who seem to have been stimulated by Samuelsson began to question whether Protestants and Protestant countries could be shown to demonstrate a more aggressive and successful economic mentality. In his book, *The Religious Factor*, published in 1961, Gerhard Lenski tried to make the case that the data indicates that indeed Protestants do seem to be more economically successful than their Roman Catholic counterparts. However, several other studies argued that there is little or no evidence that this is the case. R. W. Mack, R. J. Murphy, and S. Yellin in "The Protestant Ethic, Level of Aspiration and Social Mobility," *American Sociological Review* (June 1956), and Seymore Mortin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, coauthors of *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, published in 1960, affirmed that after all unrelated factors are taken into account, there was no appreciable difference between Protestants and Roman Catholics in their attitudes toward money making or their abilities to be economically successful. Finally, in 1964, Andrew Greeley tried to call for an end to this part of the discussion. In "The Protestant Ethic: Time for a Moratorium," *Sociological Analysis* (1964), Greeley argued that many had misused the data to support their own biases. Besides, it was illogical to conclude that Weber's thesis required money-making still to be visible, so that rendered this whole discussion moot. Greeley was joined by Helmut Wagner in "The Protestant Ethic: A

Mid–Twentieth Century View," *Sociological Analysis* (Spring 1964), who agreed that Weber's thesis did not predict a continued difference between Protestant and Roman Catholic ideologies. So many changes had taken place in both religions that it would make the comparison meaningless today.

In a similar vein was Norman Jacob's book *The Origins of Modern Capitalism and Eastern Asia* in which he searched for a religious motivation for the development of capitalism in Japan. Jacobs concluded there was none. A book by Robert N. Bellah as well as an article published in the January 1963 issue of *Journal of Social Issues* brought a new twist to the discussion. In *Tokugawa Religion*, published in 1957 and "Reflections on the Protestant Ethic Analogy in Asia," Bellah looked for the same austerity principle in Eastern religions that Weber had found in the Puritans. Like Jacobs, Bellah found no correlation between religion in Asia and the development of capitalism. Much more significant than an aesthetic lifestyle was the government attitude towards the development of capitalism. W. F. Wertheim took up on Bellah's proposition and applied this theory of government involvement back to Holland and Western Europe in general. In his paper entitled "Religion, Bureaucracy and Economic Growth" presented at the Fifth World Congress of Sociology in Washington D.C. in September of 1962, Wertheim stated that government support for capitalism in Europe and England had much more to do with it's development than anything else.

One theme which continues to be revisited by scholars year after year concerns the origin of capitalism. When did capitalism first appear? Can it be shown to have been around before the Protestant Reformation? Several of the most significant writers who have determined that capitalism indeed preceded the Protestant Reformation are the following. H. Pirenne's *Medieval Cities* (1956) found a healthy capitalism in twelfth century England while H. R. Trevor–Roper's *Religion Reformation and Social Change* (1972) saw capitalism developing in Antwerp, Liege, Lisbon, Milan, and Geneva well before the fifteenth century. Finally, in *Weberian Sociological Theory* (1986), R. Collins said that the medieval church produced a form of capitalism.

A second theme attracting much interest has been a constant reevaluation of Puritans and Calvinist theology. Some have agreed with Weber that the Calvinist work ethic produced an environment which lent itself to the development of a capitalist spirit. However the majority have criticized Weber on this point and have portrayed Calvinism and true Puritans as having always been antagonistic toward a systematic mercenary attitude toward money making. The December 1958 issue of *Church History* contained an article by Charles and Katherine George, entitled "Protestantism and Capitalism in Pre–Revolutionary England." In the article, the authors made an in–depth study of the Puritan writings between 1570 and 1640 found no hint of a nascent spirit of capitalism. In "Max Weber Revisited," *Harvard Theological Review* (1966), David Little criticized Weber for his lack of understanding of the Puritan mentality and theology. Though Calvinist theology was very disciplined, it did not contain the necessary attitudes that would give birth to a free market economy.

Beginning with Tawney and Robertson, scholars have continued to ask two related questions. Is religion a sufficient motivating force to bring economic change or must the opposite occur? Did Calvinism bring about capitalism, or was Calvinism itself a product of the age? In a article published in the *Journal of Economic History* (March 1970), R. Stephen Warner analyzed Weber's presupposition that religious ideas actually governed people's thoughts and actions. His conclusion was that though alone it may not be a sufficient motivating force, religion does have the power to direct thoughts and actions. In relation to the second question, Max Scheler, Michael Walzer, and P. C. Gordon Walker all agreed Calvinism was more a product than a producer

of the modern age. Both Walker's "Capitalism and the Reformation," *The Economic History Review* (November 1937) and Scheler's "The Thomist Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," *Sociological Analysis* (Spring 1964) saw that the tension of the modern era caused religion to produce the Puritans. Walzer in "Puritans as a Revolutionary Ideology," *History and Theory* 3 1964, agreed with Scheler and Walker and compared the Puritan movement to the Bolshevik and the French revolutions finding many similarities between them.

Another branch of the argument stemming from a more recent interpretive style has been the sociological and psychological approach to Weber's thesis. Two authors who represent this particular angle are H. Stuart Hughes and Arthur Mitzman. Both men analyzed Weber's own social and psychological development in light of early twentieth century European society, and how this in turn affected his own thoughts and writings. Hughes' book *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought 1890–1930* was published in 1958 and was one of the first to take this approach with Weber. Mitzman's *The Iron Cage: A Historical Interpretation of Max Weber* is a more recent book and is in the same category as Erik Erikson's *Young Man Luther*.

Recent scholarship has had very little new substance to add to almost 90–year–old discussion. "Rationalism and Capitalism in Renaissance Italy," *American Journal of Sociology* (1980), by J. Cohen, rehashes the question of when capitalism actually came into being. Cohen concludes, as many have before him, that the new rationality which brought about capitalism existed well before the Protestant Reformation. In 1983 R. J. Holton took issue with Cohen. In an article in the same journal entitled "Max Weber, Rationalism, Capitalism and Renaissance Italy," Holton disagrees with Cohen's interpretation of how the new rationality affected the European mentality of moneymaking. Taking a slightly different turn is Gordon Marshall who has written two recent works. *Presbyteries and Probits* (1980) analyzes the Westminister Confession to ascertain whether or not there is an actual crisis taking place in the Calvinist mind. He finds that indeed the problem of salvation by grace alone has caused a difficult problem for the Puritan. In his second book, *In Search of the Spirit of Capitalism* (1982), Marshall says there really is no substantial difference between the capitalism of medieval and post reformation Europe.

If Max Weber had chosen to use the phrase "the spirit of western civilization" instead of his famous "spirit of capitalism," he might not have changed the basic intent of his thesis significantly and he probably would have barely provoked a bored response from the intellectual community. This is the startling statement made by Herbert Luthy in his article entitled "Once Again: Calvinism and Capitalism" *Encounter* (January 1964). It does seem, from Weber's defense of his spirit of capitalism, that he might have actually meant something much broader like a spirit of modern civilization. However, his use of the more polemical "capitalism" sparked an international controversy which has endured nearly a century. Though at times it has seemed there was nothing new to say and that conclusions were very rare, still the argument continued to attract attention. It seems that Weber has managed to touch a nerve that is very near the core of Western society's self perception.

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The growth of giant department stores, such as Macy's in New York, was crutial to the rise of Consumer Culture.

I. Barmasit, **Leveraged Buy-out of the world's largest department store: Macy's.**

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSUMER CULTURE:

A Review Essay

James Biggs

Over the last century American life has developed a commercial lifestyle in which consumption has become a national goal. This essay attempts to explore the shifting interpretations of a consumer culture by reviewing works that ask, "What is a consumer culture?" One opinion is that consumers are recipients of a form of seductive happiness. This view, especially advanced by Stewart Ewen, proposes that the structure of the family is transformed by loosening familial ties and dividing the family into markets determined by gender and age. An opposing view, especially proposed by Warren Susman, viewed the consumer culture as people exercising power by means of consumption and did not see the consumer culture as the result of evil machinations to control or distort human life. The author also analyzes and quotes from works written by William Leach, Jackson Lears, Grant McCracken, Susan Strasser and others, who all agree that the consumer has been the salient feature of American life since at least the end of World War One.

The debate over the moral implications of a society dedicated to an ethic of consumption has been raging since the 1880s and continues to do so today. It would seem obvious to even the most casual observer that American life has become commercialized. This process of commercialization, while uneven and gradual, has been continuous for at least a century. Thinking individuals have asked why has the consumer culture developed in particular ways, and more importantly, what does this development mean. Did impersonal forces, social or economic, such as the dynamics of a capitalist economy, constitute the engine of change? Did various groups seek to use greed and desire for their own sinister purposes? As consumers of a mass produced lifestyle, have we somehow lost control of our compartmentalized daily existence?

An even more fundamental question must be asked: What is a consumer culture? As T. J. Jackson Lears and Richard Wightman Fox have indicated in their introduction to *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*, it is not enough to cite numbers of goods bought because people still work. In this sense, only the degree of consumption has changed which does not necessarily mean that cultural values have changed as well. They also note that it is not enough to view a consumer culture as an elite conspiracy in which ad men " defraud" the masses by "drown[ing] them in a sea of glittering goods" (p. x). People make choices, preferring one product over another, plus they

seek other activities besides the acquisition of consumer goods. Fox and Lears define a "consumer culture" in terms of an ethic, a ceaseless pursuit of the good life, with a constant reminder of powerlessness. This review essay will seek to explore the shifting, often contradictory, interpretations of the development and meaning of such a society. Most of the studies in this essay were selected due to the interpretations of American culture they offer. Some were chosen because their authors suggest a novel or contentious thesis, causing others to think about these issues in a new manner. All were selected because they place the actors in their analysis in a wider interpretive framework. The study begins with two authors who represent the opposing poles in the analysis of consumerism, Stuart Ewen and the late Warren Susman. The remaining bulk of the study treats various and sundry monographs and articles that offer alternative explanations and meanings for the development of a consumer culture. Finally, the essay concludes with an interesting example of an interdisciplinary study of consumer culture that raises questions not considered in even the most current historical scholarship.

There exists a disagreement between those who analyze the new order of the consumer culture, particularly over power relations in a consumer society. Some argue that the expansion of mass consumption has added to the hegemonic authority of the elites. This viewpoint sees the consumer culture as something more than "leisure" or the "American way of life," where customers are not merely buyers but recipients of a elusive form of happiness delineated and maintained by the various brokers of culture. Although clothed in a Marxist critique, Stuart Ewen's *Captains of Consciousness* (1976) represents a culmination of nearly six decades of Whiggish criticism of capitalist society. Other critics, however, stress human agency. Warren Susman, a professor at Rutgers until his death in 1985, has been a voice for the view that people exercise power as they consume and are therefore responsible for the pattern of consumption and the meanings associated with consumption.

Stuart Ewen, in *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (1976), has made a study of the emergence of mass consumption and modern advertising. He locates the development of a consumer culture within the context of the social history of American industrial society using the machine as a metaphor in describing the changes occurring in American society at the end of the nineteenth century. Ewen's study places the development of a consumer culture in the context of an industrializing America as understood by E.P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman, seasoned with a bit of Freud. Ewen finds that the development of an ideology of consumption was in part an attempt at social control. Modern advertising, argues Ewen, is a direct response to the needs of mass industrial capitalism, an attempt to increase distribution by altering patterns of consumption. The goal of national advertising was the creation of desires and habits that would be responsive to an ever-expanding marketplace, requiring the manipulation of feelings of social insecurity to achieve such ends. Ads were often designed to make people ashamed of their origins, a subtle questioning of the intrinsic worthiness of "alien" habits and practices. As such, Ewen believes that the consumer culture was not a smooth progression from earlier patterns of consumption but instead an aggressive machination of the captains of consciousness.

Ewen describes the subversion of various conduits of cultural expression, including education, art, and film, for the purposes of corporate capitalism. Mass leisure entertainment and consumption became avenues of escape from the boredom of the factory and the economic limits of the wage system, divorcing meaningful activity from the context of daily life. In addition, Ewen argues that the masses were fooled into believing that the marketplace was a modern expression of democracy where consumers voted with their dollars, when in reality, the choices were those determined by businessmen and their henchmen, the ad men.

In a sense, where the individual ad was directed at what to consume, the larger campaign was aimed at what to value.

With the maturity of an industrial capitalism, Ewen notes fundamental transformations in the structure and pattern of the family and the nature of parental authority, particularly a loosening of traditional familial ties accompanied by an increasing dependence on the outside. The author laments the manipulations of this development by businessmen who further divided the family into markets differentiated by gender and age. Other changes or erosions in cultural values enumerated by Ewen include the creation of a cult of youth and the emergence of the "new woman."

While much of what Ewen mourns as lost in the transformation wrought by industrial capitalism is worthy of such lament, he needs to look elsewhere for the engines of destruction. The "captains of consciousness" were not as omnipotent as Ewen would have his readers believe, nor is Ewen always able provide substantial evidence to prove this point, which is curious given the variety and wealth of available primary source material. Furthermore, finding the development of an ideology of consumption as part an attempt at social control lacks conviction because a significant amount of his analysis concerns advertisements aimed at the middle class, not the unruly proletariat. As will be demonstrated later, corporate designs on the unsuspecting masses were not uncritically accepted and were met with much resistance, if not rejection, forcing an accommodation by business. As well, there were other influences on the popular consciousness that did not bow to the dictates of business, voices of dissent that carried authority and power. Stylistically, Ewen is at times a bit heavy on the jargon. He will offer to reader such statements as "Their solution was a sort of mass psuedo-demassification" (p. 45). All things considered, it seems that Ewen places too much emphasis on the excitement of businessmen who saw a bright future in the new order they were creating. Ewen writes from the vantage point of the turbulent sixties, and his strident tone laden with Marxist rhetoric seems a bit overdone, looking for conspiracy where only an unbridled, albeit naive, enthusiasm should be found.[1]

Challenging the prevailing patterns of interpretation typified by Ewen's assessment is a collection of essays by Warren Susman, published as *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (1983).[2] Known for inspirational classroom discussions, Susman sought to discover the forms in which people have experienced the world by investigating the patterns and symbols of daily life. The range and variety of these essays prevent a categorization of the work. There can be found discussions of the frontier thesis, the World's Fair of 1939, comparisons of fiction, poetry, and sociology textbooks of the 1920s, and cultural icons, such as Henry Ford, Bruce Barton and Babe Ruth, a sort of trinity of the twenties. There is also a set of excellent essays on the culture of the 1930s, where Susman argues that the American middle class, the skilled workers, shopkeepers, and middle managers redefined the meaning of success in the face of the shame, joblessness, and insecurity of the Depression. Yearning for both psychological and material security, they sought a vision of the "national character" that was realized in the conformity of the late 1940s and 1950s.

In his essay, "Toward a History of the Culture of Abundance: Some Hypotheses," Susman provides a new view of the consumer culture. Here Susman sees the tension between

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[1]Nor has Ewen moderated his tone over the years. His most recent work, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1982), has been described as "being built around theories of capitalist conspiracies, degradation of the working classes, and the interpretation of American history via a Marxian dialetical imperative."

[2]While Susman never published a monograph, his essays were often quite influential, such as " 'Personality' and the Making of Twentieth Century Culture," in John Higham and Paul Conkin, eds., *New Directions in Intellecutal American History*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univeristy Press, 1979), pp. 212-226.

the older producer-capitalist culture and the emerging "culture of abundance" as one of the fundamental conflicts of the twentieth century. The transformation of American values includes a shift from placing value on a stolid character and self-denial to the importance of a magnetic personality and self-fulfillment. The key to success was happiness, defined as a positive state of material well-being, accomplished through the ministrations of professional therapists (or self-help books for the less affluent) and the acquisition of mass produced consumer goods. However, Susman disagrees with the interpretation of scholars such as Ewen and finds irony in those who speak from the Left but "end up extolling the values and institutions of the older capitalist order of the nineteenth century" (p. xxix). Susman does not see the consumer culture as the result of evil machinations to control or distort human life, and he believes doing so is a failure to understand culture on its own terms.

So the debate continues. From one side, Susman is criticized for ignoring the undemocratic growing concentration of wealth, power, and knowledge in the hands of the few. He is faulted for simplifying the relationship between customers and the items they consume since the consumer culture is more than just the sum of the purchases or the separate purchases of specific individuals. On the other hand, critics of the Left are troubled by the infusion of political meaning and economic conspiracies into what appear to be the most banal facets of life. Recently, many students of American culture have rejected either extreme and have fashioned interpretations that borrow insights from several sources.

In the last five years or so, there have been several historians that have explored the limits of the hegemonic ascendancy of the consumer culture. Leigh Eric Schmidt, in "The Commercialization of the Calendar: American Holidays and the Culture of Consumption, 1870-1930," examines the means of layering holidays with the emerging consumer culture in the decades before and after the turn of the century, with an emphasis on Mother's Day.

The years after the Civil War marked a growing emphasis on the retail aspects of holidays. Schmidt documents the plethora of new holidays instituted after the Civil War. He also traces the rise in retail ads in relation to holidays, especially Christmas. Marketing techniques for promoting holidays, such as printed ads and window displays, were disseminated through trade journals and papers. He studies the transformation of holidays from impediments to industrial production (and stumbling blocks for middle class moralists) into economic opportunities for profit. The symbols of religious, civil, and folk holidays, he notes, were appropriated by business as merchandising icons, thereby remaking the traditional rhythm of the religious and civil calendar into a cycle of promotions and display windows. Schmidt characterized this transformation as a kind of synchronization of calendar and commerce, of celebration and consumption.

Schmidt uses the somewhat unintended results of Anna Jarvis's Mother's Day International Association as a microcosm of the expansion of the consumer culture and uses flowers as a symbol for the consumer culture. In the early years of the twentieth century, Anna Jarvis campaigned for a day honoring all mothers. Her activism was motivated by her dedication to her own mother and was informed by the celebration of special days in Methodist Sunday Schools. She envisioned a holiday emphasizing the moral uplift of the home and the remembrance of one's mother through visits, letters, or simple memorials. At first Jarvis accepted the support of the floral and greeting card industries, but she later became disillusioned by the commercial turn her holiday was taking. By 1920, Jarvis was denouncing the floral industry for the commercialization of her holiday and urged people not to buy flowers or greeting cards; yet ironically, the battle increased

interest in Mother's Day and provided free advertising. The author identifies this as a conflict between two deep seated cultural oppositions: the "spiritual values" of home, motherhood, and Christianity set against the "commercial values" of the marketplace, advertising, and profit.

Schmidt argues that Mother's Day owes much of its success to the commercial aspect, noting that other Sunday School holidays did not last. Business used the idealized vision of motherhood and sentiment to sell a product, creating a custom of obligatory gift giving, while the sentiment of Mother's Day concealed the commercial aspect of the flower ads. In this way, business leaders helped institutionalize (or symbolize) a set of common national values embodied in the ideal of motherhood, while at the same time subverting the symbols for their own use, profit.

However, Schmidt is also careful to point out the limits of commercialization, noting the failure of schemes like Candy Day, Teacher's Day, Friendship Day, and a fixed date for Easter. Commercial power to manipulate the calendar was not monolithic or hegemonic. Schmidt points out that it is society's strong attachment to the wider cultural values represented by the holidays that made commercialization possible. The commercial culture built upon existing sentiment. Nevertheless, Schmidt sees this process as a "self-mocking" commentary on the whole idea of national holidays.

The rationalization of the calendar is only one of many points of penetration of consumer capitalism into the day-to-day existence of individuals. Today, most leisure activities are "goods-intensive," depending upon a purchased commodity of some sort, and entertainment is largely centralized under the control of various syndicates. A number of scholars have studied the commercialization of leisure activities, offering interesting and enlightening insights. One such scholar, Richard Butsch, a professor of sociology at Rider College, has assembled a series of essays dealing with the transformation of leisure into a form of consumption by the process of industrial capitalism.[3] Most of the contributors use a Gramscian model of power relations, which acknowledges the power of elites to influence culture but views the dominance as limited to the extent they can achieve and maintain a "cultural consensus" among the masses, thereby avoiding a static top-down structure. One of the contributors is Kathy Peiss, an associate professor of History and Women's Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, who argues that the continuing development of commercial entertainment required introducing women into public leisure, thereby opening a door for greater participation of women in the public sphere. She finds a link between definitions of respectability, sexual and social expressiveness, family and commodity consumption.

In "Commercial Leisure and the 'Woman Question'" (1990), Peiss argues that entrepreneurs faced not only economic problems to the expansion of a leisure market but encountered cultural barriers as well. The division of labor along gender lines and the economic dependency of women in Victorian America presented problems for the brokers of entertainment facing their own version of the "woman question." Businessmen had to walk a fine line between the cultural norms of femininity and masculinity. In a brief sketch, Peiss outlines the contours of gender roles of the middle class as well as working-class variations. She then describes the transformation of certain forms of male dominated public entertainment, such as theater and motion pictures, to be acceptable to women and children.

This stress on making public entertainment more respectable was not the only avenue of change. Peiss notes that the broad social and cultural changes of the late-nineteenth century, particularly increased urbanization, allowing advertisers and businessmen a role in the

[3]Richard Butsch, ed., *For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).

redefinition of gender roles and public space. They created public spaces where women could "experiment" with new social roles, such as the association of excitement, glamour, and sensuality with the dance craze of the early 1910s.

Partially derived from her earlier monograph, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), Peiss' article introduces a wider understanding of the creation of cultural values. Her analysis of the changes in gender roles is a study of the dynamic interaction between a triad of powerful traditional values, the ability of business to shape culture in the search for profit, and the often unpredictable response of individuals as they made choices within a context of social flux and uncertainty. In this way, the article provides a useful model for the analysis of cultural change.

Although examining a very different experience from Kathy Peiss, Elizabeth Cohen also finds the hegemony of the cultural elites less than monolithic. In an ironic analysis of working-class culture, she challenges the idea that mass consumption indicates a classless society with homogeneous tastes and experiences in "The Class Experience of Mass Consumption: Workers as Consumers in Interwar America" (1993). She falls somewhere between Ewen and Susman, contesting the common view that consumer culture creates a homogeneous populace with undiscriminating tastes. She believes that while economic and political realities do circumscribe choices and meaning, people still make choices and provide their own meanings while consuming. Consumers can simultaneously participate in private, class, and mass worlds, and there is a "give and take" relationship between individual choice and the larger society.

Using the experience of working-class people in Chicago during the 1920s and 1930s, Cohen makes a search for insights into people's cultural activity. She begins by observing that first and second generations, while coming into contact with mass produced items during the 1920s, avoided chain stores and the products they promoted. They preferred ethnic foods and products provided by the local store and the credit the store keepers offered. Local shops also served as social centers. When mass produced items were purchased, they were typically used to reinforce ethnic identities, such as using the radio to listen to ethnic programs.

The economic realities of the Depression brought changes to Chicago's working-class neighborhoods, however. Simply put, thousands of people began to shop at chain stores simply for the cheaper prices. In addition, the financially strapped independent merchants were pushed out by an aggressive expansion of chain stores who took advantage of size in ways not available to the smaller operators. New Deal legislation, especially the NRA in this regard, also favored the larger companies over the smaller concerns. The script coupons distributed by both private and public local relief agencies were redeemable only at the chain stores where the prices were a bit lower. In all, Cohen marshalls a substantial amount of evidence to support a convincing picture of change. However, she does not stop there.

The most interesting part of the Cohen's article is her contention that participation in consumerism did not force the working-class people of Chicago into identification with the middle class. Cohen argues that the result was a more "homogeneous working-class culture that was based on mass culture but yet distinguishable from the mass culture that the middle class participated in" (p. 152). Mass culture reduced ethnic and racial differences among the working-class, allowing for greater successes by the CIO. After the political gains of the CIO, producers, advertisers, and merchandisers came to recognize them as a distinct group within the larger mass market. In this way, Cohen, like Schmidt, demonstrates the limits of the hegemony of the consumer culture.

As the title suggests, *Satisfaction Guaranteed* (1989) is a study of the methods used by manufacturers and retailers to market their mass produced goods and the response of the consumers who bought them. Susan Strasser traces the successful attempts to convert a "population accustomed to homemade products" into a "national mass market for standardized, advertised, brand-name goods in general." In her conclusion, Strasser warns us that while consumer products may provide a convenient solution to problems, it has come at a heavy cost to the environment, particularly due to the waste that fuels consumer capitalism. Although personal buying habits of individuals are not private, they have public sources and public consequences.

After describing the marketing of Crisco vegetable shortening as an example of new methods of national marketing, Strasser covers a whole spectrum of topics related to the rationalization of the market by manufacturers and advertising agents. In her discussion of brand names, she observes that they allow manufacturers to not only offer a product but enable them to exert control over a market and increase quality control as well. Brand names and trademarks aid consumers in differentiating between products but more importantly, created a demand for a particular manufacturer's product. The legal status of brand names and trademarks were further established and protected by the courts, increasing the hegemony of business over the market place.

Strasser makes an important observation when she reveals a shift from production-driven manufacturing, based upon maximum output and cost efficiency for machines of production, to a market-driven manufacturing based upon sales records and projections to predict demand and output. While this coordination of supply and demand is a further refinement of the rationalization inherent in a consumer culture, the shift also indicates limits in the power of the corporate boardroom to dictate culture. Manufacturers, advertisers, and retailers must pay attention to the needs and desires of the consumers in the drive to maximize profits.

In a similar discussion, Strasser traces the nature of relationships between the manufacturer and the consumer, particularly in terms of the network of wholesalers and traveling sales representatives. Again, she notes limits on the power of manufacturers to dictate regional and ethnic tastes. In her analysis of improvements in retailing and distribution, such as the introduction of department stores, mail order, and chain stores, Strasser notes that it was not always a smooth process; people resisted the development of all three forms of retailing.

Strasser insists there is a need to distinguish the changes occurring in advertising as the market forces change. At first, the market is merely expanding, while later advertisers must attract a larger market share away from competitors. She delineates the various and sundry methods of promotion, such as give-aways, free samples, premiums, trading cards, trading stamps, ads, house-to-house sales, displays, and a new kind of sales force used in the effort to find new buyers. By 1900, the market dominated American culture.

A central feature of *Satisfaction Guaranteed* is the attempt to create new domestic habits and activities to teach consumers to use a product. Strasser focuses on the advertising campaigns of Kodak (camera), Gillette (safety razor), Colgate (toothbrush), and Waterman (fountain pen), to not only attempt to provide information but to encourage new needs and new habits. These new habits were not created *ex nihilo*, notes Strasser; rather, they were linked to the rapid changes in all areas of social and cultural life, especially the needs of urban life.

Strasser notes several limitations on the hegemony of manufacturers and advertising agents. Despite their size and the size of their advertising budgets, manufacturers' manipulative power was limited by ethnic, regional, and personal preferences. The process

that makes people into consumers amalgamates changing ideas, habit, technology, demographic trends, and many other facets of culture, few of which are controlled even by the most powerful marketers. Strasser contends that it is quite difficult to create needs where they did not exist, and advertisers concentrated their efforts on perceiving and taking advantage of those changes. She believes that advertisers primarily took advantage of the needs created by the new urban industrial society.

Mass-produced items found their way into the political process as well. The rather successful movement for pure food, the work of the Bureau of Standards, the debate over packaged and bulk items, the one price system, and the development of consumer relations indicate that manufacturers could not just run over the consumer. In particular, Strasser notes that the effectiveness of the pure food movement over the years indicates that the power of business is not monolithic nor does it dictate the whole of consumer society.

Susan Strasser has written an excellent descriptive analysis of several facets of the attempt to create a national market. She does not rely on an explicit theoretical framework, and her study is largely based on primary source material, especially visual evidence. The book is profusely illustrated with ads of the period, one of its better features. However, her analysis is uneven in places, sometimes making comments about the nature of individual advertisements but not always linking the meaning of the ads to the larger issues of her study.

One of the issues often raised in conjunction with the growth of modern consumer society centers around the nature and meaning of democracy in a consumer culture. During these years, was democracy fundamentally changed as a result of the culture of consumption? Has the quest to acquire increasingly larger amounts of consumer goods distracted voters from participation in the political process, making America somehow less democratic than in the past? Christopher Wilson, in "The Rhetoric of Consumption: Mass-Market Magazines and the Demise of the Gentle Reader, 1880-1920" (1983), believes that such is the case. Wilson, a Yale graduate, assistant professor of English and director of American Studies at Boston College, contends that the typical approach of viewing the explosion of new mass circulation magazines as part of a refreshing and long overdue Progressive revolt against Victorian tradition misses the tendencies of these same magazines to cater to a passive and uncritical readership. Indeed, it is the uncritical nature of the readers that allows for a high level of circulation.

In tracing the development of a tension building between the desire to fill a legitimate need and to maintain sales, Wilson sees the needs of sales as receiving the most attention, stressing the promotional activities of publishers and editors over the values of writers and readers. He almost sees the publishing industry as a creation of the advertising agencies. In doing so, Wilson finds the readers often manipulated by opinions masked as fact, fictions passed off as reality, and irrational advertisements that played on latent desires. As a result, the once politically active and astute middle class became passive and uncritical, easily swayed by the enticements of ad men, the caviling of muckrakers, and the rhetoric of demagogues.

In a dense and at times unconvincing analysis, Wilson places the topical magazine at the heart of modern consumer culture. These were not the traditional, restrained, and cultured periodicals of the educated elite. They were a new kind of magazine that paralleled the development of Hearst's and Pulitzer's yellow journalism. The rationalization of the magazine publishing business allowed editors more control over both production and marketing. By 1900, maintains Wilson, these new magazines intended for a mass readership had attained a centrality in middle class American life never duplicated before or since, contributing directly to the genesis of consumer culture.

Wilson is to be commended for utilizing a rich historical source in a new fashion. He examines not only the goals and methods of the editors, the changes in advertising, and the dynamics of attracting loyal readership but the very "voice" of authority conveyed in the articles. Using four different types of periodicals—a news magazine (*Saturday Evening Post*), a muckraking monthly (*McClure's*), a businessman's weekly (*The World's Work*), and a woman's domestic journal (*The Ladies Home Journal*)—Wilson demonstrates a shared fundamental desire to make their content more practical, worldly, and up-to-date. In this way, reading became an act of consumption as magazines filled a "vital need in the personal lives of its readers" (p. 51). These new magazines offered practical and timely information and gave authoritative instruction and advice on most matters, including citizenship, occupational life, and domestic activities. With great insight, Wilson observed that the editors presented to their readers a kind of secondhand participation in an exotic world given an aura of reality.

However, Wilson's dependence on a top-down model of power relations forces him to conclude, unconvincingly, that the readers were passive, uncritical, and typically tricked. This kind of analysis has been challenged by the "reader-response criticism," a method of analysis that shifts the focus of literary study from texts to readers and emphasizes the readers' ability to find their own meanings in texts.[4] Furthermore, it is unclear as to the level of careful, critical analysis the American electorate has utilized in evaluating issues and candidates at any given time. Wilson merely asserts a change but makes no attempt to support it.

Some of the newer monographs, while accepting many of the conclusions of Warren Susman about the nature of the consumer culture and the shift from character to personality, espouse a view of power relations that is more in sympathy with Ewen. William Leach, in *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (1993), examines the power of American corporate business to transform American society into a consumer culture hostile to the past and tradition.[5] His work spans the closing decades of the nineteenth century through the presidential administration of Herbert Hoover and documents the rise of a consumer society. Leach follows the rationalization of the market as advertisement agencies began to pursue imagination, enticement, and desire to create demand, asking what was lost and what was gained in the process. Leach marshals an extensive amount of evidence to support a wide variety of insights into broad areas of American commercial and cultural life.

The author treats two related trends in his heavily noted monograph.[6] The first and last sections of his book are devoted to tracing the development of a new commercial order based upon consumer service. In these chapters, Leach documents the entrenchment of the consumer culture into American society. American cultural values, argues Leach, were infused with a sense of comfort, pleasure, and happiness without "ugliness or pain" (p. 147). This "benevolent side" of business operated in conjunction with

[4]Stanley Fish has offered one of the most influential formulations of the reader-response method in *Is there a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980). Useful introductions to reader-response theory can be found in Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman, eds., *The Readers in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980) and Jane P. Tompkins, ed., *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univerity Press, 1980).

[5]This represents a move away from his optimistic, almost celebratory approach to consumer culture in an earlier article. See William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925," *The Journal of American History* 71 (September 1984): 319-342.

[6]His chapters average about 32 pages and range from over 70 to as many as 130 citations each. He has nearly 100 pages of endnotes, typically citing primary sources. His documentation is truly impressive.

other kinds of institutional coalitions in creating the "new commercial order," and these coalitions are the subject of study in the middle section of his book. Leach begins by following the rise of the department store as a replacement of the dry goods store and neighborhood dealers. They were designed to appeal to the middle class but often included a basement with "bargains" in an attempt to attract the working class. The author describes the various innovations used in department stores in window displays, interior and exterior architecture, and promotions. Leach finds the use of glass, color, and light an important development used to attract customers. He pays close attention to the interiors of the department stores, particularly the dramatic and dream-like design, and also notes the use of air conditioning, elevators, and escalators to attract customers. What makes his study useful, however, is not just the description, but the thoughtful discussion of the meanings behind the window display and interior design. In these chapters, the readers will find discussions of fashion, customer service, the merger wave, the spread of chain stores, the rise of investment bankers, consumer credit, Edward Bellamy, the Macy's Thanksgiving Parade, and even the department store Santa Claus find a place in Leach's book.

Leach devotes the second section of his study to an examination of the kinds of institutional coalitions that joined with business in creating the "new commercial order." He begins with the most obvious institution, the business departments at colleges and universities, especially Harvard and Pennsylvania, and the various commercial art schools that churned out ad men by the hundreds. The "great urban museums" also did their part in creating the consumer culture by lending their research and collections to business, including producing consumer products of their own. Leach then traces a trend of cooperation between business and government, citing the creation of various federal agencies such as the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, Federal Reserve Board, and interestingly, an expanded United States Postal Service. Hoover's role as Secretary of Commerce and later as president receives heavy treatment. Religion played a role as well, notes Leach. With the exception of a few dissenters, such as Protestant theologian Walter Rauschenbusch, Monsignor John Ryan, and Jewish liberal Felix Adler, Americans moved toward a religious accommodation, "a new ethical compromise" that somehow equated material progress with spiritual and social progress. This uncritical acceptance of the consumer culture occurred increasingly, if at times unevenly, within the ranks of nearly all major Protestant denominations, as well as within mainline Catholicism and Judaism. Leach also notes the near total embracing of a consumer culture by the mind cure advocates, religious groups characterized by a sunny, optimistic, and self-confident spiritual mentality. These "positive thinkers," such as New Thought, Unity, Christian Science, and Theosophy, took the consumer culture for what it was and celebrated it. Each in their very different ways helped give life to the mass culture of consumption.[7]

An interesting facet of *Land of Desire* is Leach's use of several recurrent themes: fashion, John Wanamaker, and *The Wizard of Oz*. Leach uses fashion as the illustrative example of the quest for the new, a key element of the consumer culture. John Wanamaker, argues Leach, is the prophet and priest of the consumer ethic. Wanamaker was a department store developer, a retail merchandising innovator, a

[7]These trends have been well documented by others. See Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge: The Belknap Pressof Harvard University Press, 1991), Martin E. Marty, *Modern American Religion: The Irony of It All, 1893-1919* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), and Peter Conn, *The Divided Mind: Ideology and Imagination in America, 1898-1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) for just a few examples.

spokesman for the religious accommodation of consumerism, and the embodiment of new consumer values. The most interesting is the symbolism Leach assigns to *The Wizard of Oz*, a popular children's tale written by L. Frank Baum, a window designer, populist newspaper editor, traveling salesman, and author of children's books.[5]

In his analysis of the changes in values that mark rationalization of American culture, Leach is critical of consumer capitalism for two reasons. In a discussion similar to that of Christopher Wilson, Leach argues that consumerism is not democratic nor is it consensual. The consumer culture is not produced by the people; rather, it is dictated from above. He also contends that the consumer culture pushes out all other alternatives and somehow diminishes human existence. Notice the irony here: an abundance of goods diminishes human existence.

Leach is to be commended for his exhaustive (and probably exhausting) effort of combing through large amounts of primary source material. His description is thick, although he sometimes accepts his sources uncritically. However, Leach's description of the rise of the consumer culture is not without some problems. One troublesome area, true of most of the studies in consumer culture, is the lack of an international approach. For example, Leach views the rising interest of Americans in all things Oriental as "symptomatic of changes taking place within society, especially in the cities...symbolizing a feeling of something missing from Western culture itself, a longing for a 'sensual' life more satisfying than traditional Christianity could endorse" (p. 105). Perhaps, but Orientalism was also a theme in several strands of European literature, occurring even earlier in a culture that was less consumer oriented. Consider, for example, the strong theme and interest in all things Oriental and sensual in Alexander Dumas' *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844-1846). Leach is also not sensitive to changing modes of advertisement, as is T. J. Jackson Lears in *Fables of Abundance*. In a minor but not insignificant criticism, Leach should have provided examples of this advertisement by using color plates rather than black and white illustrations, given the emphasis on the manipulation of color advertising and promotions.

The most recent monograph on advertising and the culture of consumption is *Fables of Abundance* (1994). Written by T. J. Jackson Lears, who was part of the "Yale connection" of the late 1970s and is currently a professor at Rutgers, the heart of this engaging study is the story of rationalization gone awry. Lears deftly deconstructs the symbols of advertising and extracts the cultural assumptions and myths that lie behind the icons. He has discovered fundamental shifts in the way people understand and order the world. In a tradition that includes Warren Susman and Christopher Lasch, Lears provides evaluation and critique as well as chronicling his attempt to place advertising within a wider cultural landscape by tracing certain myths and symbols of abundance through the full scope of Western thought.

Lears begins his study with a brief sketch of pre-modern symbols, performing a kind of deconstruction of pre-modern mythology and iconography. He extracts themes of abundance, magic, and carnival, emphasizing the human desire for a "mystical transformation of the self." Lears assigns the metaphor "carnival" to this drive to create meaning, to transcend everyday life through intense experience characterized by the exotic, the fantastic, and the sensual. Lears places his construct of carnival in the context of the larger tension between pre-modern ways of understanding the world and the modern world view based, in part, upon the Protestant sensibilities of order and restraint. As late as the early nineteenth century, argues Lears, there existed a sort of accommodation between the need for both order and release, evidenced by

[5]A minor point perhaps, but Leach would have been better served to look at the film, not the novel as much. Also, Leach gives no sense of Baum as a populist, and I think Leach takes the novel more seriously than Baum had intended. Nevertheless, using the novel as a symbol for the period in quite innovative and illustrative.

the disorderly revival meetings that called individuals to order their lives before God and the carnivalesque medicine shows that peddled a prototype consumer good, the patent medicine.

Lears traces the transformation of various symbols, particularly women, by the now professionalized advertising agencies in the second part of his analysis. In a dense analysis, laden with anthropological and psychological theory, Lears records the triumph of modern rationality over the pre-modern world. By the 1930s, the "carnival" was thoroughly refashioned into consumer goods and thereby tamed by the professional magicians on Madison Avenue. Lears has now set the groundwork for the heart of his study.

The third section of the book, and really a distinct second part of the chronicle, contains the story that Lears really wants to tell. It is the chronicle of turn-of-the-century artists and literary types who offered critiques of the emerging consumer culture. Here Lears delves into the tensions and accommodations between the artist as technician and the artist as seer, utilitarian uses of art against the more romantic vision of art as truth. He places this tension in the larger debate over the nature of truth and authenticity in a world dominated by advertising. Reminiscent of his earlier monograph, *No Place of Grace* (1981), Lears traces the objections of writers such as Marcel Proust and Rainer Maria Rilke and artists such as Kurt Schwitters and Joseph Cornell to the advertising culture. Unlike the typical attack on consumer culture for its emphasis on materialism, Lears' critics find the new culture lacking for betraying the material world by emphasizing the desire for more consumer goods and thereby reducing the value of the material world.

Although his heavy use of theory leaves the analysis a bit sterile, Lears makes important observations that aid in clarifying the nature of the consumer culture. He demonstrates that corporate advertisers did not invent the "culture of abundance." They transformed existing cultural myths by refashioning the symbols and images. Lears helps to clarify the nature of advertising when he observes that ads do more that stir up desire; they also seek to manage desire, a kind of rationalization of dreams. In viewing advertising in this way, Lears is able to stress the power of business to order society without relying on a static top-down model of power.

Lears has not written a full history of advertising as William Leach attempted to do in *Land of Desire*. He does not ask if a certain advertising campaign has helped to sell a particular product, although perhaps he should if a successful advertising campaign implies an accurate reading of cultural symbols, as William Leach and Susan Strasser contend.[9] He uses Warren Susman's assessment of consumerism in that it was not primarily a riot of hedonism but rather a new way of resolving the tension between the need to order the industrial, urban society and the need to find release. However, Lears' insistence that the ordering power of economic institutions is near monolithic is not convincing. He claims to strike a balance between the power of advertising to shape culture and the role of other cultural, political, and economic institutions in promoting similar values and as well as limiting advertising's efficacy, but *Fables of Abundance* lacks the dialectic between the dominant institutions and the fringe groups that characterize his earlier work. One point for improvement would be the addition of more illustrations, particularly given the emphasis on art and visual evidence that so much of his analysis relies upon.

Lears claims that he is telling the story of how advertising collaborated with other institutions in promoting what became the dominant aspirations, anxieties, and ideas of personal identity in the modern United States. He wants the reader to understand how

[9]For all of his criticism of William Leach, Lears' understanding of L. Frank Baum could be informed by a closer reading of Leach's analysis. See T. J. Jackson Lears, review of *Land of Desire*, by William Leach, In *The Wilson Quarterly* 18 (Winter 1994): 82-86.

advertising helped recast the relationships of society with material goods and the surrounding environment, and how people sought to sustain or create alternate ways of being in the world. To a large degree, he accomplishes these tasks. However, what he has really done is delineate a transformation of a certain way of looking at the world in order to understand the critique of a particular group of individuals. Lears finds a certain attraction, sympathy, and validity in their assessment of the errors of modern consumer society. It is this passion that makes his study both engaging and convincing.

Culture and Consumption, a collection of essays on consumer culture by anthropologist Grant McCracken, is an excellent example of interdisciplinary scholarship. He gathers material from anthropology, sociology, American history, comparative history, and American Studies, as well as using marketing and consumer studies in producing nine somewhat autonomous essays that together challenge the top-down approach to the consumer culture. Rather than seeing corporate boardrooms and advertising agencies dictating cultural values to the defenseless and passive masses, McCracken argues that the expansion of consumer goods has actually democratized Western society, promoted social mobility, and provided individuals with greater capacity for creating and defining themselves.

The essays are arranged in three sections, the first applauding the recent studies on consumer culture, particularly during the early modern period, while questioning the tendency of scholars to apply contemporary moral values to the past. The second section, called "Theory," is the crux of his study. In this section, McCracken presents an idea that can provide a useful tool in understanding the behavior of consumers in a commercial society.

The author observes that most societies experience a "gap" between cultural ideals and the reality of actual experience. Confronted with the knowledge that the "real" and the "ideal" do not match, a society may create a kind of shelter for the ideals rather than descend into abject pessimism or continue to wait for "the train that never comes." Often, a society may place cultural hopes and expectations in a nostalgic golden age of years gone by, such as small-town America. A glorious future can also be the location for cherished values and hopes, as the multitude of American utopian novels can attest. Another location for cultural ideals is in distant places, such as the "modern" city, the "traditional" community, or some romantic pastoral setting, where people live a life consistent with cherished values. Somewhere in space or time, argues McCracken, there is that perfect place where ideals can be placed and *kept safe*.

What occurs on the large scale for nations and societies also happens in the life of individuals. Individuals often discover a personal golden age, perhaps the childhood or college years, perhaps that special summer when everything was right, implying that they can be right again sometime. The future is even more accommodating, and the invention of desirable futures, such as "when I graduate..." " when I land the job at ...," or "when the kids are grown up ...," help individuals deal with difficult circumstances in the present. Personal ideals can be realized in the lives of others as well. McCracken uses the term "displaced meaning" to describe this tendency to transport ideals and values to other "cultural universes." In a theoretical discussion of cultural meaning akin to the idea of "material culture," McCracken argues that consumer goods carry meaning and are bridges to ideals and hopes, to locations of displaced meaning. Furthermore, consumer goods can assist in validating the ideals by providing a sort of empirical demonstration. Because they are concrete and enduring, their tangible presence helps to evoke constructs of memory (or myth) as well as abstractions such as hopes and ideals. The economic value contributes to the symbolic value.[10] Furthermore,

[10]In this area, McCracken's study could be informed by Vivina Zelizer's study on the changing value of children, in *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), where she notes that even money can have a symbolic value that is separate from economic value. While priceless values were being priced, as in wrongful death suits, the pricing process itself

McCracken notes that consumer goods can serve as bridges to displaced meaning because they can represent larger "constellations" or webs of meaning, a part that represents the whole.

McCracken concludes his study by summarizing the cultural "functions" of consumer goods in Western society. He notes that consumer items incorporate a tension between a stabilizing effect that gives order to meanings and an impetus for change and creation. While his terse writing is sometimes disjointed, each individual essay is a refined study that demonstrates a command of the theoretical concepts and the literature.

How does McCracken's work relate to the work of the other authors evaluated in this essay? The construct of "displaced meaning" points to an area neglected by the others. Each emphasizes to one degree or another the role of elites in influencing the behavior of mass culture. Yet none even approximate McCracken's sophistication in understanding the meanings of consumer goods to *consumers*. Strasser and Wilson do not mention consumers except in the abstract or as passive recipients, nor does Leach focus on the issues of popular consent and reception. He says that consent is not decisive, therefore his subject is not consent but rather the creation of a consumer culture, as if the two can somehow be separated. (Leach's analysis, more than the others because of the nature of his study, could be informed by a reading of McCracken). Susman believes the responses of consumers are important but does not go much beyond the psychology of the middle class as they accept the idea of consumer goods. Schmidt finds cultural limitations on business machinations as an intrinsic part of the idea of a shared set of national values, not from individual consumers. Peiss, primarily in her work on working class women, does pay attention to the motivations, desires, conflicts, and actual choices of consumers but not in the way McCracken suggests. Only Lears approximates the idea that McCracken suggests, but his discussion is really a voice of disappointment that the wrong elites get to order society. He really does not have much to say about what kinds of meanings individuals derive from the consumption of consumer goods.

How, then, have these studies helped to understand the meaning of consumer society? On one point, the authors examined in this study agree: the consumer culture is the salient feature of American life and has been such since at least the end of World War One. Each has raised important questions and offer suggestions as to what a consumer culture means. Most find the development of such a culture, to one degree or anther, an intrusion on American idealism and use words like penetration, campaign, undermined, social control, tawdry, alienation, and pessimism by way of description. Leach, Strasser, Ewen, and Lears make the observation that mass produced and attractively packaged consumer items hide the sordid conditions in the factory. However, in lamenting this culture of consumption, there is a tendency to look elsewhere for a better time. Yet have Americans ever had a fit between ideals and practices? Probably not.

It seems that the majority of the authors would agree that business is not monolithic in its ability to order society. Businessmen and advertisers have offered new ways to define consumption, but their power to dictate is not fully hegemonic. Schmidt points out the limits of commercial hegemony and the consumer culture by noting that the shared cultural values make commercialization possible. Strasser calls for a balanced view of consumerism. She argues that consumer preference, while hardly the sole component of market creation in a system of production by private firms motivated by profit, does play its part. Marketers achieve influence by perceiving cultural change as much as by attempting to influence consumer behavior, while many failures attest to their inability to control it. Finally, how do these findings impact theoretical models, such as those dealing with social change (Gramsci and Kuhn, for example)?

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was being transformed by its association with value. In this way, she argues, money, even the market itself, are transformed by social, moral, and sacred values.

There are other areas that require further study in terms of their relationship to consumer culture and the transmission and transformation of cultural value. None of the studies in this essay critically examine film, particularly the film noir genre of the 1930s and 1940s. While television does not fall within the scope of the majority of the studies examined here, it seems that radio shows are neglected. Also, what influence does a rising ability to purchase have on accepting a consumer culture? What is really needed, however, is a comparative study of American and European consumer culture, perhaps beginning with Germany.

Finally, why the recent widespread interest among historians in consumer culture? Is this emphasis on the analysis of consumer culture the result of an inner tension hidden behind a fable of abundance, as Lears suggests? Are increasingly larger numbers of people questioning an economic order where material possessions no longer have actual value, only symbolic meaning that is quickly transferred to another object? It seems that the construct of an economy built upon abundance, expansion, and waste has come under terrific strain, especially in the face of environmental concerns. Nevertheless, certain assumptions and values that characterize a consumer culture still exist. Few, if anyone, would disagree that it is still the goal of the American commercial society to produce more in order for Americans to consume more.

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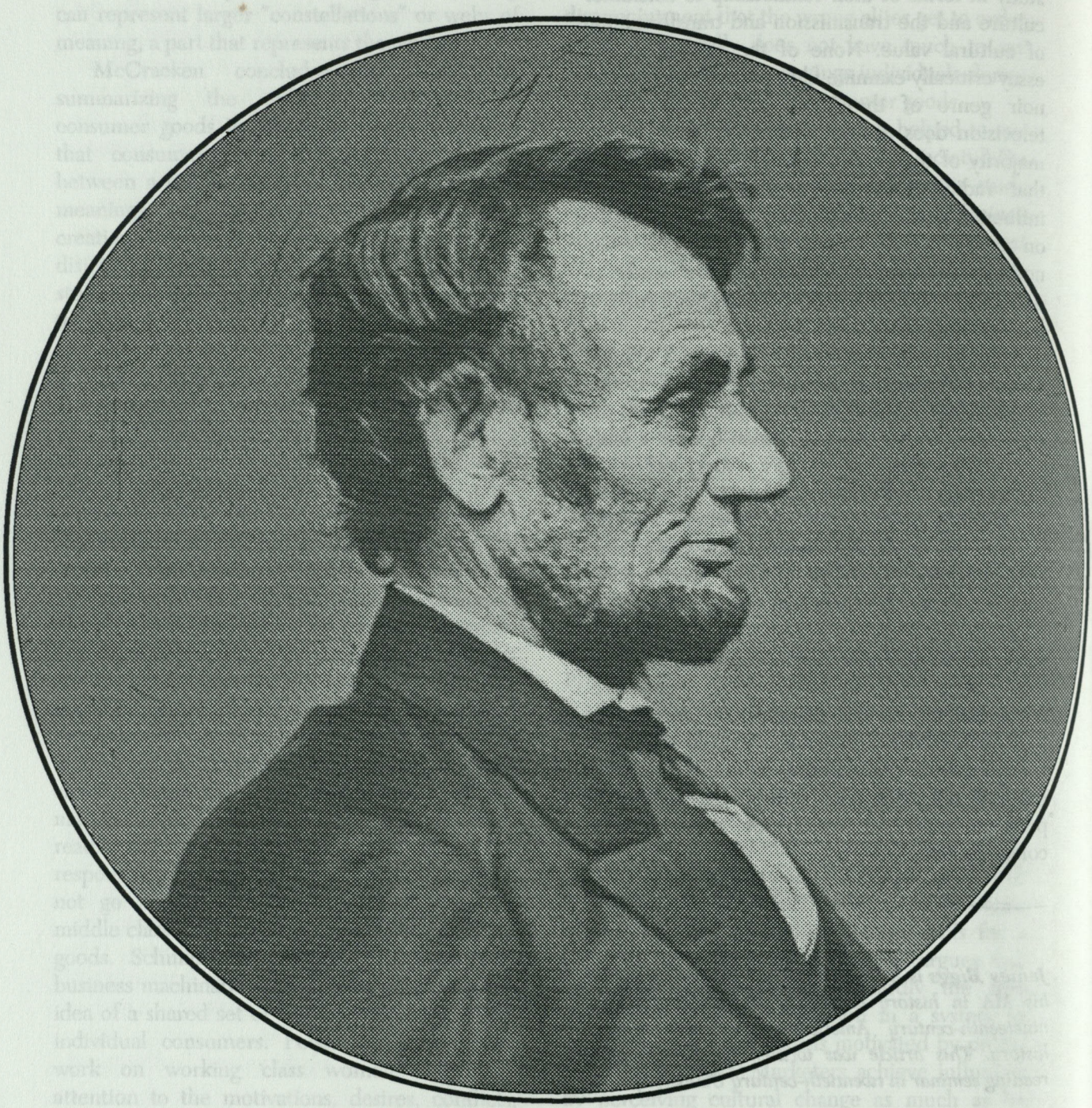


Abraham Lincoln, February 1864. One of two poses used in the one-cent piece. This picture is in the dust jacket of David Donald, ***Lincoln.***
J. Mellon, **The Face of Lincoln** (Viking Press)

REVIEWS

LINCOLN
David Herbert Donald

Simon and Schuster, New York, 1995

David Herbert Donald's *Lincoln* looks at the life of the sixteenth president who from his earliest days "had a sense that his destiny was controlled by some. . . Higher Power. . . which enabled one of the least experienced and most poorly prepared men ever elected to high office to become the greatest American President"(15). From the outset of this work, it is apparent that Donald (who has written extensively on Lincoln) overcame any personal bias of Lincoln, allowing him to write a well balanced and an easily read biography. Donald explores three areas of Lincoln's life which prepared him to accept his role as president during our nation's most violent conflict. First, Donald explores Lincoln's ambition to overcome a frontier lifestyle and become one of Illinois' leading lawyers. Second, he looks at Lincoln's many political failures and his unquenchable desire to become one of the United States' greatest leaders. Finally, Donald analyzes Lincoln's deep devotion to keep the Union together during his turbulent presidency, which firmly established him as "the greatest American President." Donald concludes it was Lincoln's compassion, tolerance, and willingness to overlook mistakes which allowed him to work "indefatigably for a better world—for himself, for his family, and for his nation" (15).

According to Donald, it was Abraham Lincoln's brief enrollment in school that gave him a desire to learn as much as he possibly could. After Lincoln's family moved to Indiana, Thomas and Sarah Lincoln enrolled young Abraham in a cabin-school that had opened nearby. Although Abraham attended this school for only three months, his intense desire to overcome his frontier lifestyle further fueled his appetite for knowledge. Lincoln's quest was recognized by his stepmother, who recalled:

> He must understand everything—even to the smallest thing—minutely and exactly. He would then repeat it over to himself again and again—some times in one form and then in an other and when it was fixed in his mind to suit him he...never lost that fact or his understanding of it (29).

Donald also describes how Lincoln attempted to educate himself because of his strong desire to free himself of the hardship of tenant farming in Illinois. To achieve this, Lincoln began to read everything he could get his hands on. When Lincoln moved to Illinois, he began to read law books which were available to him in Springfield, the state capital. Following his election to the state legislature, Lincoln began to prepare for his new job by studying law. Donald states, "A year earlier he had thought about this possibility but had rejected it as being beyond his scope"(53). As he witnessed proceedings in the Sangamon County Court, Lincoln began to take note that most of the leading lawyers were self-educated.

Following his brief career as an Illinois state legislator, Lincoln passed the bar and began to practice law with his mentor, John Todd Stuart. Interestingly enough, Lincoln, along with other lawyers, traveled the same circuit that judges were required to make, holding court in neighboring counties in sessions that would last from brief days to two weeks. Donald shows that it was this extensive travel over the next few years which led "one Illinois journalist to place him 'at the head of the profession in this state'"(151).

Donald shows the reader that through his hard work and determination, Abraham Lincoln overcame his humble beginnings and rose to the top of the legal profession in Illinois.

When Lincoln ran for the legislature in 1832, Donald states that it was yet another manifestation of Lincoln's self-confidence, of "his belief that he was at least the equal, if not the superior, of any man he ever met"(42). No special credentials were necessary for state legislators who dealt mainly with trivial matters. Lincoln lost the election, but the political bug had bitten him. He continued to run for public

office because he began to feel that his life was destined for political greatness. In 1834, Lincoln ran again and was elected to the legislature and faithfully served the Whig Party throughout his state legislative career. In 1846, Lincoln ran for the United States Congress and was elected to what amounted to a nondescript term in the House of Representatives.

Throughout the 1850s, Lincoln suffered many defeats in his political career as he attempted to gain another seat in Congress. Following his brief stint in that body, Lincoln never lost interest in politics nor withdrew from public life. Donald illustrates his continued concern about the nation's problems by a remark he made to his law partner, W. H. Herndon, "'How hard, oh how hard it is to die and leave one's Country no better than if one had never lived for it.'"(162). Although he failed to gain public office, Lincoln rose to the top of his political party in his home state by working behind the scenes to elect fellow Whigs to state and federal positions.

Following his defeat for the U. S. Senate by Stephen A. Douglas in 1858, Lincoln began to use the prestige he built within the new Republican Party (founded by former Whigs) to run for president in 1860. As the "Favorite Son" candidate of Illinois, Lincoln was elected president prior to the Civil War. During the four bloody years of fighting, Donald believes that Lincoln returned to his belief in the "'Doctrine of Necessity—that is, that the human mind is impelled to action, or held in rest by some power, over which the mind itself has no control'"(15). Although he was not a member of any organized Christian church, Lincoln believed that his presidency was ruled by some higher power which explained his responsibility for his actions during the war (including the suspension of the writ of habeus corpus and his Emancipation Proclamation). Lincoln stated, "'I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that these events have controlled me.'"

Five days after the Civil War ended, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by a revenge-seeking John Wilkes Booth. In his lifetime, Abraham Lincoln sought a fame which would endear him to the ages. While he was president, many scoffed at him; some threatened his life, while others had no faith in him. Yet he continued to fight for what he loved most: the Union. Lincoln liked to quote Shakespeare's *Hamlet*:

> There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough-hew them how we will.

After his death, Abraham Lincoln gained the fame and esteem that he so desired during his lifetime, yet could never attain.

I enjoyed reading Donald's *Lincoln* and was impressed by his presentation of Lincoln's life. The author's focus on and intimate knowledge of Lincoln the person, has enabled him to paint a picture of the president rather different from that in other biographies. Donald states that his work "suggests how often chance, or accident, played a determining role in shaping [Lincoln's] life." This work is lengthy, reflecting extensive use of both primary and secondary works. Yet it is easily read, and it should prove enjoyable for the history buff, as well as the biography fan.

Reviewed by ***Ronald W. Weston,***
Graduate History Major.

REBELLION AGAINST VICTORIANISM
The Impetus for Cultural Change in 1920s America
Stanley Coben
New York: Oxford University Press, 1991

What do Louisa May Alcott, feminist Alice Paul, and the Ku Klux Klan have in common? The answer is in Stanley Coben's interesting and informative book, *Rebellion Against Victorianism: The Impetus for Cultural Change in 1920s America*. Throughout the book, Coben charts the underlying reasons behind the change from Victorian values that stressed strength of character to modern values that stress individuality and personality. The author concentrates on a different subculture in each chapter and uses its members to explore how and why the Victorian culture of character came under attack. Although the book could be improved by a stronger narrative interlinking its chapters, Coben's approach is an effective way to cover many different aspects of American life in the 1920s as each subculture introduces the reader to different personal perspectives of the times.

Rebellion Against Victorianism begins by looking at Victorian culture itself. Coben uses authors to explain Victorian values that emphasized self control, moral codes, and inner strength. For instance, Louisa May Alcott's personal life and her many popular books, which exemplify the Victorian character, are analyzed. Both Alcott and her fictional characters believed in focusing one's life on the home, the intrinsic value of hard work, respect for others' property, feminine modesty, and self control against idleness, alcohol, and "unproductive emotions such as anger." Further, Alcott's characters made a clear case against materialism and urbanism. Coben illuminates the Victorian cultural emphasis on home, family, and separate gender spheres. Also explored was the inherent contradiction of women's role during the era in which women were highly regarded by the cult of domesticity yet still were considered second-class citizens.

The result of that contradiction is picked up in a later chapter as Coben traces feminists and the Women's Movement. Victorianism, interestingly enough, came under attack by the very women it held in such high esteem within the cults of domesticity and true womanhood. The separate gender spheres that gave men power within the public realm came under attack by feminists, who were middle-class WASPs themselves. Coben not only introduces well known feminists such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton but also those not as well known to the general public, such as Alice Paul, Lucy Mott, and Carrie Chapman Catt.

By the 1920s, Victorian culture came under increasing attack from within, as well as from other segments of society who were gaining in importance and influence. Coben clearly explains the decline of feminism after passage of the 19th Amendment by showing that the general ranks of feminists broke into two camps, each concerned only with their own lifestyle. This break reflected the modern, not Victorian, sensibilities of women within the movement at the time in that each group was only concerned with their own individual needs. Business and professional women's groups opposed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) because they did not think they personally needed protective legislation. On the other hand, housewives felt that the ERA attacked the home and their position within it. Housewives felt they needed protective legislation to preserve their unpaid position within the home and family, but they also wanted to preserve their separate and distinct status as defenders of morality, religion, and virtue. They did not want to risk losing that identity in order to be considered equal to men; they felt they were above men. This conflict between gaining equality versus maintaining protection because of gender was not adequately resolved and so the movement faltered.

Victorian conventions and concepts also came under attack from the new intelligentsia which resulted from the expansion of higher education in the early twentieth century as college and post-graduate enrollment increased dramatically. One result was an audience for

authors such as Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and Faulkner, who produced modern works with new values. Another result was the overall rise in intellectual activity and training which did not uphold Victorian beliefs about childrearing, lifestyles, and racial hierarchy. When scientific research negated those basic components of the culture, the foundation of Victorianism was undermined.

Though not everyone who lived in the United States during the Victorian era was a Victorian, the pervasive White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) culture excluded many Americans on the basis of ethnicity, race, religion, and socio-economic position. Coben calls the Victorian color line the "problem of the twentieth century." Marcus Garvey is the focus of Coben's chapter on race but W.E.B. Du Bois, the beginning of the Great Migration, and the Harlem Renaissance are also reviewed. Although this chapter is informative, I feel the Harlem Renaissance should have been given more explicit coverage and importance as the authors, artists, and musicians involved were influential not only within their own community, but, for the first time, were also able to get beyond the color barrier that divided America. When whites began celebrating African-American creativity, it was yet another blow against the Victorian belief in a racial hierarchy.

Hierarchy of another kind, political hierarchy, is covered in this book by examining Senator Robert La Follette's unsuccessful campaign in the presidential election of 1924. This is a helpful chapter, especially since so many books focusing on cultural issues ignore the political realm. La Follette was backed by most of the farm and labor unions/federations, the Socialist Party, and most politically active intellectuals of the day. They projected the formation of a third party along the lines of England's Labour Party. La Follette campaigned on the idea that ordinary Americans should take economic control away from large corporations and politicians they support. The progressive effort to elect La Follette was doomed by serious mistakes, such as poor campaign planning, lack of funds, and the eventual desertion of large unions such as the AFL and the railroad unions. Had La Follette won, it would have signaled a "separation of economic policy from Victorian virtues," since power would have been wrested from the Victorian elite and given to farm and labor workers, most of whom did not fit the Victorian mold by virtue of their class, ethnicity, or religion. However, politics remained tightly in the control of wealthy white men who wanted to preserve Victorian culture because it benefited them personally.

Politicians who wanted to preserve the status quo were not the only group who wanted to preserve Victorian culture. It was also defended by fundamentalists, Prohibitionists, and conservative and patriotic organizations. Foremost of these organizations was the Ku Klux Klan. During the 1920s, the Klan was a nationwide organization which was no more violent than other men's organizations of the time and according to Coben, not focused exclusively on white supremacy. He calls the KKK guardians of Victorian culture and its belief in the culture of character, home and family, and separate gender spheres. Of special interest to the reviewer was the emphasis on different KKK chapters around the country, including those in Anaheim and Fullerton, California. Coben stresses that the Klan was not a fringe group but was comprised of mainstream citizens. The Klan's appeal, methods of recruitment, and political records of its members elected into public office are described, as are the reasons for its decline beginning in the mid-1920s.

So what do Louisa May Alcott, Alice Paul, and the Ku Klux Klan have in common? Each straddled the line between the Victorian culture of character and the modern culture of individuality and personality. Throughout her popular books, Alcott examined and held up the Victorian culture of character. Yet in doing so, she pointed out the problems of separate gender spheres and the public/private split so associated with Victorianism. It should also be noted that she personally supported feminism. Similarly, Alice Paul straddled the public/private split. She spent years working for women's rights in the male public realm while simultaneously raising a

family in the private female sphere. And finally, the Ku Klux Klan defended Victorianism even though most of its members were skilled blue collar workers or white collar salaried employees, not the entrepreneurs and political heavyweights who most benefited from the Victorian racial, ethnic, religious, and gender divisions. The Klan's defense of Victorianism pointed to insecurity over changes within the culture as a whole. As is often the case, it was members of the upper middle class who first rejected the prevailing cultural norms of Victorianism. As new, modern values and norms took over the upper middle class, these norms gradually filtered down to the lower middle class who felt threatened because their aspirations to attain the Victorian upper-middle-class lifestyle were dramatically dwindling.

In 1924, Virginia Woolf said:

> On or about December 1910, human character changed. All human relations have shifted—those between masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children. And when human relations change there is at the same time change in religion, conduct, politics, and literature.

Stanley Coben clearly dates the change in values and human character later, but his book explores the impetus for change in the 1920s quite effectively. By looking at various subcultures and their clashes with Victorianism, he makes the study of cultural change interesting, personable, and understandable. Coben shows that cultural change comes from individuals dissatisfied with the status quo. This readable book is valuable for anyone interested in Victorianism, modernity, cultural change, or the 1920s.

Reviewed by ***Wendy Barker,***
Graduate History Major.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE PRESIDENCY: Race and Gender in American Politics 1960–1972

Hugh Davis Graham

New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

In these days of Proposition 187 and debate over affirmative action, Hugh Davis Graham's history of the establishment of a civil rights bureaucracy and its implications is a must read for anyone interested in how we got where we are today. In an abridged version of *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy, 1960–1972*, Graham, a master on the history of policy making and implementation, writes from an approach that shows how decisions from powerful agencies affected the lives of citizens and offers a different perspective to the story of the civil rights struggle. He describes how the Civil Rights Movement intertwined with the different presidential administrations of this era and existing executive bureaus (the permanent government that transcends presidential administrations), Congress, and the courts to formulate and implement policy decisions. By linking together executive bureaus and the Civil Rights Movement, a client relationship developed. In the wake of gains made by civil rights advocates, women's rights re-emerged attaining a sense of group consciousness from Betty Friedan's "Feminine Mystique" and consciousness-raising sessions. Though women also initially followed the Civil Rights Movement call for equality, they subsequently departed the broad movement as it began to focus more on the goal consciousness of affirmative action. Graham credits the civil rights foundation laid down from 1960 to 1972 to the policies established during this period and the way they were implemented by the powerful new bureaucracies of social control such as the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCC), the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), and other semi-independent mission agencies in the Labor, Defense, and HEW cabinet departments.

Graham breaks down the Civil Rights Movement into two distinct phases: 1960 to 1965 and 1965 to 1972. The election of Kennedy in 1960 marked the beginning of an era in which a president was willing to advance the civil rights cause, unlike the aloof Eisenhower administration. However, Kennedy lacked a clear mandate and his desire to advance his other domestic and foreign policy goals pushed the civil rights agenda aside. Instead, President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, began taking small steps toward change within their realm of power by using the avenue of executive discretion open to them. John Kennedy used the patronage system to appoint NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall to the Second Circuit Court of Appeals of New York, an important break from past reluctance to appoint minorities to high-ranking government posts. Robert Kennedy used the Justice Department to aggressively enforce existing presidential authority, facing down opposition to court ordered integration in New Orleans public schools and the University of Georgia.

In Graham's assessment, the Civil Rights Movement began with the election of a president who supported civil rights and battled discrimination by bringing forth landmark legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965. Subsequently, the Equal Employment Act of 1972 helped consolidate civil rights during the early 1970s. These legislative measures exemplify the major scope of Graham's thesis that policy and the nature of its implementation shaped the present civil rights foundation. President Nixon solidified the civil rights foundation by pushing a more progressive course that would politically divide the Democrats between white male union labor members and civil rights advocates. Nixon cynically straddled the fence between civil rights advocates and the white backlash that had helped elect him.

Graham builds his thesis on the paper trail of government documents, archival records, and secondary sources, along with his interpretation of their relative importance. His use of these materials in describing the first phase are rather non-controversial and historically accepted by many. Reflected within these materials was the growing popular consensus for progress in civil rights that was developing, as a horrified American public viewed the televised images of brutality displayed at Birmingham and Selma. Popular sympathy enabled President Johnson and Republican Minority leader Everett Dirksen to push through Congress the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965. Graham's writing is informative in showing how political expediencies of the time affected legislation in ways no one originally intended. This was done through political wrangling that enabled a bi-partisan coalition to enact the Civil and Voting Rights Acts. This required overcoming the gridlock of "Judge" Smith's conservative House Rules Committee, the Southern filibuster in the Senate, and Smith's effort to derail the coalition by inserting the word "sex" into the civil rights bill. The last move failed to divide the bill's supporters; rather, it tied together the Civil Rights and Women's Movements.

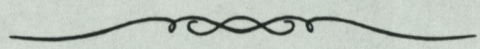
Graham attempts to show how the policy cycle and growing court acceptance of the bureaucracy's experts contributed to building an "Iron Quadrangle" which was formed between the federal agencies, their clients, congressional supporters, and the courts. The policy cycle is shown by how a broad outline is laid down by legislation and then shaped by those agencies that are in charge of implementing it; in the case of civil rights, the relative bureaucracies were the OFCC, EEOC, and the sub-agencies of HEW. In present attacks upon civil rights and affirmative action, today's conservatives would do well to remember that civil rights advocates are not the only special interests but have followed the same path paved by business groups, military-industrial clients, and other conservative causes.

Within the broad spectrum of Civil Rights Movement's "Iron Quadrangle," what part did the Women's Movement play? Graham presents a convincing argument that the Women's Movement diverged from the course of the Civil Rights Movement with its affirmative action agenda due to their differences in aims. African

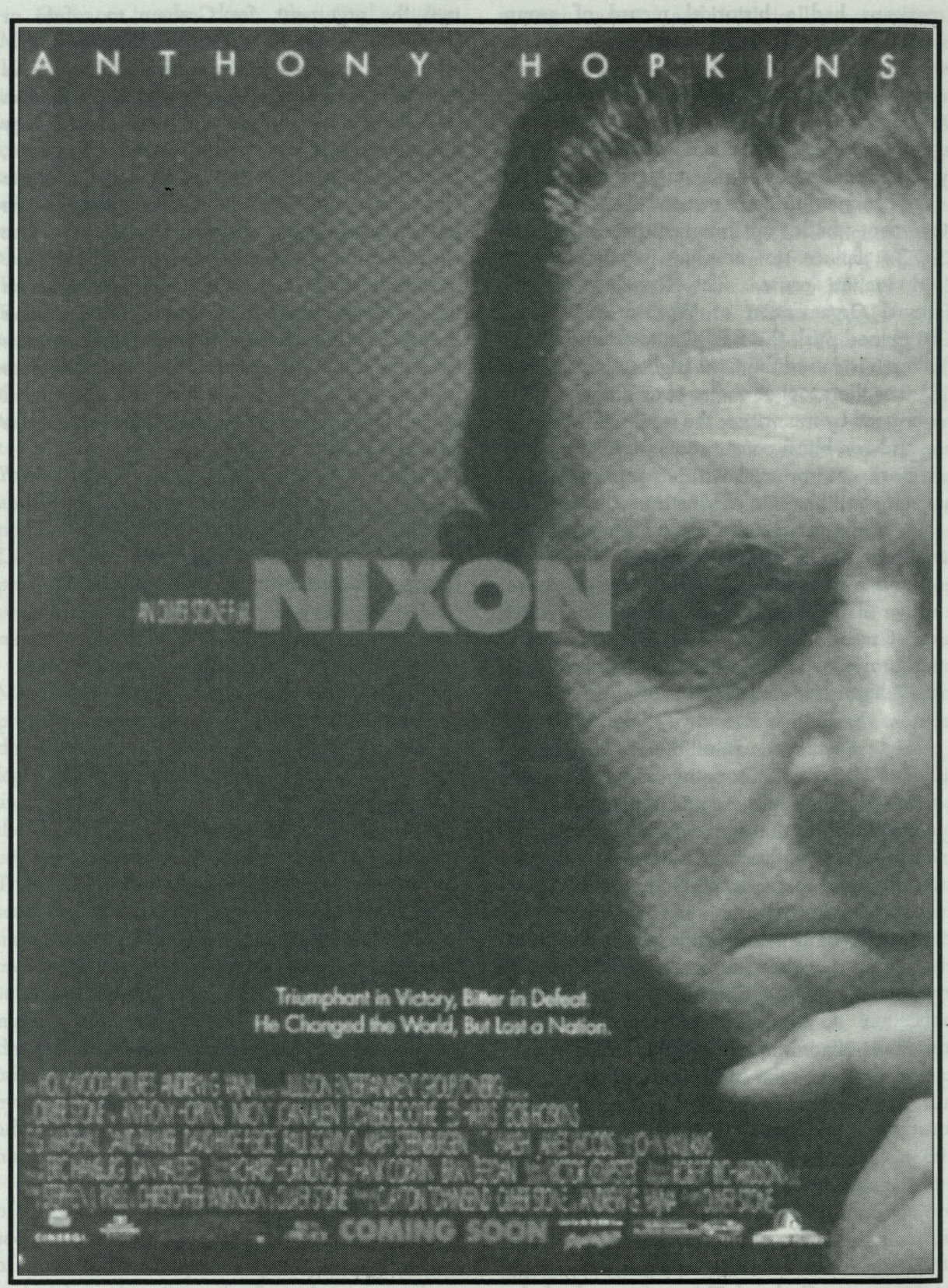
Americans had a historical record of group discrimination. Women, however, cohabited with the enemy. They were split along class lines: working class women (supported by Democrats) initially desired protective legislation, while professional women (supported by Republicans) wanted to remove "glass ceiling" barriers to advancement. The Women's Movement built up momentum after the EEOC's failure to advance women's anti-discrimination causes. The founding of the National Organization of Women (NOW) in 1966 helped push the EEOC into taking action. The feminists used the Civil Rights Act of 1964's Title 6 as their tool of choice over Title 7, which was favored by minorities; the former advanced a race and sex blind constitution while the latter was more controversial with its interpretations that were building into affirmative action.

In writing about the second phase of the Civil Rights Movement, Graham leaves the reader with the feeling that his evidence is too selective in his choice of documents and court cases. Graham builds a case that affirmative action progressed along a linear path from public policy, legislative implementation, and court decisions. Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 set a precedent with its use of the vague Wagner Bill of 1935 phrase, affirmative action, and with it, a case grew to replace equal opportunity with equal rights. With that agenda gaining consensus among civil rights advocates, federal intervention into the public sector grew. Graham's examples include federal intervention and Supreme Court decisions. Federal intervention proceeded from opening up Lockheed-Marrieta in 1961 using President Kennedy's Executive Order and its application to federal contractors through President Nixon's "Philadelphia Plan" that opened up the union-controlled building trade with its minority preference policy. Supreme Court decisions cited were the Jones v. Mayer (1968) housing case destroying private discrimination and the Griggs (1971) case that gave approval to the EEOC expertise. As convincing as these examples are, the reader is left disappointed that cases and precedents that run counter to Graham's thesis are not brought into the argument, for Graham to refute or diminish, if he could.

Taken as a whole, Graham's book provides an important foundation from which people can understand how the policy aspects of yesterday created today's civil rights debate. However, Graham implies that the policy cycle and the "Iron Quadrangle" of civil rights advocates made today's civil rights situation inevitable. The reader would gain further insight into just how inevitable today's situation would be if given examples of cases that run counter to Graham's thesis. This fact alone says much for Graham's work, in that it creates a desire for people to further explore the subjects of civil rights and policy history that they may have otherwise ignored.



Reviewed by ***Michael Greenman,***
Undergraduate History Major.



Ad for the movie: Nixon, featuring Anthony Hopkins.

NIXON:

Produced by Clayton Townsend, Oliver Stone, and Andrew Vajna;

Written by Stephen J. Rivele, Christopher Wilkinson and Oliver Stone;

Released through Hollywood Pictures, 1995; 190 Minutes.

Many throughout America will see the movie *Nixon* and leave the theater believing they had just seen a factual account of the life of Richard Nixon. Never mind that a disclaimer is shown in which the audience is told, "It is based on numerous sources and on an incomplete historical record...and some scenes among protagonists have been conjectured." There will be some in the audience who do not understand it or will forget the disclaimer by the end of the movie. Some will leave believing the film to be factual. The disclaimer should have been short and to the point, such as, not all events of the film are based on fact. This raises the question of the validity of the docudrama within the historical field. Does the advantage of reaching a massive viewing audience outweigh the misrepresentations that are often found in docudramas? Many will see the movie having very little factual knowledge of who Richard Nixon was and what the circumstances were surrounding his downfall. There will be people who will see Oliver Stone's portrayal of Nixon as a man whose only concern was his political ambition.

In *Nixon: The Book of the Film*, Oliver Stone does not hide the fact that he took dramatic license in making the film. One of the producers, Eric Hamburg, states "We are not trying to rewrite history, or even to write it. We are placing an interpretation on history"(5). Stating that the movie is not based solely on factual evidence causes Nixon to lose much of its validity as a historical tool. What the film does do that no other aid can do is to reach a wider audience. The docudrama is a valuable tool that should be utilized to its maximum potential. There should be caution in the utilization of such aids that are not exactly accurate in its usage of fact.

Nixon is directed by Oliver Stone, well known for directing controversial films. Some of the films have been *JFK, Born on the Fourth of July, Platoon,* and *Wall Street*. Stone attempts to tell the story of Nixon, a man who is seen as dark and sinister, whose preoccupation in life is power. In presenting this interpretation, Stone's cast is very capable of bringing Nixon's story to life. The part of Nixon is played by Anthony Hopkins, who in spite of the lack of certain similarities, does a marvelous job. Pat Nixon is portrayed by Joan Allen, who really shines as the First Lady. Other cast members include James Woods (Bob Haldeman), Powers Boothe (Alexander Haig), J.T.Walsh (John Ehrlichman) and Paul Sorvino (Henry Kissinger). The acting in the picture is excellent. By the end, one is convinced that many of the actors are the persons they are portraying. Stone's interpretation of these participants is significant. In making this film, Oliver Stone brought in men who were invloved in the Nixon Administration for advice. John Dean, Alexander Butterfield, and Alexander Haig were among several who were consulted. Everyone of these "advisors" had their own agendas and different views as to exactly what happened. Many prominent men of the Nixon administration have either published books or are in the process of writing about their recollections. As David Thelen points out in *Memory and American History*, memory is a constructed thing. We choose what we remember. As in the case of Nixon, those who have knowledge of the facts need to be quick to point out the factual flaws that are contained in a docudrama via whatever means are available. The docudrama can stimulate the general public's interest and create dialogue about events that are "historical facts." Stone's movie is significant in that it creates a curiosity about Nixon.

The movie starts out with the White House Plumbers preparing to break into the Watergate complex. These men are shown as ruthless and having no moral qualms about breaking the law. Then the film moves to the White House on a

stormy night, thus giving a sense that there is something dark and sinister going on at 1600 Pennsylvania Aveune. Here we get our first glimpse of Nixon. He is sitting in the Lincoln room, alone in the dark, drinking scotch. It is this Nixon that Stone focuses on, a Nixon who is really alone no matter what the cirumstances. Tapes are brought to the President, tapes that recorded many of the conversations which prove that Nixon used illegal means to try to cover-up any White House involvement in the Watergate break-in.

Watergate is the focus of the Stone movie. Throughout the movie, Stone takes the audience back and forth from the young Richard growing up in Whittier to the rise of the ambitious Nixon. Black and white is used for the scenes that show the young man in small town California. The last half of the movie focuses on his presidency with a great emphasis on the Watergate scandal. The director shows pictures that are almost subliminal. Voices that are supposed to be reporters keep the viewer informed of major events involving Nixon.

Throughout the film, Stone attempts to provide explanantions of the President's character and actions. Repeatedly, there are flashbacks of the pre-presidential Nixon. Young Richard is shown working in his father's Whittier grocery store, ever mindful that his parents are watching. Nixon's mother is a God-fearing woman who demands honesty from her children. The father is pictured as hard-working man trying to show his sons that only by repeated effort can they succeed in life. Stone's Richard Nixon grew up in an atmosphere devoid of tenderness from both parents: this was the cause for his hardness, suspicion, paranoia and hunger for power. Another lasting image that is evoked is Nixon's comparing his successes to his father's failures. Several times Nixon tells of how his father died with no money: the viewer is led to believe that Nixon was ashamed of his father. It is this shame which gives Nixon his drive to constantly prove himself the winner in whatever he competes for.

As in many of his other films, Stone gives his version of how events happened, which is quite different from accepted historical facts. Stone shows Nixon in a meeting with wealthy oil barons in or near Dallas on November 21, 1963. They tell Nixon of their distaste for President John Kennedy and that they want him replaced, even insinuating that Kennedy may not be running in 1964 as these are dangerous times and anything can happen. True, Nixon was in Dallas on that day. He was working for the Pepsi-Cola corporation. But there is absolutely no evidence to support the idea that Nixon met with a group of Texans who may have had a hand in the Kennedy assassination.

What makes the meeting with the Texas oil men so intriguing is their possible connection to Track II. According to the movie, Track II is the Central Intelligence Agency code name for a CIA effort to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro, involving mobsters and Cuban emigres. The film has Nixon telling his Chief of Staff, Bob Haldeman, about Track II (when he was vice-president, he ran much of that operation out of the White House). Nixon explains that forner CIA operative E. Howard Hunt (played by Ed Harris) was deeply involved in the Track II operation. Hunt was one of the "Plumbers" who broke into the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate complex. Thus, Nixon has to give in to Hunt's blackmail demands because he knows too much about Nixon's involvement in Track II. There is no documentation that establishes that the Eisenhower administration initiated a plan to assassinate Castro; rather, the plans to kill Castro were developed later during the Kennedy administration.

What makes the whole Track II conspiracy theory so interesting and far-fetched is that it is blamed for the assassination of President Kennedy. What Stone does is link his earlier *JFK* to *Nixon*. In *JFK*, Stone asserts that Track II was out of control during the Kennedy administration. When Kennedy threatened to pull the United States out of Vietnam, the military-industrial complex got rid of the President using Track II operatives.

Nixon is portrayed in the film as a heavy drinker. The viewer is led to believe that the President often was drinking excessively. There

is much evidence to suggest that Nixon was not a heavy drinker; rather, he was a social drinker. Alexander Haig, Nixon's Chief of Staff, stated on ABC's *This Week With David Brinkley* that Nixon never allowed alcohol in the Oval Office. Haig further stated the President was a one or two glass drinker as he knew that he had a low tolerance for alcohol.

Stone portrays Nixon and his wife Pat fighting several times in the movie. In one scene, after Nixon realizes he has lost the 1962 California guberatorial election, he is confronted by his wife stating she wants a divorce.
Pat (coldly)

> I've always stood by you. I campaigned for you when I was pregnant. During Checkers, when Ike wanted you out, I told you to fight. This is different, Dick. You've changed. You've grown more...bitter, like you're at war with the world. You weren't that way before. You scare me sometimes...I'm fifity years old now, Dick. How many people's hands have I shaken--people I didn't like, people I didn't even know. It's as if, I don't know, I went to sleep a long time ago and missed the years between...I've had enough.

Nixon tells her he will quit politics to keep her. In a later scene, the First Lady visits a tired president in his White House bedroom, yet Nixon is shown as being very disinterested in his wife. Mrs. Nixon tells her husband that her love is not enough, that he wants the people to love him and that they never will. Further into the movie, Stone shows a distant president and his distant wife eating alone at opposite ends of a long table at the White House. Nixon summons a servant and tells him "Mrs. Nixon is finished." An angry Pat Nixon tells her husband "Dick, sometimes I understand why they hate you." There is no evidence to prove these conversations ever happened.

Stone changes history in his account of Nixon's drive for the presidency in 1968. In 1964, Richard Nixon supported the Republican nominee for the president, Barry Goldwater. Nixon did a lot of campaigning for Goldwater and other Republicans, winning their gratitude. In 1966, Nixon worked tirelessly, traveling throughout the country making speeches to help Republicans win various offices. Thus, as the presidential election of 1968 approached, Nixon had positioned himself to make a run for the nomination. In the movie, Nixon does not decide to run until 1968, after Lyndon Johnnson announced that he would not seek another term. The movie also portrays Robert Kennedy as the likely winner of the Democratic nomination in 1968. In reality, Hubert Humphrey was the front runner in delegates.

Stone does not show the movie viewer the major domestic policy events and successes of the Nixon administration. For instance, the President handled one of the most sensitive issues the nation has had to face: the desegregation of the school systems throughout the South. It was during the Nixon administration that the Enviromental Protection Agency was established, and many strict regulations for a better environment were enacted into law.

President Nixon's foreign policy is somewhat covered in the movie. Nixon's visit to China is shown as a triumph, one that perhaps only he could have carried off. Richard Nixon's success in negotiating the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) with the Soviets is examined briefly. So is the United States involvement in Southeast Asia and Nixon's goal of obtaining peace with honor. The most interesting aspect of Stone's reaccounting of foreign policy is the collaboration of Nixon and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, as they form a new foreign policy dealing with the Soviets and the Chinese. One country is played off against the other. Stone's Nixon tells the Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung, "The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

What is most disturbing about this film is that Stone focuses primarily on the dark side of Richard Nixon. Rarely does the viewer see any qualities in the movie that would show evidence of leadership. Viewers must wonder how Richard Nixon was able to win the presidency, let alone any poitical office. The Nixon movie is concerned only with his political ambitions and little else. In most scenes of Nixon as president, he is shown dealing with the Watergate cover-

up. The viewer is told that Nixon won the 1972 presidential election with the second largest margin of popular votes in history, yet it is never explained how he was able to win so convincingly.

The movie may have been entitled *Nixon*, but it could have also been entitled "The Olivier Stone Presidential Conspiracies Part II" (*JFK* being the first). There are many scenes throughout the film that are far from factual. There are meetings that take place in the film, such as a meeting between Nixon and Federal Bureau of Investigation Chief J. Edgar Hoover at a race track, that never happened. Similarly, the secret meeting between White House Counsel John Dean and E. Howard Hunt on a bridge late at night is another figment of the director's imagination. After watching this movie which mixes fact with conspiracy theories, I couldn't help but wonder, have we been "Stoned again?"

Reviewed by ***Timothy Strand,***
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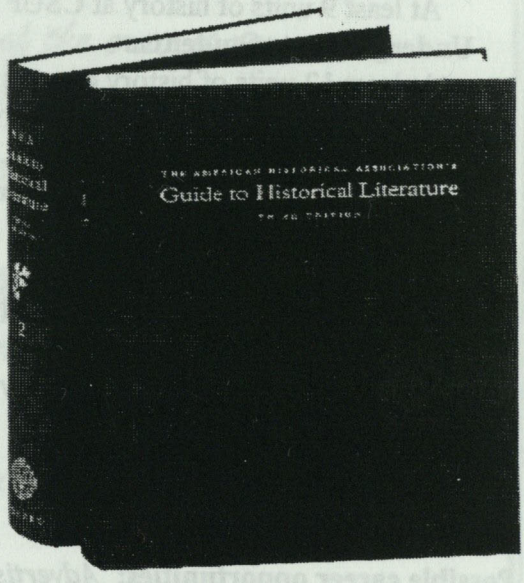

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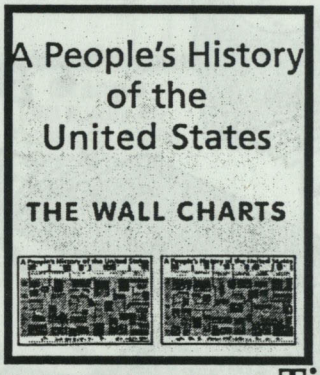

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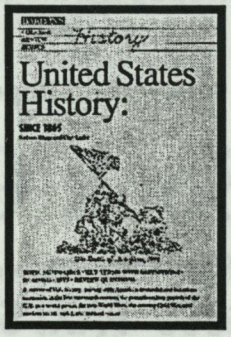

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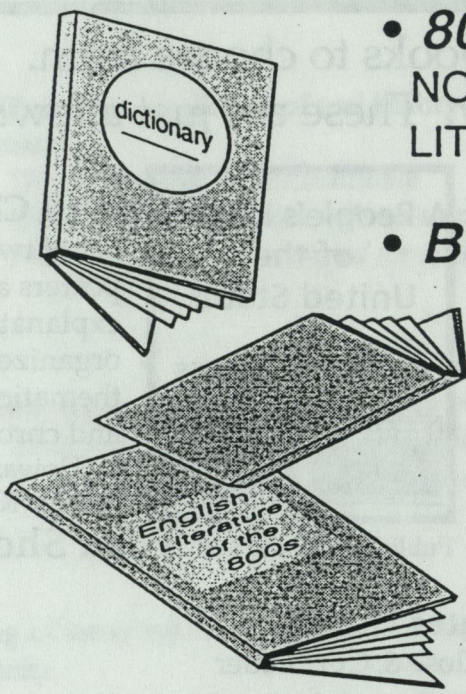

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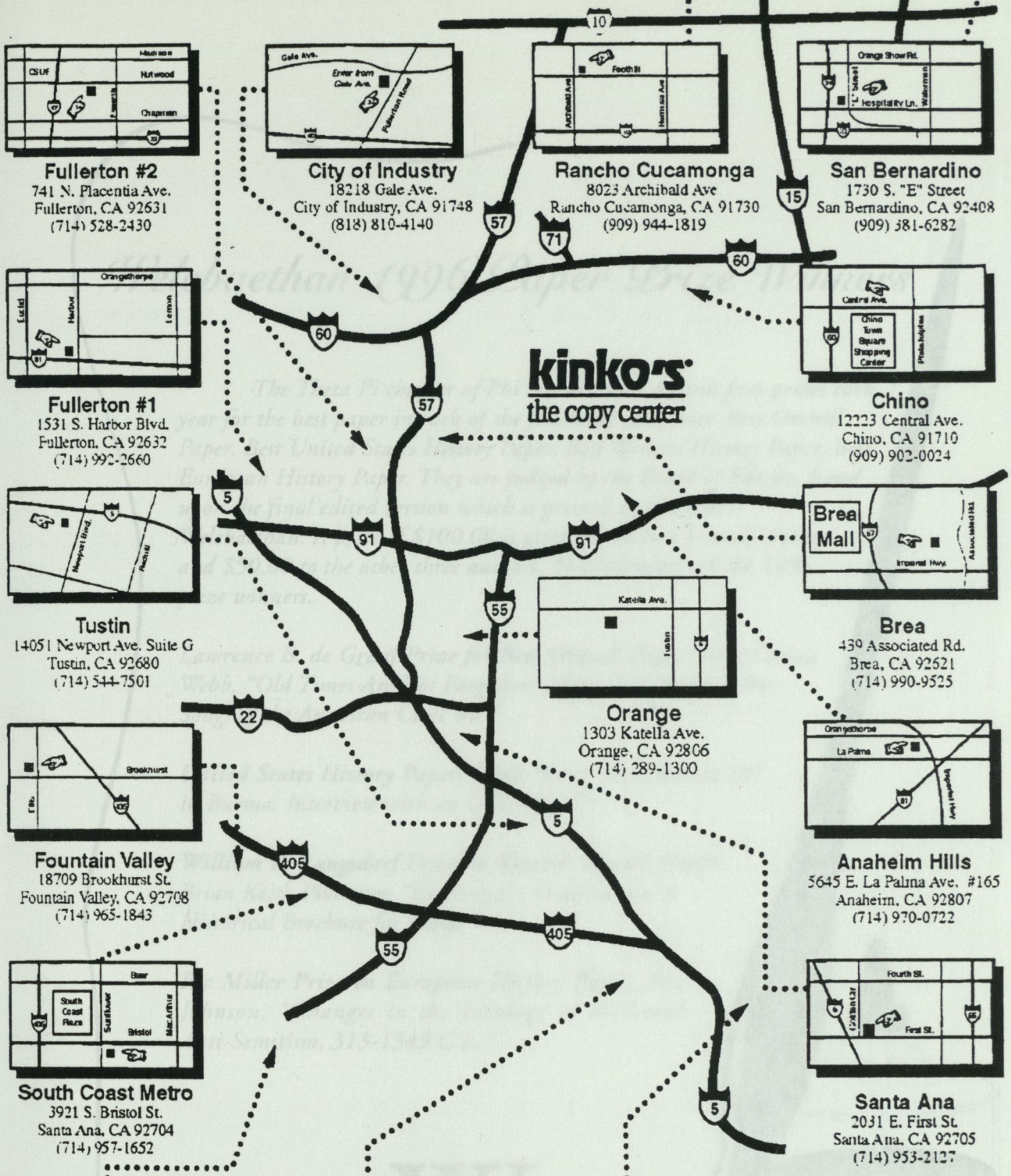

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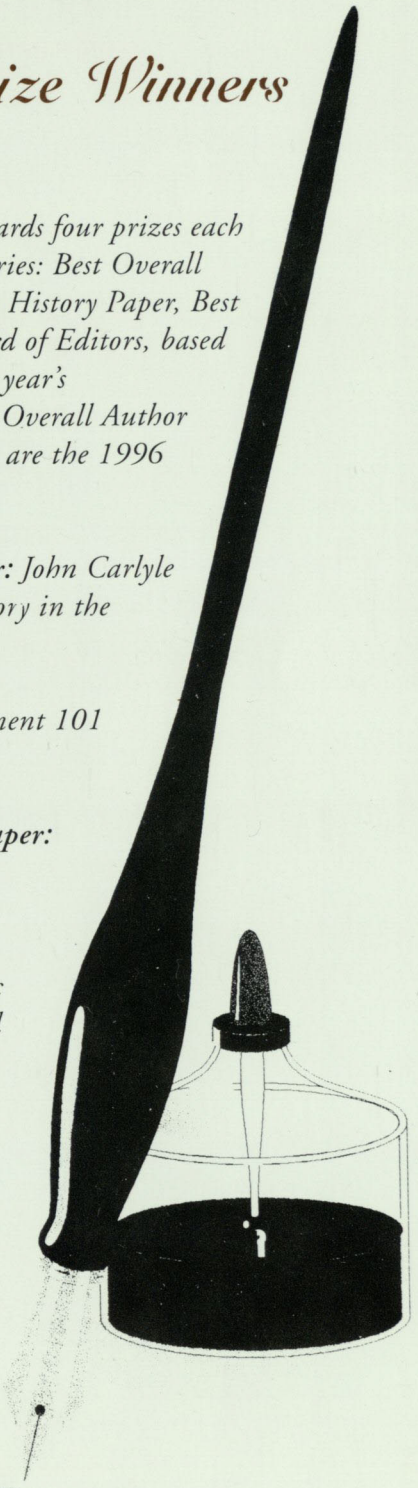

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