WELEBAETHAN

Journal of History 2003

1948

1901

1970

1956

1943

Statement of Purpose

Phi Alpha Theta is a professional organization with the objective of promoting the study of history through 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 its members in historical research and publication.

The Theta Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta International Honor Society of History, in cooperation with the History Students Association, publishes this journal jointly with the History Department of CSUF. The journal is used as a vehicle for history students to learn editing and publishing skills in preparation for the job market.

The *Welebaethan* is named in honor of Professor Shirley Weleba who died in 1973 from hypoglycemia. She arrived at campus in 1970 as the first staff member to specialize in African American History. A group of students and faculty decided to begin publishing an annual journal of history and named it in honor of Dr.Weleba, the first full-time faculty member to pass away. The first publication of the journal came out in 1974, bearing the name *Welebaethan*, a combination of Shirley Weleba's name and the Latin suffix Ethan, which means "in honor of ."

The nationally recognized *Welebaethan* is published annually and is specifically for the publication of historical topics. Along with traditional research-oriented articles, the journal accepts reviews of books, films, and exhibits, as well as oral histories and historiographical essays. Awards, one given to the superior paper in each of four categories, are determined annually.

Students interested in submitting their work for the 2004 edition of the journal have two opportunities to do so. The deadline for the first round of selections is September 15, 2003 and, for the second round of selections, February 7, 2004. Preferably, fewer than 35 pages are to be double-spaced and prepared using the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Papers must be submitted electronically along with submission form to the History Department via the department's web site.

The *Welebaethan* disclaims responsibility for statements, whether fact or opinion, made by the contributors.

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Table of Contents

2 Welebaethan Staff and Editorial Board
3 Theta Pi Chapter Officers and Acknowledgements
4 Table of Contents
6 Editorial Staff Biographies
17 Dedication
18 Note From the Editor

RESEARCH & HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS

The Americas

19 Rebellion's Sword: The Pueblo Revolt of 1680
By Thomas DeMartino

40 Attacking Anarchism: The Impact of President McKinley's Assassination on Anarchism
By Karen Rosa

53 The Mexican-American Experience in the Second World War
By Gregory Hoiland

63 A Cautionary Tale of Three Little Pigs: The Political Military Industrial Triumvirate in America
By Scott M. Behen

78 The Evolution of the Mother Figure in Television Series
By Sean O'Hare Langevin

World History

88 Tragedy in the New Forest: The Accidental Death of William II
By Lindley Carter Himes

101 Conflicts and Compromise: Military and Diplomatic Interaction Between Damascus and the Turks, 1104-1154
By Peter Yanez

119 Elizabethan England: A Study of Gender Roles in Conflict
By Lisa Lopez

135 From Commodity to Brother: The Popular Movement to Abolish the Slave Trade
By Charles Gray

162 The French Revolution and the External War
By Timothy R. Finch

182 When Conflicted with Evil: Israel Puts Itself on Trial
By Nedda Black

BOOK REVIEWS

209 A Glimpse of Sion's Glory
By John Stahler

217 Dark Side of Fortune
By Neal Lynch

221 Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne Poland
By Lisa Lopez

225 Grand Expectations: The United States 1945-1974
By Scott Behen

230 The Mouse That Roared
By John Stahler

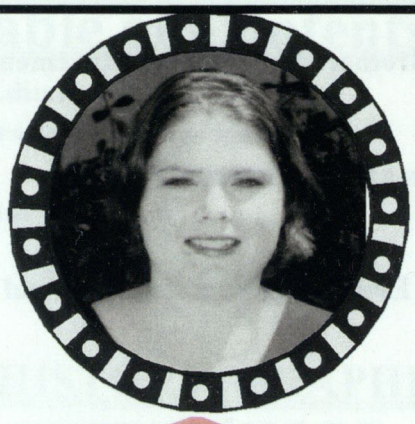
239 Telling the Truth about History
By Nicole Peeples

ORAL HISTORY

247 Homes of Their Own African-Americans and Housing Discrimination in Orange County
By Lori Iacovelli

AWARDS

253 Prize Winning Papers



Editor's Biography

Tiffany Delpe

Tiffany Dalpé is a Philosophy and History double major. This year, besides working as an editor on the Welebaethan, she is Philosophy Club President and is responsible for planning the 33rd Annual Philosophy Symposium where she will also offer commentary on one of the featured papers. She has been a teacher's assistant three semesters, most recently for the Philosophy of Sex and Love course during the fall semester. After graduating this spring, Tiffany will pursue a doctorate in Philosophy with special emphasis on Ethics and the History of Philosophy, specifically ancient philosophy. Tiffany's career goals include becoming a university professor and an academic writer.

Editor's Biography

Riley Alegre

Currently Riley is a Graduate student at California State University, Fullerton. After earning her Masters in history, she hopes to continue on to receive her PhD in Medieval history and teach at the College level.

She enjoys Epee Fencing and costume making. Standing at only 5 feet 5 inches she admits to a major disadvantage in Epee Fencing, but continues a rigorous training schedule in hopes of being competitive despite her lack of height. Currently she also gives classes to children who wish to learn fencing.

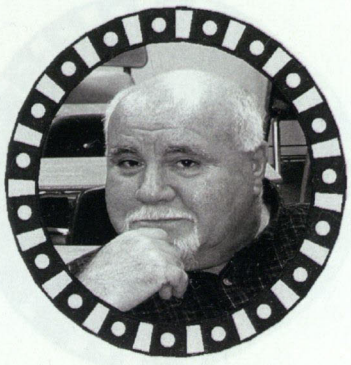
Editor's Biography

Adrian Donaldson

Being the son of a former Chinese refugee, and the descendant of an 18th century French-Irish General spawned Adrian's fascination for History at a young age. "I remember being amazed by my Mother's stories of the strict discipline that Mao Tse Tung enforced in his schools before the Cultural Revolution, when my relatives fled China."

After graduating in 2001 with a Bachelor's Degree in History form Cal.State Fullerton, Adrian decided to return to CSUF to pursue a Master's in History. Originally a native of Great Britain, Adrian has utilized a global network of friends and family to travel abroad to complete filming and research on his 18th century military documentary, for his graduate project.

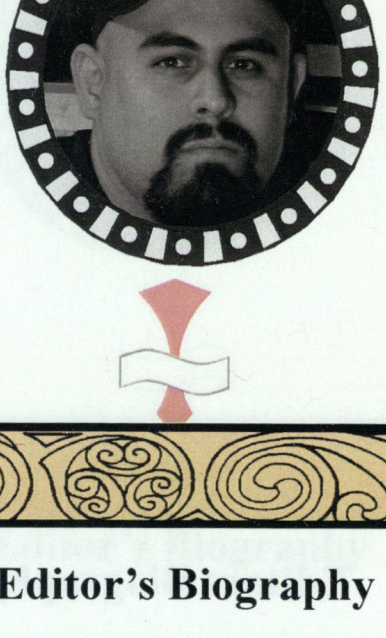
After completing his Master's Degree, Adrian's future plans involve teaching at the junior college level, while continuing to produce documentaries. "In addition to his career plans, Art, History, and travel remain permanent fixtures in my agenda."Adrian is a member of Phi Alpha Theta, and currently resides in South Orange County.



Editors Biography

Thomas De Martino

Tom is currently a school teacher who is well loved by his students, and is a dedicated father and husband. Tom is currently a graduate student in history, who will recieve his Masters in History this Spring. He has also been a featured author in last year's publication, and is featured again this year with his artilce *Rebllion's Sword: The Pueblo Revolt of 1860*. Tom has seen the world and just recently completed a trip to Vietnam.



Editor's Biography

Miguel Garcia

Miguel Garcia is an undergraduate student at California State University, Fullerton. He is currently working towards a bachelor's degree in history. Miguel's goal is to earn a PhD and teach at a prestigious university. His emphasis leans on American history. One era in history that Miguel enjoys is World War II. So much, that he hopes to write a book on the Mexican-American experience during the war since there is very little material on the subject.

Miguel is currently lives in South Gate, California. He is the first member of his family to attend college. His family supports him 100% on his decision to pursue an education and to make something of himself. He enjoys attending museums such as the Getty Center and plays such as Beauty and the Beast. In his spare time, he likes read, go to movies, or play basketball, and spend time with his girlfriend.

Miguel believes it is important for high school graduates to further their education. "Today's youth does not appreciate the benefits of a college education. Many see it as a waste of time. I see so many people work in meager jobs with no hope for the future. I do not want to end up in a career that I do not enjoy. I myself thought that way coming out of high school. Then I remember a sign I saw on a billboard the day I graduated high school. It said the free ride was over."

Editor's Biography

Charles Gray

Charles Gray is a graduate student at California State University, Fullerton. Currently, his main interests in history rest in the British Slave trade and Chinese History and culture. Charles also works in a variety of outside activities, including layout and design, and is also an intern mentor at Fullerton City College.

Editor's Biography

Mateo M. Farzaneh

Mateo Farzaneh, an Iranian-American, migrated from Iran in the summer of 1984 at the age of sixteen in light of the tragic ongoing war between Iran and Iraq, which lasted for eight years. The war resulted in the deaths of some very close friends and the capture of his brother by the Iraqi Army. After Mateo served as a junior paramedic in the Iranian Red Crescent and the Army for two years, he decided to leave home for a better life in America.

Once in the United States Mateo attended Valencia High School in California for a year, he was accepted into the competitive Kaiser Permanente Summer Youth Program in 1985. Because of an outstanding position in the program, he was offered full time employment as a medical transcriber after only one year of reading, writing, and speaking a new language, English. While working full time and supporting himself financially, Mateo attended Cypress College and Saddleback College where he graduated from Saddleback School of Nursing in 1991.

After working in a variety of medical settings, he pursued his life long dream of producing and performing Latin music. The fascination with Spanish music encouraged him to live in Spain for a short period and learn his third language. He won many awards and subsequently he founded an independent record company in 1996. His music career took him to a variety of places at a young age, which created an interest in reading history books and articles.

Mateo had found his second passion, history. He went back to school to study history in California State University Fullerton in 2000 and graduated in January of 2002. Eager for more, he is now graduate student at CSUF with an emphasis in the Jewish history of the Middle East. He plans to peruse a doctorate degree in 2004.

Editors Biography

Sheldon Ogata

Sheldon is a native Californian who was raised as a child between the Big Island of Hawaii and Orange County. Sheldon's ethic background is both Uchinanchu (Okinawan) and Nihong(Japanese). In his early youth in Hakakalau, Hawaii, Sheldon was taught about his Okinawan heritage and practices. As a youth he learned that Okinawan tradtions were very distinct from Japanese tradtions, and has maintained both tradtions as he has grown older. However, when it comes to his vaules and principles of life, they are strongly rooted in Okinawan tradtions taught to him by his Grandma Kanna, on his mother side.

In his early youth Sheldon was exposed to Japanese martial arts, until he turned 18, when he became heavily involved in tradtional Chinese martial arts and contiues to work at both the tradtion and history of martial arts. Sheldon was also a featured author and editor in last year's Welebaethan. This year he has been working on the layout and design with Chief Editor Mike Woods to develop this years journal.

Sheldon will graduate this Spring with his Masters in History, while also completeing a documentry film on Marital Arts culture. He intends to pursue a PH.D in History and Asian Studies after completing his graduate degree, he is also a proud member of Phi Alpha Theta, and Dr. Gordon Bakkens journal team.

Editor's Biography
Charlene Riggins

I was born on December 19, 1951 in Memphis, Tennessee. However, my family moved to California when I was 18 months old, so I consider California my home. I am the third of six children of which there are five females and one male.What I consider interesting about my siblings is that the three older children born in Memphis all live in areas south of my mother and the ones born in California live within walking distance from my mother so, I tease them about not cutting the umbilical cord.

Growing up in California I attended St. Leo's Catholic School and Regina Celia Catholic High School where I graduated in 1971. After graduating from high school I obtained a job with Pacific Telephone Company and worked for three years.I moved to Orange County in 1975 and obtained a position at California State University, Fullerton. I have been on staff at CSUF for 27 years.

I met my husband, Chester Riggins, Jr. while working at the university. He is a national security investigator contracted by the Federal Government. My husband is a native Californian born and raised in Fresno. He graduated from CSU, Fresno in 1978 with a bachelor of arts in business administration. We were married on February 28, 1981. We have no children but are very good parents to our dog Samantha, which we have had for eleven years.

I decided to go back to school and complete my college education in 1996. It was through the coaxing of a very fine educator at CSUF, Dr. Ronald Rietvelt that persuaded me to do so. He made history come alive in our discussions and I took the leap of faith. I graduated in August 2001 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in history and afro-ethnic studies. I am currently pursuing a master's degree in history at CSU, Fullerton and hope to teach on the community college level upon completion.

Editor's Biography

Michael G. Woods

Michael G. Woods, Chief Editor of this year's edition of the *Welebaethan,* is a graduate student pursuing his Master of Arts degree in history at California State University, Fullerton. His emphasis is in California history specifically, land utilization and the social history of our state. Upon completion of his degree, Michael hopes to continue his study in the field of American Studies or Education. He would like to teach at a junior college and prepare documentaries for educational purposes.

Michael grew up in Orange County and earned a bachelor's degree from California State Polytechnic University, Pomona in 1988. He completed his single subject teaching credential at Mt. Saint Mary's College in Los Angeles in 1995 when he worked at St. John Bosco High School in Bellflower. This year Michael is a Southern California Historical Society Whitsett Student Fellow and maintains memberships in the Organization of American Historians and the National Council of Social Studies. Currently Michael serves as President of CSUF's Theta Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. In the past Michael has had an essay and book review published in the *Welebaethan Journal of History.* He currently teaches American history and American government and politics at Santa Margarita Catholic High School in south Orange County.

On a personal note, Michael has been happily married to Marnie, a teacher and reading specialist, for the past fourteen years. Marnie works for Capistrano Unified School District. Michael and Marnie reside in Mission Viejo with their two daughters, 12-year-old Megan and 9-year-old Casey. In his spare time, Michael enjoys traveling with his family in California, hiking, camping, and fly-fishing for trout.

Academic Advisor Biography

Dr. Gordon M. Bakken

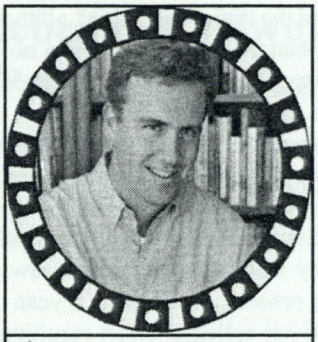
Gordon Morris Bakken is Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton, Past President of Phi Alpha Theta, a Director of the California Supreme Court Historical Society, Parliamentarian of the Organization of American Historians, Series Editor of The Legal History of North America for the University of Oklahoma Press, Editor of Law in the Western United States (2000) for the University of Oklahoma Press, and a member of the editorial board of Western Legal History.

Professor Bakken earned his B.S. (1966), M.S. (1967), PhD. (1970) and J.D. (1973) at the University of Wisconsin. He is the author of fourteen books, thirty-eight articles, sixteen book chapters and encyclopedia entries, and numerous reviews. He is co-author with Brenda Farrington of Learning California History (1999), Harlan Davidson, Inc. and the six-volume work, The American West (2000), Garland Publishing, Inc. He has held twelve research grants including the Russell Sage Residency Fellowship in Law, two American Bar Foundation Fellowships, and the Bradley Fellowship at the Montana Historical Society.

Professor Bakken has been the Theta Pi Chapter, Phi Alpha Theta faculty advisor since 1982. Although he has been involved in the publication of the *Welebaethan* since 1982, this is his second year teaching the History and Editing course. He thanks Professor Larry de Graaf for his time, counsel, and leadership in making the *Welebaethan* a nationally recognized journal of history.

The Welebaethan 2003 Edition Dedication

As we embarked on the road of completing this year's Welebaethan, many returned to help us with this task, a few joined us, and sadly, one passed prior to the completion of the journey. To him, Clark Davis, Associate Professor of History, we dedicate this edition.



Clark Davis, Ph.D
Associate Proffessor of History

1967-2003

Professor Davis' academic accomplishments were numerous and he served California State University, Fullerton as a scholarly example to his students and an asset to the History Department. He earned his Ph.D. at the University of Southern California and specialized in American history specifically California social history: race, gender, and ethnicity. He came to CSUF in fall 2000 as an Assistant Professor from La Sierra University. His scholarship soon gained him national recognition with the publication of his first book *Company Men: White-Collar Life and Corporate Culture in Los Angeles, 1892-1941 (Johns Hopkins Press, 2000).* His curriculum vita listed the publication of numerous articles and lectures. As a promising young historian, he served as the Book Review Editor for the Southern California Quarterly and for the past ten years directed the Los Angeles History Research Group at the Huntington Library in San Marino. It was at the Huntington that he passed away on the morning of Tuesday, February 4, 2003, at the age of thirty-six.

I met Dr. Davis the first semester he began teaching at Fullerton when I stood in his office begging for admittance to his section of the U.S.History Research Seminar. He surprised many students when he taught the course from a focus specifically designed around California – its history and rich diversity of culture. He drew on the resources of the Oral History Program when he taught the course in a room adjacent to its office on the fourth floor of the Pollak Library. There he introduced the class to conference presentations, and the précis – a staple tool of his courses used to assess writing ability in the first week. Dr. Davis frequently accommodated my requests for help and solicited input on my work from a prominent historian at his alma mater. I left the seminar with not only a greater understanding of what a historian is, but also a sense of accomplishment derived from improving my researching, reading, and writing skills.

Last spring I had the opportunity to take another one of his classes, U.S. Cultural History and discovered that eager students clamored to add the course of this now popular professor. Despite the cadre of students that reenrolled in his classes, he was known as a challenging professor. I think all who took one of his courses would agree that he demanded effort from his history students and strove to bring out the best in them by asking, "Why should trees die for your paper?"

The Welebaethan was important to Professor Davis. He pulled me aside one day last year and stressed the importance of demanding quality writing. It seemed as if having history published was in his blood. When it came time to select papers for this addition he eagerly assisted on the Board in reading and scrutinizing submissions. Last fall from time to time we passed in the halls of the Humanities Building and he always asked for an update on the journal. Today I am sorry that he is not here to analyze the final work as I hope that it would rise to his tree-worthy standard for scholarship.

I hope Dr. Davis would be proud of this edition of the Welebaethan as his contributions were many even though he was with us for only a short time. I believe I can comfortably speak on the behalf of the Welebaethan Staff and Board, the History Department, and Cal State Fullerton that he will be sorely missed and never entirely replaced.

Farewell,
Michael G. Woods,
Chief- Editor

Note From The Editor

For weeks, the staff bantered about ideas worthy of this year's theme and cover for the *Welebaethan*. Last year's truly impressive book edited by Sally Pierotti on which many of this year's editors cut their teeth set a standard for the staff that became a worthy mark to rise. Sometime in February, the idea of a timeline came to us in a staff meeting. I do not know who originally floated the notion but I think all those present would agree that it was a collaborative realization fitting of the University's history journal. There is no better illustration of the continuum of history than the timeline. The portrayals of events, ideas, and people that contribute to our study all have their place yet none occurs in isolation. The *Welebaethan* is like that too.

Today's *Welebaethan* is very much result of both students and faculty that contributed their talents and skills to previous additions. The earliest versions twenty-nine years ago were merely compilations of student work collected and compiled into something that resembled a booklet in form. Typewriters and Xerox machines turned of the work from year to year. Today California State University, Fullerton offers a semester course, Historical Editing, which professionally edits the journal. Many students over the last few years enroll in internships or independent study to return and participate in the editing process, which lasts a year. In doing so they teach and mentor newer staff members in what becomes a student driven collegial effort resulting in continued award winning recognition. Much of the actual editing took place electronically as editors and authors collaborated via email and cellular phone. Last year's efforts to edit in cyberspace as quirky as troublesome as it was became the standard for this year's journal as many of the kinks were worked out. Arrangements were made for electronic submission of essays, book reviews, and oral histories from the History Department web site. Additionally PDF versions of the journal are available which I hope will lead to a web-based edition of the Welebaethan.

The Board that selects the publishable works is made up of faculty members from the University and students that have served on the *Welebaethan* Staff. Each papers submitted to the Board was subjected to a double blind read and awarded points for various criteria dependent on what type of work it was. Papers that represented the highest quality of students' achievement were offered an opportunity for publication. Editors work with authors to craft the papers into one that represents the highest level of scholarship. This year's board reviewed 52 works and accepted 22. Often multiple invitations for publication were extended to some authors having more that one quality entry. In this journal, the reader will find the fruits our collective efforts to include eleven essays, six book reviews, and an oral history.

Personally, I am grateful all those who helped in the publication of this edition. The continued support and encouragement from the faculty and the Cal State Fullerton History Department aided immensely. The generosity of the Associated Student Body provided the financial support to help cover the majority of publication costs. Professor Gordon Bakken in his third year as faculty advisor requires special recognition. His experience in publishing, advice, and antidotes provided both the necessary direction and safety valve for a sometimes-hectic task. Most of all Dr. Bakken's input and encouragement resulted in allowing the journal staff to gain confidence as they benifited from this ultimately enjoyable and educationally rewarding experience. Finally, the Staff of this year's *Welebaethan* who always were willing to take on assignments and eagerly attacked any obstacle that threatened this publication. Thank you most of all for putting up with me when I became consumed with the stress of deadlines and problems that arose. You were often the calm ones who grounded me in the realizations that all would work out, it did, and now here it is.

As stated the *Welebaethan* is a continuum like a timeline yet it is a continuum of student achievement in the History Department. It reflects the toils of the journal staff, faculty, and university members who assist in its publication. All have committed to making a journal better than last year's. It is ultimately rewarding to be a part of this project as the experiences will be drawn on long after the staff leaves the University. I would encouraged all history student's to get involved in the Welebaethan there are never enough authors or editors there is only plenty of history to fill our journal.

Michael G. Woods
Chief Editor

Rebellions's Sword: The Puelblo Revolt of 1680

By Thomas De Martino

Edited and Introduced by Riley Allegre

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was a fascinating moment in Mexican history. In this article, Tom De Martino not only delves into the factors that lead to the revolt, but the revolt itself and the eventual re-conquest of the Pueblo by the Spanish. De Martino deftly describes first the Spanish exploration that led to the discovery and subsequent conquest of the Pueblo people. He elaborates on the harsh Spanish rule that prompted the desperately angry natives to unify, defeat the Spanish, and ultimately drive them from the Pueblo territory.

At the heart of this paper lies the examination and explanation of the factors that allowed and even encouraged the people of Pueblo to unify. Ironically, some of the same factors would contribute to their inability to retain the cohesion that had allowed them to defeat the Spanish. In the end, the Spanish were able to return and reclaim the Pueblo lands and people. Insightful and appealing, this paper is an excellent introduction not only to the Pueblo people of the "New World," but also Spanish politics and conquest of the time.

> Before the invention of the atomic bomb, the one American nightmare that could match terrifying thoughts of the Day of Doom or fears of a slave rebellion was the idea of an Indian uprising. If seismographs could have measured the force and intensity of nightmares become real, any seismographs in the New Mexico of August 1680 would have been knocked off their bases by the Pueblo Revolt that began on the tenth day of that month.[1]

Introduction

In 1675, Juan Francisco de Trevino, the governor of Santa Fe, arrested forty-seven medicine men from the Tewa Pueblo of San Juan, a village located slightly north of present-day Espanola, New Mexico, on charges of idolatry and witchcraft. Eventually, four of the Tewa were hanged and the rest were subjected to public whipping and a term of imprisonment. A medicine man and survivor of the ordeal named Pope (or Popay) vowed revenge for this cruelty.[2]

Over the next five years, Pope organized the most successful revolt ever accomplished against the Spanish interlopers and freed the region from Spanish influence for over a decade. In the process of fomenting this rebellion, Pope managed to overcome tribal divisions, language differences and the seemingly insurmountable distances between these desert communities in such a meticulous fashion that thirty-five pueblos rose on the same day, catching the Spanish almost completely off guard. The immediate result of this Indian blitzkrieg was the extermination of one-fifth of the Spanish population in what was to become New Mexico, the abandonment of the territorial capital at Santa Fe, and the frantic migration of the Spanish survivors southward to El Paso, which became the interim capital until the early 1690's. Obviously, the phenomenal result of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 had much to do with Pope's personal skills and influence in accomplishing what the various Pueblo villages had sporadically attempted against the unwelcome Spanish over the past 150 years. However, the fact that these divergent Indian tribes managed to work in unison to oust a common enemy also speaks to the level of frustration that the Pueblo had finally reached in order to make successful rebellion a reality.

Over the years, some historians have variously assigned the underlying cause of the Pueblo Revolt to the incompatibility of Native Religion with Christianity, the lack of a substantial Spanish military presence in the New Mexico area, the internecine conflict between Franciscan missionaries and the local civil authorities, and the burden of the encomienda system upon the Indian population.[3] Other historians have offered the rise in natural calamities and the upsurge of raids upon Pueblo territory by their natural enemies, the Apaches and Navajos, as the main reasons for the rebellion.[4] These latter factors apparently caused such major discontent between the native population and their foreign overlords, since either the Spanish lacked the power or

1. Donald A.Barclay : *Into The Wilderness Dream*,(Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1994) 186
2. Valerie Moolman : *The Spanish West*, (New York, Time-Life Inc., 1976) 51
3. Regarding incompatibility of religions, see: Haley Perez, "The Pueblo Revolt of 1680" (WWW. Publishit.com/authors/P/Perez-Haley/Pueblo Revolt of 1680.html, 1999)3-4.
   Concerning Spanish military presence, see: David Dary, *The Santa Fe Trail*, (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2000)24.
   Regarding this internecine conflict, see: Robert Silverberg, *The Pueblo Revolt*, (New York, Weybright and Talley, 1970) 78.
   Concerning the *encomienda* system, see: Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own,"* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991) 11.
4. Patricia Limerick: *The Legacy of Conquest*, (New York, W.W. Norton and Co., 1987) 226-7

skill to remedy the problems, that revolt was inevitable.

In actuality, a combination of the factors offered serves as the explanation for the New Mexican revolt. The present investigation posits, however, that not only did all the factors suggested converge at a specific time and under a specific leader to make the action an immediate success, it offers a look at the other side of rebellion's two-edged sword. In doing so, this examination concludes that the very same factors that incited the Great Pueblo Revolt eventually led to its collapse.

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 offers a look at the collision of two cultures and gives the historian a novel opportunity to delve into the mindsets and machinations of two radically different races. Inevitably, the incompatibility of these two cultures caused both the rise and demise of rebellion.

Interlude One: Pope

It is dawn on 10 August 1680 Pope, or "Ripe Squash," exiled medicine man from the village of Grinding Stone near Oke O'winge, the Town of Strong People (now called San Juan de los Caballeros by the Spanish interlopers), watches the sunrise.[5] Perhaps he stands at Red Willow (Taos) and views the sun cresting the purple Sangre de Cristos range near Santa Fe, the seat of the governor of Nuevo Mexico. Perhaps he has secretly returned to San Juan Pueblo and stands on the floor of the Junge O'winge, the legendary meeting ground from whence the Oke, the People, formally declare war on their enemies. Actually, historians are not sure and it is irrelevant in the long term.[6] Pope, like a Wovoka or Sitting Bull of later generations, was the catalyst who started the fire. His presence at the particular moment when this fire spreads out of containment by the enemy was unimportant. Perhaps this pause in his relentless campaign against the Spanish gave him an opportunity to reflect upon the past. He was a medicine man, schooled for years in the ways of his people, in the chants that bring the rain and healing, in the songs of war and devastation. He knew the history of the Pueblos and the legends of the coming of the Whites. He knew about the beginning of things…

Origins

> Native Americans did not exist in a dreamy state, happy mooncalves spinning charming myths while they drifted through the harmony of nature…Indians either adjusted their ways or perished. Practicality was the way to Indian survival.[7]

Barclay's analysis of how Indians survived in their varied environments also encapsulates the larger context of how Indians managed to weather the encroachment of unwanted and destructive peoples from the European world. Practicality and adjustment were the keys to survival. The Pueblo were masters of these skills.

The land where the Pueblo chose to live was harsh and challenging. It presented, however, a landscape curiously striking to the eye: "…a high plateau marked by mountains, deep gorges, prairies, eroded terraces, steeply rising mesas…Where the land is high, it is covered with a forest of stumpy pinion pines and gnarled junipers; in the lowlands, the gray-green sagebrush spreads over mile after mile, broken by clumps of yucca and bear grass."[8] In a climate alternately hot during the day and freezing at night, the only way for the ances-

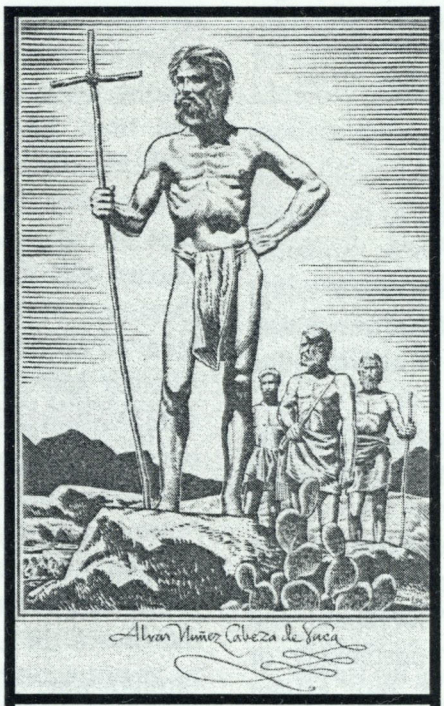
5. Jorge Melchor: "Pueblo Revolt Brought Tiguas South," (WWW. epcc.edu/ftp/Homes/monicaw/borderlands/17-pueblo-revolt.htm, 1999)12
6. Franklin Folsom: *Red Power on the Rio Grande*, (Chicago, Follett Publishing Co., 1973) 100-1
7. Barclay, op. cit., 2
8. Silverberg, op. cit., 8

tors of the Pueblo to survive was underground in pit-houses, which became the basis for the kivas of future generations.

Pueblo life, by the time of the first Spanish contact, had developed into the seasonal routines of a sophisticated and settled agricultural society.

> The Pueblo world begins at the center, at the "heart-place," the plaza of each village. All the balanced forces of the Pueblo world come together here...Here the people dance to bring good things to all people, to create unity, to celebrate the whole.[9]

Surrounding this "heart-place" were the actual dwellings of the Pueblo – a series of apartments made from local materials: lava rock, sandstone or adobe bricks. These apartments housed village populations of anywhere from 400 to 1000 persons. Much akin to the pit-houses of the Pueblos' ancestors, the multi-storied structures could only be entered through holes in the roof accessed by ladders, which could be drawn inside during times of attack. As many as 70 of these apartment-fashioned pueblos dotted the Southwest at the time of the initial Spanish incursion.[10]



Cabeza De Baca, Courtesy, Tom Lea, *Twelve Travelers Through the Pass*.

The inhabitants of the pueblos were a particularly industrious lot, cultivating fields of squash, corns, and beans. They referred to these products as "the Three Sisters given to us by Mother Earth."[11] To insure the continued growth of these life-sustaining staples, the Pueblo developed dances and rituals, performed in the "heart-places" of the open square and the womb-like kivas, which were the sanctum sanctorum of each village. Medicine men of impeccable status and awesome responsibility presided over the ceremonies, which varied slightly from town to town, in keeping with the customs and surroundings of the four basic language groups of the area: Tano, Keres, Hopi and Zuni.[12]

The two greatest worries to these peoples were drought – not uncommon in this "land of little rain"- and the predatory nomads who inhabited the northern rim of the Pueblo World. These nomads called themselves the Dineh or The People, but the Pueblo referred to them as apachu or The Enemy. As time progressed, the Pueblo differentiated the nomads into northern and southern bands. The southern remained apachu, but the northern gained an extra epithet, and became apachu nabahu, The Enemy of the Cultivated Lands. Later, for the Spanish, these headaches became "Apaches" and "Apaches de Nabajo."[13]

The Apache and Navaho did not start out as implacable villains; it was only their later acquaintance with the Spanish that turned them to the dark side. Originally, they were merely practical peoples who regularly stole, raided, or traded, depending on the time of

9. Stephen Trimble: *The People*, (Santa Fe, School of American Research Press, 1993) 51
10. Moolman, op.cit., 56
11. Folsom, op.cit., 38
12. Moolman, op. cit.,56
13. Wolfgang Lindig: *Navaho*, (New York, Facts on File Inc., 1993) 36

year and circumstances. Flush years saw more trading. Drought years saw more raiding. Actually, the Navaho managed to pick up some of the agrarian traits of the Pueblo and cultivated their own fields of corn, pumpkin, and beans.[14] In fact, both bands

> "...roamed the peripheries of the pueblos, hunting, gathering, ...growing some crops...(and trading) ...hides, meat, tallow, and salt for cotton blankets, pottery, maize, turquoise, and breadstuffs produced by the pueblos."[15]

In essence then, the Pueblo people had adapted to their environment and to the somewhat suspect intentions of their nomadic neighbors. It remained for the Pueblo to adapt to a race who were foreign to the Pueblo way of life and totally committed to altering that way of life forever.

The Spaniards who filtered through the Pueblo lands in ever-increasing amounts clearly mirrored the dichotomy at the heart of Spanish exploration and colonization. Some wished to convert the Indians and protect them, while others sought to subjugate and enslave them. Some, either consciously or unconsciously, wanted both. A few salient examples of this Spanish schizophrenia towards the Pueblo now follow.

The first Spanish explorer to penetrate this northern frontier did not do so from Mexico in the south. Instead, he came out of the east – because he was lost, and not so much an explorer as a refugee.

His name was Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca. The last part of his name means "Cowhead" – an honorific, if somewhat odd, appendage granted to an ancestor by Don Sancho, the King of Navarre, for this ancestor's assistance in helping defeat the Moors at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212.[16] Alvar arrived in the New Mexican area in 1535, and was, as pictured, suitably dressed for the occasion by Indian standards, though not by the dictates of typical conquistador dress. He was a survivor of the ill-fated Narvaez expedition, which had shipwrecked off the Florida coast in 1528. In a continuing orgy of bad luck, Cabeza de Vaca was shipwrecked again off Galveston Island, while attempting to make it back to Mexico. He spent the next six years barely clinging to life as a virtual slave among the coastal Indians of Texas. During this time, he gained some small reputation with the various tribes as a "faith healer." Summoning his courage, he broke free of his captors, along with three other survivors: Alonso del Castillo, Andres Dorantes, and Dorantes' Moorish slave, Esteban. These four men proceeded to walk across Texas, New Mexico and Arizona in a leisurely progress, with Alvar's growing skill as a medicine man opening the doors of hospitality along the way.

In the process, Cabeza de Vaca's "former dream of the New World as a land ripe for plunder is replaced by a dream of the New World as a second Eden...won to the cross and the crown through kindness more easily than through war."[17] Of the possible conversion of the natives, Alvar himself notes in his Narrative:

> We told them, by signs which they understood, that in Heaven there was a man called God, by us, who had created Heaven and earth, and whom we worshipped as Our Lord; that we did as he ordered us to do, all good things coming from His hand, and that if they were to do the same they would become very happy; and so well were they inclined that, had there been a language in which we could have made ourselves perfectly understood, we would have left them all Christians. All this we gave them to understand as clearly as possible, and since

14. Lindig, op. cit., 37
15. Dary, op.cit., 24-5
16. John F. Bannon: Introduction to *The Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca*,(Barre, The Imprint Society, 1972) pg. xv
17. Barclay, op. cit., 17

> then, when the sun rose, with great shouting they would lift their clasped hands to Heaven and then pass them all over their body. They did the same at sunset. They are well-conditioned people, apt to follow any line which is well traced for them.[18]

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions finally reached Mexico in 1536. Alvar's descriptions of all that he had experienced or heard about from the local peoples of the Southwest whetted the appetites of two major groups in New Spain, the missionaries and the government.

The Franciscan fathers were excited by Cabeza de Vaca's stories of the potential ease with which the northern Indians might be converted to Christianity. As noted by Moolman:

> The missionary's zeal for souls was fierce as any freebooter's lust for precious metals. But while the conquistador came to seize treasure, the mission friar came – by his lights – to bestow one...(and) was New Spain's greatest frontiersman and her foremost colonizing influence in the northern borderlands.[19]

The government, as represented by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, "believed that Cabeza de Vaca's story of populous towns of large houses was worth investigating... now that the route to them had been revealed."[20] However, by the time Mendoza cleared the red tape to mount an expedition, Alvar had returned to Spain.

Faced with the prospect of scrapping the entire project, Mendoza chose an alternate guide – Esteban, the black slave whom Mendoza had acquired from Andres Dorantes. Given a choice between the adventure of spearheading an expedition to other places or remaining in bondage locally, Esteban"...did not hold out. Whatever was lacking from Cabeza de Vaca's account to make a good story of it he seems to have added..."[21]

Since a slave could not actually lead the expedition, Mendoza chose a Franciscan friar named Marcos de Niza to accompany Esteban. De Niza's credentials were of the highest order and he was recommended to Mendoza by Bishop Zumarraga as "the man for the job." According to David Dary, "Fray Marcos possessed the qualities of the best modern-day politician. Every inch an optimist, he was a promoter with the ability to dramatize everything in which he became involved. He also possessed physical stamina and imagination."[22] Less kind, Hallenbeck simply refers to de Niza as the "Lying Monk."[23]

The expedition began in 1539. According to de Niza:

> I sent Estevan de Dorantes, the black, ...to follow to the north for fifty or sixty leagues... and I agreed with him... that if he received any information...that was something great, he should not go farther, but ... send me Indians with this signal, which we arranged: that if the thing was of moderate importance, he send me a white cross the size of a hand; if it was something great, he send me one of two hands; and if it was something bigger and better than New Spain, he send me a large cross... And after four days there came messengers from Estevan with a very large cross, of the height of a man...[24]

Exactly who was gulling who is uncertain from Fray Marcos' narrative? Both he and Esteban had personal agendas to pursue. As a "zealous" missionary, de Niza needed to spark

18. Alvar Cabeza de Vaca: *Narrative,* (Barre, The Imprint Society, 1972) 130-1
19. Moolman, op. cit., 49
20. Cleve Hallenbeck: *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza,* (Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1987) 6
21. Mary Austin: *Land of Journey's Ending,* (New York, AMS Press, 1969) 7-8
22. Dary, op. cit., 11
23. Hallenbeck, op.cit., 95
24. Hallenbeck, ibid., 18

the interest of the powerful in New Spain so that further colonizing (and converting) could take place on the northern frontier. Esteban's agenda was a little more selfish. He was having the time of his life.

Since he was several days in advance of de Niza, Esteban was, essentially, on his own. Cutting quite a dashing figure in his velvets and tinkling bells, the black man literally sang and danced his way from village to village. In the process, he acquired a small army of young followers, mostly women. Somehow the natives may have confused Esteban with a shadowy cult god who, it was said, would lead the young people of the villages to a time of peace and plenty. The god's name was Pose-yemo (Rising Mist), which may have been an outlandish corruption of the name Montezuma.[25]

In the vastness of the desert, with its six months' distance from Mexico City, it is impossible to trace how the legend of Pose-yemo grew and varied as it was transferred from oral tradition to oral tradition. Perhaps it began with the fall of the Aztec Empire, and became confused with the story of the Return of Quetzalcoatl. Perhaps Esteban himself was the origin or, at least, the enhancement of the Pose-yemo myth. Perhaps, with his unique color and outlandish behavior, he was merely the manifestation of what the Indians already expected this god to be.

However, not every pueblo accepted the legend and some of the northernmost villages might not have even heard it yet. Apparently, Esteban outdistanced his reputation and was killed, out of suspicion or jealousy, by the natives of Hawikuh, a pueblo in northwestern New Mexico.[26] However, the death of the Moor did not destroy the legend, which continued to grow among the New Mexican natives until it became a potent factor in the Revolt of 1680.

Fray Marcos, apprised of Esteban's inglorious demise, decided to let discretion be the better part of valor, and declined to take the expedition any farther northward. However, before turning back, Marcos fortuitously came

> . . . within sight of Cibola, which is situated on a plain at the skirt of a round hill... The city is bigger than the city of Mexico... I was tempted to go to it, because I knew that I ventured only life, which I had offered to God the day I commenced the journey. At the end I feared (to do so), considering my danger and that, if I died, I would not be able to make a report of this country, which to me appears the greatest and best of the discoveries.[27]

Concerning Fray Marcos' amazing "discoveries" and the stir they caused in New Spain after the friar's return, Barclay makes an interesting observation. He notes that "...though it is hard to see how such an implausible, unsubstantiated narrative could have launched the large and costly Coronado expedition, it is easy to see how the narrative fit the needs of people who were desperate to believe that the land of their dreams lay to the northwest."[28] De Niza merely told the Spanish authorities what they wanted to hear.

The Spaniards' penetration of New Mexico now enters the military/governmental phase. The two important "christianizing" accounts of Cabeza de Vaca and Marcos de Niza, which present one side of Spanish ambivalence concerning the native populations, can be balanced with two subsequent accounts by Coronado and Onate, which mirror the other side: the imposition of Iberian military, civil, and colonial systems upon unwilling peoples.

Based on Fray Marcos' report, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, the governor of New Galicia and a favorite of Viceroy Men-

25. Folsom, op. cit., 70
26. Hallenbeck, op. cit., 78
27. Hallenbeck, ibid., 33-4
28. Barclay, op. cit., 45

doza, mounted an expedition to find the Seven Cities of Cibola. "In 1540, Mexico City held an abundance of adventurous young men eager to follow in the tradition of Cortes and Pizarro, and Coronado had no trouble filling his ranks with fortune hunters."[29] Such a typical "adventurer" is pictured here. Since there were no standard uniforms at the time, the only things, which identify him as a soldier, are his sword and shield. The rest of his outfit is optional, including heel-less boots, which can be worn on either foot.[30]

Fray Marcos De Niza. Courtesy of Cleve Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos De Niza.*

The "soldier" might replace his sword and shield with a harquebus – a heavy ten-gauge musket first brought to Mexico by the troops of Cortes. The weapon weighed approximately twenty pounds and, due to its weight, might employ a forked stand to increase its accuracy. The musket fired by pressing a trigger, which dropped a lit fuse into a hole filled with powder at the bottom of the gun's barrel. The powder hopefully ignited and propelled a round bullet, weighing about a twelfth of a pound, from the other end of the barrel...if all went well. Sometimes there wasn't enough powder in the barrel. This caused a flash, but did not expel the bullet. Sometimes the bullet was not packed tightly enough near the powder and rapidly dropped when exiting the barrel – thus causing mayhem among fellow soldiers. Sometimes, due to wet conditions, the fuse went out when the trooper attempted to light it off the longer, slow-burning cord – incinerating at four to five inches an hour – that he carried with him.[31]

Nevertheless, when the weapon worked and hit its target, it created absolute culture shock for the Native American. A firearm was not just a more effective killing tool and giver of energy; it seemed closer to a Promethean force, ...(A musket) was as much talisman as weapon, an outward sign of the mystery offered when two creative universes suddenly touch.[32]

Viceroy Mendoza ordered Coronado to deal gently with the natives he met along the way. If Coronado or his troops needed food, clothing, or utensils from the local people, they were to pay the natives for the value of the things they took. The Viceroy's commands were "in keeping with a new directive from the Crown to correct the injustices perpetrated by earlier Spanish explorers."[33] To insure the success of this policy as much as to guide the

29. Limerick, op. cit., 224
30. Jose Cisneros: *Riders of the Border*, (El Paso, Texas Western Press, 1971) 6
31. Dary, op. cit., 27-8
32. Elliott West: *Contested Plains*, (Lawrence, University of Kansas, 1998) 55
33. Dary, op. cit., 14

Coronado party to Cibola, Mendoza ordered Fray Marcos de Niza to accompany the capitan.

Not too surprisingly, the expedition did not go well. When the party reached Cibola (Hawikuh), it was "the end of the road" for the unfortunate fray Marcos. The startling contrast between that Zuni village, numbering perhaps one hundred families, and the great city of his description, won fray Marcos the curses of the soldiers."[34] Marcos was sent back to Mexico City in disgrace. In addition, the Zuni resisted the strangers and Hawikuh had to be taken by force.

> The white men came...and spoke of their god, a god of peace and mercy. The Pueblo folk, who understood peace, listened with interest. But those Spaniards who preached peace practiced war. They stole food, they swaggered through the pueblos like masters, they peered into the kivas without seeming to realize that they were sacred. And they demanded gold...It was not the fault of the Pueblos that they had no gold, but the Spaniards did not seem to understand that.[35]

Hoping to salvage the expedition, Coronado pinned his hopes for success on a slave from Tiguex Pueblo (which Coronado also took by force). This slave-spun tales of a golden place called Quivira, which was located somewhere vaguely north, and to which the slave cheerfully offered to guide the Spanish. Coronado named this Indian "the Turk (because he looked like one). He apparently was a Pawnee who tried to lie his way back home."[36] The lie did not work and the "golden" Quivira was never found - just more mud pueblos. For his pains, the Turk was strangled by some of Coronado's men, although Coronado opposed it.[37] The lying Indian was killed, while the lying friar was merely sent home.

After wandering around the Southwest and discovering seemingly inconsequential things like the Grand Canyon, the expedition returned to Mexico. Initially its members considered the expedition an abject failure, but later they experienced the change of heart-noted by one of their group, Pedro de Castaneda:

> Granted that they did not find the riches of which they had been told, they found a place in which to search for them and the beginning of a good country to settle in... and their hearts weep for having lost so favorable an opportunity.[38]

It would be over fifty years before the Spanish finally capitalized on this "opportunity."

In 1598, Juan de Onate, a native-born Mexican, was granted a royal commission to found a colony in New Mexico. Onate was a wealthy aristocrat who had married the great-granddaughter of Montezuma. This same lady was the granddaughter of Cortes, so Onate could be said to have auspiciously married two worlds.[39] He was destined to perform this same feat again in a different context – by marrying the Spanish world to the Pueblo world.

Since he was rich, the Crown gave Onate no financial backing for his colony. The expense of the entire undertaking was on Juan's own shoulders.

> The great colonizing expedition reached the banks of the Rio Grande fifteen miles below the Pass (El Paso del Norte) on the twentieth of April, 1598. There were 400 men, 138 families. Their baggage was carried in eighty-three wagons and carts, and they drove

34. David Weber: *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992) 46-7
35. Silverberg, op. cit., 18
36. West, op. cit., 45
37. Dary, op. cit., 17
38. Barclay, op. cit., 59
39. Dary, op. cit., 18

> a herd of over 3,000 sheep, goats, cattle, mules, and horses... The natives could hardly have missed the long procession of people and animals, but not an Indian was seen...[40]

In July of the same year, Onate arrived at Oke O'winge, renamed the pueblo San Juan de los Caballeros, and founded the first capital of Nuevo Mexico at San Gabriel – located across from the pueblo. Of the local natives, Onate wrote:

> The people are in general very comely; their color is like those of that land (around El Paso), and they are much like them in manner and dress, in their grinding, in their food, dancing, singing, and many other things, except in their languages, which are many, and different from those there. Their religion consists in worshipping idols, of which they have many; and in their temples, after their own manner, they worship them with fire, painted reeds, feathers, and universal offering of almost everything they get, such as small animals, birds, vegetables, etc. In their government they are free, for although they have some petty captains, they obey them badly and in very few things.[41]

It appeared that the colony was off to a good start, with friendly relations established with the Pueblo. However, Onate was more of an explorer than a settler was, and dashed off into the western wilderness in the fall of the same year. He traveled all the way to the Gulf of California and back. Unfortunately, along the way, he had to deal with the natives of the "sky city" pueblo of Acoma.

Apparently, some of Onate's settlers had overstepped their bounds and taken both foodstuffs and women from the local pueblos. The Acomas sought revenge by killing off an eleven-man detail from Onate's command. One of the men killed was Onate's nephew, Juan de Zaldivar. So, the governor placed seventy-two troopers under the command of Zaldivar's younger brother, Vicente, who stormed the table-top mesa, killed 800 men, women and children and captured 580 more.

Onate sold all the captives between the ages of twelve and twenty-five into slavery, and cut one foot off every male captive over the age of twenty five. Acoma children were placed in the care of the Franciscan friars.[42] Onate justified his actions as follows:

> They are a people whom I have compelled to render obedience to His Majesty, although not by means of legal instruments like the rest of the provinces. This has caused me much labor, diligence, and care, long journeys, with arms on the shoulders, and not a little watching and circumspection...they killed... (my maese de campo)...in a great pueblo and fortress called Acoma, which must contain about three thousand Indians. As punishment for its crime and its treason against His Majesty, to whom it had already rendered submission by a public instrument, and as a warning to the rest, I razed and burned it completely, in the way in which your Lordship will see by the process of this cause.[43]

The actions of the governor against Acoma "resulted in an uncertain peace in New Mexico."[44] But by the time Onate returned to San Gabriel in 1601, the town was a shambles. Many settlers had deserted and the rest were in conflict, due primarily to Onate's in absentia leadership. Although Onate held on until 1608, New Spain eventually recalled him to explain his shoddy administration and the Acoma massacre. In 1614, he was convicted of misconduct, but later pardoned. He never returned to New Mexico.

The accounts of Cabeza de Vaca, Marcos de Niza, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, and Juan de Onate, as given above, provide a complete spectrum of the dilemma, which faced the Spanish in the New World. This

40. C.L. Sonnichsen: *Pass of the North*, (El Paso, Texas Western Press, 1968) 10
41. Barclay, op. cit., 140
42. Weber, op. cit., 85-6
43. Barclay, op. cit., 141
44. Dary, op. cit., 20

dilemma, reduced to its basic component, was a single question: What do we do with the native population? One element of Spanish opinion, as represented by the de Vacas and de Nizas of colonial society, looked to convert the native to Christianity (thereby saving his soul), while teaching him the benefits of improved agricultural technology (thereby saving his body). The other element of opinion, as represented by the Coronados and Onates of New Spain, sought to incorporate the natives within the colonial system - by making them subservient to Spanish law and social customs, i.e., helping them find their rightful places as "little Spaniards." If the natives were recalcitrant, they would have to be brought into the system by force.

Eventually, these differing views concerning the Indian Question would transform into defiant stances in colonial Mexico, much to the confusion of the native population, who literally did not know which way to turn. By 1680, the situation was a serious standoff of Church versus State. Ironically, neither side asked the Indians what they wanted, which was, among the majority of the Pueblo - simply be left alone.

The Pueblo almost got their wish after Onate's departure in 1608. A perplexed government in New Spain stood at the crossroads of further colonization. Was New Mexico worth the effort? Its distance from Mexico City and the consequent logistical problems of sending settlers and supplies to such a remote location spoke against added commitment. So did the area's lack of significant mineral wealth, which was always a phobic concern for the Spanish. Unfortunately, for the Pueblo peoples, two other factors "saved the day" for continued Spanish involvement: fear of encroachment by other European nations and the power of the Franciscans.

In the wake of the Armada disaster, and despite the 1604 Treaty of London, the English felt empowered to ignore Spanish boundaries and to push for a greater share of New World possessions. The French soon followed the English lead. Thus, the authorities in New Spain seemed obliged to "draw a line in the sand," with what was to become New Mexico as the fortified northern limit to the sphere of Spanish influence.

More importantly, the Franciscans bent the ear of Philip III concerning the 8000 conversions they had achieved among the Pueblo.

> To (the) King...and his advisors, this was cause for genuine rejoicing – and for sober reassessment. Could Spain turn her back on those souls so newly won for Christ? No, it was agreed, she could not. New Mexico should not only be held but turned into a royal province, its costs to be paid by the Crown rather than individuals.[45]

The new governor of Nuevo Mexico, Pedro de Peralta, arrived in 1610 and promptly moved the capital from San Gabriel to a new site slightly south on another branch of the Rio Grande. He christened this site La Villa Real de Santa Fe de San Francisco, The Royal City of the Holy Faith of St. Francis – a regal nod to the influence of the Franciscan Order. Shortly thereafter, he began construction of a governor's palace, which

> was completed in 1612 and still stands on the north side of the tree-covered Plaza... It housed the governor's private apartments, official reception rooms and offices, military barracks, stables, servants' quarters and an arsenal...The original palace also had defense towers constructed on each corner of the building's front facing the Plaza... Like other structures in Santa Fe, it was built of adobe bricks ... Its dirt floor was mixed with animal blood to pack it and produce a sheen.[46]

Thus, with this grandiose structure, built of mud and blood, the Spanish bid defiance to the world and proclaimed that they

45. Moolman, op. cit., 49
46. Dary, op. cit., 23

were in New Mexico to stay. The Pueblo, as it turned out, had a different opinion.

Interlude Two:

Otermin On 20 October1680 safe at last in El Paso del Norte, the governor of New Mexico, Antonio de Otermin, continued his report to the Viceroy of New Spain:

> (in) Santo Doming... religious and...alcaldes majores, lost their lives. At the news of these ravages, considering that their final result must be for them (the Indians) to come with all their forces to destroy the villa (Santa Fe) – and finding myself without hope of succor from the only part I could receive it... I attempted to assemble all the people both of the villa and of the jurisdictions of La Canada, who were gathered and fortified in the house of the alcalde mayor of that place, in the casas reales and to intrench and fortify myself as best I could, in order to defend myself against the attacks of the rebels.[47]

The governor drops his pen, as his hand begins to tremble once again. Barely two months have passed since the nightmare began, since the frenzied hordes of Indians assaulted the capital and offered him retreat or death. How was it possible? How did these childlike "charges" of the Franciscan friars change from docile field hands to bloodthirsty savages overnight?

Nevertheless, Otermin is fooling himself. He knows the answers. Perhaps it is the recent shock of his expulsion from Santa Fe that clouds his reason. Given time, he will remember the causes. He will identify the roots of rebellion.

The Answers

The simple reply to Otermin's question is that the Revolt of the Pueblos did not happen overnight. It took eighty-plus years, from the time when the Spanish began actively colonizing New Mexico, for the patience of the native peoples to reach its limit, and for the decades of resentment to boil over into a flood of death and destruction. Perhaps Pope's leadership was the "final straw" which tipped the natives over the edge, but a complex combination of factors led them to that edge.

The first factor to irritate the Indians was the missionary zeal of the Franciscans. The "good fathers" simply could not leave well enough alone. If they were going to christianize the Pueblo, they intended to christianize them totally. According to Bruggmann:

> The main source of friction between the colonizers and the indigenous peoples was the introduction of the Christian religion. The sacred ceremonies of the Pueblo people were forbidden, but they continued in secret, and medicine men were declared the enemy of the Spanish priests.[48]

When necessary, the Franciscans used violence to suppress the native religion. They set fire to the sacred kivas, destroyed thousands of katchina masks and dozens of places originally designated as sites for native public worship. In the process,

> "...they apparently also destroyed the remnants of the gentler image of Christianity that had been created among some of the villagers in the earlier missionary days."[49]

In addition, the Franciscans imposed the Mission/Presidio system on the natives. The fathers persuaded the Pueblo to leave their original homes and live on the mission

47. Charles Wilson Hackett : *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest 1680-1682*, (Albuquerque, The University of New Mexico Press, 1942) 207

48. Maximilien Bruggmann: *Pueblos*, (New York, Facts on File Inc., 1990) 218

49. Perez, op. cit., 5

grounds – "for their own good." At the missions, the friars taught the natives the Catholic religion and instructed them in European methods of agriculture and handicraft. In the process, the Franciscans came to equate the Indians with a source of free labor, and came to regard them as personal property. The presidio, or military garrison, both protected the friars and hunted down any Indians who made a break for freedom.[50]

> The Franciscan friars of the New Mexico region insisted on complete religious obedience from the natives. When the Pueblo Indians did not fulfill the duties which were considered paramount for the salvation of their souls, they were severely punished... infractions of church rules resulted in the flogging or imprisonment of the natives. These offenses included dancing the forbidden katchina dances, violating the imposed condition of monogamous marriages, and not appearing doleful in the presence of the Christian God.[51]

Another Pueblo practice, which was sure to cause punishment from the friars, was the way in which the natives integrated Christianity into nativist worship.

> In the pueblo of Santa Ana, for example, the ceremonial calendar came to include the celebration of Christmas and observances at Holy Week... But even as members of the pueblo adapted these Catholic elements, they modified them. Saint James became much more central to the religious life of the pueblo than was Christ... Dios, the Christian God, also joined the pantheon, but he was a minor deity whom the Indians later referred to as "the Mexican God." Sin, heaven, purgatory and hell, confessions ...remained foreign to the Pueblos. [52]

As usual in their ceaseless struggle to survive, the Indians adapted to their personal mode of life another thing that they could not totally reject, but probably would have, if given the choice: Christianity. However, their predilection for taking what they liked and discarding what they did not in the new faith was a source of constant infuriation to the Franciscan fathers and earned the Pueblo continuous physical reprisal.

But Indian life under the Spanish was physical in the best of circumstances. The Pueblo had to till their own fields and till the fields of the padres. In fact, physical labor defined the Indian's place in Spanish New Mexican society.

> Indians were...an economic necessity without which neither this nor any other Spanish colony in the New World could survive. In a sense, the Indians were Spain's colonists. Instead of displacing them with Spaniards, the Empire simply incorporated them into its hierarchical system, as a bottommost social layer on whose labor and resources the upper classes subsisted.[53]

The Pueblo were the genizaros, the lowest of the low. They were somewhat akin to the untouchables of the East Indian caste system.[54] However, unlike the Hindus, the Pueblo were not a people set apart. Instead, they mingled with the Spanish populace. In fact,

> "(i)n the Southwest the Spanish colonists, superimposing their own culture upon that of the Pueblo Indians, were transferred into a kind of Pueblo Indian themselves..."[55]

New Spain, once it had "reduced" the Indians over a decade or so of mission life, then brought settlers into New Mexico to "automatically compose the middle and elite classes."[56] These classes were not very static

50. Moolman, op. cit., 49-50
51. Perez, op.cit.,5-6
52. White, op. cit., 11
53. Moolman, op. cit., 49
54. White, op. cit., 16
55. Jay Monaghan: *The Book of the American West*, (New York, Julian Messner Inc., 1963) 22

however. Since the majority of settlers were farmers, they worked side by side with the Indians, which eventually led to a "mixing of races and blurring of class differences."[57] Still, this homogeneous melding was not an immediate occurrence; it only evolved over the centuries.

In the meantime, the Pueblo were subjected not only to the mission system, but also to the encomienda.

> Encomenderos placed sizable burdens on the Indians. Governors drafted laborers for public projects such as the construction of buildings in Santa Fe. Private encomenderos illegally forced Indians into their own households as servants and laborers...Under the Spanish system, the Pueblos worked harder and produced more wealth, but the Pueblos declined in numbers and grew poorer.[58]

The Pueblo began to battle European diseases. The closely-knit communities of these Indians were harder hit than the nomadic bands who roamed the peripheries of New Mexico. Because of their proximity to fellow Pueblo, neighbors spread the contagion to one another like wildfire. From 60,000 in 1610, the Pueblo population dropped to 40,000 in 1638.[59]

This drastic reduction in the work force only complicated relations between the missionaries and the civil authorities. For whom did the Indian work – the Franciscans or the encomenderos? The squabble escalated into a running battle of insults, accusations, orders and counter-orders, with "...each group...jealous of the other's power. Emblematic of this split was Santa Fe's status as the only official town in New Mexico until 1695, with the religious center established in the pueblo of Santo Domingo."[60]

Even the top official in Santa Fe exploited the Indians. In 1638, Governor Luis de Rosas, contrary to the Spanish colonial policy for civil servants, made a handsome personal profit from the sale of "2000 yards of coarse woolen dress fabric, 46 drapes, 70 other hangings, 408 blankets, 24 cushions, 8 overskirts, 70 assorted doublets and jackets, 124 painted buffalo hides, 207 antelope skins, 900 candles, and 57 bushels of pine nuts, all of which were apparently obtained from the Indians."[61]

It is not surprising that the Pueblo soon lost respect for both the religious and civil authorities. The missionaries seemed more concerned about making the natives adhere to the "letter of the law" in Christianity, rather than to its spirit. However, to their greater disillusionment, the Indians found the Franciscans to be harsh and difficult taskmasters who extracted the maximum amount of field labor for the minimum amount of care. On the other side, the officials continuously overworked the natives for personal gain. The Pueblo people had become a pawn in the power struggle between Church and State, but were valued by neither side for their individual worth, only for their value as beasts of burden.

In addition, the Pueblo lost confidence in the Spanish Government's ability to deal with the Apache and Navaho problem, which, frankly, the Spaniards had exacerbated. As stated above, the nomads, prior to Spanish occupation, had been nothing more than a seasonal annoyance. The Spaniards, however, turned the Apache and Navaho into implacable foes – so much, so that these tribes were:

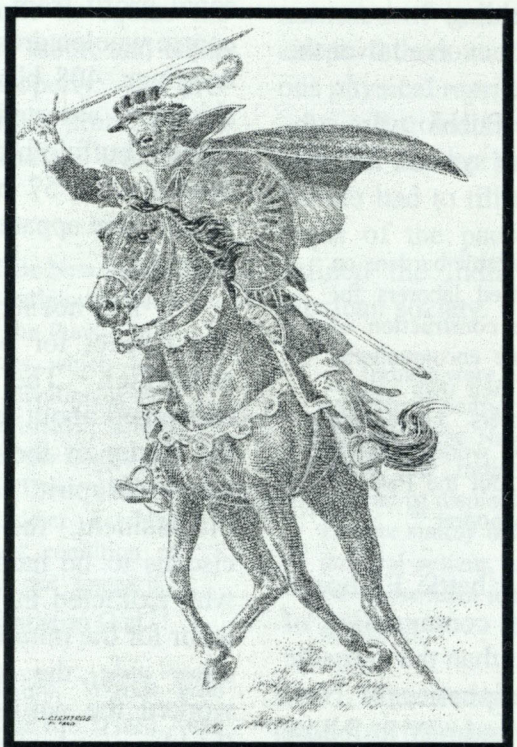
> a perennial administrative problem, respecting no directives and no boundaries, raiding both Hispanic settlers and Pueblo villages, and reducing whole areas of New Mexico to uninhabitable war zones...The presidio might have served as a refuge from attack for its occu-

56. Moolman, op. cit., 50
57. Limerick, op. cit., 226
58. White, op. cit., 11
59. White, ibid., 19
60. Dary, op. cit., 24
61. Dary, op. cit., 26

pants, but its soldiers could do next to nothing to control the Apaches. Presidios were stationary and Apaches were mobile, having little to fear from these outposts of Spanish power.[62]

How had it come to this? Governor Rosas was once again the principal culprit. He possessed scant tolerance for the Pueblo and none for the Apache.

> Until he became governor, little attention had been paid to the Apaches who wandered the country outside the pueblos. Although Indian slavery was prohibited by the Crown, Rosas forced Apaches to produce cotton blankets in a workshop he established at Santa Fe... Rosas and his raids into Apache territory to capture slaves... soon brought fierce retaliation by the Apaches, who a few years earlier had begun to acquire horses and were becoming proficient mounted warriors. By 1639, Apaches were raiding pueblos over a wide area...[63]



A Typical Soldier of the Coronado's Expedition. Courtesy of Hise Cisneros, *Riders Of the Border.*

In fact, 10,000 Pueblo died in 1640 from an epidemic, which may have had its start in a food shortage. During one of their more vindictive raids, the Apache burned 50,000 bushels of Pueblo corn.[64]

Thus, due to the factors enumerated – strife between native religion and Christianity, the burden of the encomienda system, the conflict between the missionaries and the civil authorities, disease and famine, Apache attacks and the lack of an adequate Spanish military to counter the nomads – the Pueblo had reached the end of their forbearance. All that was needed was a last act of intolerance to incite them to unsheathe the sword of rebellion.

The Final Straw

Governor Trevino made the fatal error in 1675 of trying to go too far too fast in putting down the spirit of revolt. He arrested forty-seven of the Indian shamans and hanged three of them. He would have hanged more, but the Indians made such strong protests, pointing out the consequences of this cruelty, that he had to back down. The forty-four shamans who escaped with their lives got back to their homes, but they went nursing bitterness. Among them was a Tewa of Taos named Pope. For five years he built up the organization which engineered the great revolt.[65]

Although he catches the flavor of the event, C.L. Sonnichsen is wrong in a couple of particulars. True, three medicine men were hanged, but a fourth committed suicide before he could be executed.[66] Thus, only forty-three shamans returned home from the ordeal. However, home for Pope was San Juan Pueblo – Oke O'winge- and not Taos. Pope did go to Taos, but only because the Spanish authorities

62. Limerick, op. cit.,226-7
63. Dary, op. cit., 26-7
64. White, op. cit., 19
65. Sonnichsen, op. cit., 28
66. Pedro Ponce: "Trouble for the Spanish," (www.neh.fed.us/news/humanities/2002-11/pueblorevolt.html, 2002) 2

made it difficult for him to return to San Juan. Besides, Taos, with its venerable age and acknowledged mysticism, was more suited to Pope's purposes.

Pope established himself in the main kiva of Taos and used this as his base of operations for the next five years. Working with a group of war captains – Catiti of pueblo Santo Domingo, Luis Tupatu of Picuris, and El Saca of Taos – Pope began to develop his plan of action.[67] All the pueblos would rise on the same day to throw out the Spanish. This of course created some problems in logistics. Not all the Pueblo spoke the same language, and their villages were scattered at significant distances from one another. How were they to coordinate and communicate?

Ingeniously, Pope worked out a series of drawings on deerskin depicting what the various pueblos were to do in the uprising. He also employed a countdown calendar of knotted cords (mecate de palmilla) made from plant fiber: "the number of knots equaled the number of days remaining before the revolt."[68] Indian runners transmitted these items from village to village.

But why would the Pueblo of these scattered towns decide to work together? This did not happen often, so someone or something must have exerted enough force on the Pueblo to make them achieve the unison necessary for success. The erosion of Indian confidence in the Spanish was a key factor, but even more of a factor was the charisma manifested by Pope, with a little help from some deities.

From the depths of his kiva, Pope proclaimed that three spirits, whose names were Caudi, Tilini, and Tleume, came up from the underworld through a passageway in the kiva's floor to offer him advice on a daily basis. Even more astounding, a giant black man, with fiery yellow eyes, inhabited the kiva with Pope and was supposedly seen there by many of the Pueblo conspirators. The black man was a representative of the god Pose-yemo and prophesied a great victory to Pope. This victory would sweep the hated Spaniard from the land and herald a new era of peace and prosperity.[69] Esteban had returned to wreak vengeance on his Spanish masters.

Actually, the black man may have been Diego Naranjo, a mulatto who had taken up Indian ways, married a woman from Taos pueblo, and, in his old age, practiced sorcery in the kiva.

Modern Native Americans, however, dislike the theory of Pohe Yemu's Representative being of mixed blood because they feel it intimates that no pure Pueblo was capable of such planning...(but) no matter who that mysterious lieutenant was, what could be a more superb way to hide an identity while presenting a huge, awe-inspiring figure than black war paint with luminescent accents and a tall black katchina mask with enormous yellow eyes?[70]

The date for the uprising was 13 August 1680, but somehow the Spanish caught wind of a rebellion, so Pope jumped the date to 10 August and sent the knotted cords around to the villages to apprise them of the change. Nicolas Bua, Pope's son-in-law, paid with his life for the breach of secrecy.[71] Other sources indicate that the Great Rising had always been planned for 10 August, and that Pope himself had concocted a false date to divert the Spanish.[72]

Regardless, the revolt began in the pueblo of Tesuque, near Santa Fe. A group of Indians, supposedly Christian converts, stormed the village church and killed Fray

67. Jane Sanchez: "Spanish-Indian Relations in the Seventeenth Century," (home.sprint-mail.com/-sanchezj/westrnrs.htm,2000) 2
68. Ponce, op. cit., 4
69. Silverberg, op. cit., 99
70. Sanchez, op. cit., 3
71. Ponce, op. cit., 3
72. Folsom, op. cit., 88

Juan Bautista Pio at the altar. They then destroyed the church and all its religious trappings "in imitation of the previous destruction of their own religious artifacts by the friars."[73]

> Destruction of the churches and its (sic) icons was common during the revolt. Actions committed against the institution of Christianity included breaking the holy bells of the churches, wearing the vestments of the priests, and destroying the silver chalices, crosses and statues found in the churches. Some of the Indians even went so far as to use their human excrement to soil the altar.[74]

This pattern of desecration was repeated in thirty-five pueblos throughout New Mexico almost simultaneously. Pope's planning was meticulous, although Pope himself was probably not involved in the actual fighting. In his status as medicine man, Pope was busy making magic to insure victory while others did the killing.[75] Two centuries later, Sitting Bull would do the same, weaving incantations while Gall and Crazy Horse decimated Custer and his command on the northern plains of Montana.

> Franciscan priests in Zuni, Jemez, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Nambe and other sites were killed, numbering 21 in all. Virtually every Pueblo in the northeast had risen and raided the haciendas... Meanwhile, Governor Otermin was fortifying Santa Fe, a refuge for inhabitants of nearby haciendas. Other Spanish settlers huddled in Isleta, far to the South, one of the few pueblos that had refused to join the revolt. After two skirmishes in Santa Fe, 400 Spaniards were dead.[76]

Otermin found himself facing approximately 2000 Pueblo with only 100 Spanish troops capable of defending the 1000 or so Spanish refugees barricaded in Santa Fe. The Indian forces were not merely rock-throwing rabble; they were armed with guns, swords, lances and leather armor which they had liberated along the way from defunct Spaniards.[77] The Indians parlayed with Otermin, offering him a red and a white cross (shades of Fray Marcos and Esteban!) and advising him to make a choice. The white cross-meant surrender, the red cross meant more bloodshed.[78]

With this...I (Otermin) ordered all the soldiers to go out and attack them until they succeeded in dislodging them from that place. Advancing for this purpose, they joined battle, killing some at the first encounter...(but on) Friday, the nations of the Taos, Pecuries, Jemez, and Queres having assembled during the past night, when dawn came more than 2,500 Indians fell upon us in the villa, fortifying and intrenching themselves in all its houses and at the entrances of all the streets, and cutting off our water...I had lost much blood from two arrow wounds which I received in the face and from a remarkable gunshot wound in the chest...Because we now found ourselves with very few provisions for so many people, and without hope of human aid...I set out for La Isleta, where I judged the said comrades on the lower river would be.[79]

The Pueblo were content to let the Spanish go without further bloodshed. When Otermin reached La Isleta, he found that its residents had already decamped for Texas. Hurriedly, Otermin and his one thousand refugees did the same, while "Pueblo warriors lined the way to El Paso del Norte, watching from the mesas above the trail."[80]

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73. Perez, op. cit., 8
74. Perez, ibid., 9
75. Sanchez, op. cit., 2
76. Linda Brookover: "The Pueblo Revolt of 1680," (www.oneworld magazine.org/ focus/deserts/pueblo 3.htm) 2
77. Weber, op. cit., 135
78. Brookover, op. cit., 3
79. Hackett, op. cit., 100-104
80. Brookover, op. cit., 3

The Pueblo had achieved more than an astounding victory. They had worked a miracle against the Spanish, which no other Indian people ever attained – not the Taino nor Carib nor even the mighty Aztec Empire. The Pueblo had regained their liberty, although, much like the Puritans of England some twenty years prior, they eventually blunted their success. Nevertheless, for the moment, the Pueblo again ruled their world, while the Spanish had experienced a world turned upside down.

Interlude Three:

De Vargas

It was 22 December 1692, Don Diego Jose de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon y Contreras, Governor of the Kingdom of New Mexico, is posting another letter to Mexico City. Unlike the letters of Otermin, this missive contains joyous news, and de Vargas can hardly contain a self-satisfied smile as he pens the words:

> I...have just arrived (in El Paso) from the successful conquest that, through God's infinite mercy, I have achieved at my expense of all the kingdom of New Mexico, its villa and principal town of Santa Fe, the penol of Acoma, and the provinces of Zuni and Moqui. I left humbled, reduced, and conquered for the royal crown twenty- three pueblos, which are of record in the proceedings of war and campaign.[81]

Much like Otermin, de Vargas is fooling himself, but for a different reason. In his vanity, he truly believes that he has "humbled, reduced, and conquered" the rebellious Pueblo. He either does not realize, or refuses to acknowledge, how completely the Pueblo have themselves dissipated their twelve-year bout of freedom and have succumbed to the other edge of the very sword, which brought them liberty.

The Reverse Side of the Blade

What the Pueblo expected from their rebellion was a return to their Old World. What they did not realize was that their Old World no longer existed. Pope turned out to be no better a leader than the Spanish Governor he had ousted. He

> installed himself in the Governor's palace adorned with gaudy clothing and a bull's horn on his forehead to symbolize power. He was viewed with suspicion for his flamboyant actions, which did not portray the valued characteristics of pueblo behavior. Pope rode through the streets of Santa Fe in Otermin's carriage and ordered parodies of Spanish feasts and customs.[82]

Further, he continued the wholesale destruction of all-Christian images found anywhere in New Mexico. He commanded that all the Pueblo would henceforth discontinue using their Christian names – an act which undoubtedly irritated a fair portion of the natives, who, after seventy years of Spanish rule, were *born* with Christian names and answered to them as readily as they did to any native appellation. He proscribed the name of Jesus. It was never to be used again by any of the Pueblo. All the Pueblo who had been baptized as Christians were to be ritually scoured with yucca root soap to cleanse them of their heresy to the native religion. Christian marriages must be cast aside. Spanish was never to be spoken again in any of the villages.[83] Worst of all, the products which the Spaniards had introduced into Indian life – peaches, wheat, oats, apricots and plums – were to abandoned in favor of purely native crops.[84]

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81. John Kessell: *To the Royal Crown Restored*, ((Albuquerque, The University of New Mexico Press, 1995) 34-35

82. Brookover, op. cit., 3
83. Perez, op. cit., 13
84. White, op. cit., 10

For an agrarian people like the Pueblo this last "papal bull" was the final insult. It was tantamount to telling a child with a candy in his hand that he must give it up in favor of corn meal mush. Pope was eventually deposed by his own people.[85]

In addition, drought, disease and famine continued. The peace and plenty promised by Pose-yemo never materialized. In fact, things were worse because there were no Franciscan padres to minister to the needs of the natives. The Pueblo began to look wistfully back at the now-taboo technology of the mission (and even *encomienda*) days as being "not all that bad."

Besides, the Pueblo had adapted the Christian God, and the consequent benefits that his priests brought, into the daily life of the village. Once the door was opened to these evolutionary changes, it was hard to shut it again.

As it was, many of the pueblos remained fervently, if secretly, Christian - after their fashion.[86] Of the forty-odd villages in New Mexico, twenty percent had refrained from participating in the Great Revolt, and had stayed placidly at home "sitting on the fence" to see which way the winds of change blew. If the winds altered direction in the future and returned the land to a Christian mode once again, the stoic Pueblo would simply pull out the crosses hidden under their beds.

Additionally, the Apache had not gone away. As the years of drought continued, Apache raiding escalated. Now there was not even the semblance of Spanish

Military to intimidate these parasites, and the Apache struck with impunity.[87]

So, the other edge of the sword – the insidious magic of Christianity, the wish to return to Spanish technology (i.e., the use of a plow instead of traditional digging sticks, crop rotation, new forms of vegetables and fruits, all of which represented the best of the mission / *encomienda* systems), continued drought and Apache depravation, and tyrannical leadership (in essence no different from that of the Spanish) – bounced back to strike the striker. Even before de Vargas appeared on the scene, the Indians were more than halfway inclined to accept Spanish suzerainty once more. Their Old World had disappeared, and they found, like Thomas Wolfe, that they could not go home again.

In 1688, Diego de Vargas received a five-year appointment from the Crown as Governor of New Mexico. Of course, this did not mean much since half of the kingdom was under Pueblo control. Perhaps halfway relieved, halfway impatient, de Vargas spent

Juan De Onate. Courtesy of Tom Lea, *Twelve Travelers Through the Pass*.

the first few years of his term wasting time in El Paso. Unfortunately, de Vargas couldn't remain perpetually in limbo and the Viceroy of New Spain ordered him to retake the Pueblo lands –at de Vargas' own expense, as he himself noted in the letter quoted above. The galvanizing agent in the Viceroy's order was just that – a galvanizing agent: mercury, or quick-

85. Perez, op. cit., 13
86. Sanchez, op. cit., 5
87. Moolman, op. cit., 54

silver. Quicksilver was used to separate dross from gold or silver and Mexico was in short supply. Although New Mexico was not rich in other minerals, it did have quicksilver mines, which begged to be rescued.

> As Vargas recounts the adventure, his superior intelligence, his nerves of steel, his understanding of his foes, his command of his troops – in short his almost superior nature – made it possible for him to maneuver almost all the pueblos into surrendering. What Vargas doesn't emphasize is that he brought to the Pueblos a full pardon for their earlier misdeeds. In his desperate desire for quicksilver, the viceroy willingly overlooked murder, rape, and robbery (just as he had earlier overlooked similar crimes perpetrated against the Pueblos), if only his generous pardon would persuade the Indians to resubmit to Spanish rule...[88]

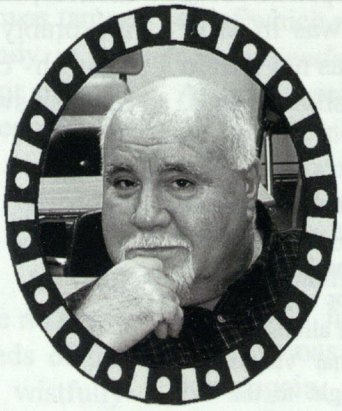
Endings: The Sword Sheathed

For the reasons enumerated above, the Spanish returned to New Mexico. However, perhaps the reason at the base of it all was best expressed by Richard White:

> In the shedding of blood, the buying of food, and, eventually, the begetting and raising of children, the once separate lives of Spaniards and Pueblos had overlapped. The Spaniards arrived in New Mexico as conquerors, as agents of a global Spanish Empire. But they survived in New Mexico only partially because of their superior weapons, wealth and mobility. They survived also because there were always some Indians who wanted them to remain. At the heart of Spanish settlement were the ties that bound the Spanish and the Pueblos.[89]

Seen in this light, the Great Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was the last significant spark which flared from the dying embers of Indian resentment over the Spaniards' incursion into their territory and their lives. Increased familiarity with Spanish culture, and the conveniences, which this culture brought, slowly and inexorably persuaded the Pueblo to accept Spanish "conquest" more completely than any Spanish sword ever could.

88. Barclay, op. cit., 187
89. White, op. cit., 9



Author's Biography

Refer to Thomas De Martino's Biography with the Editors

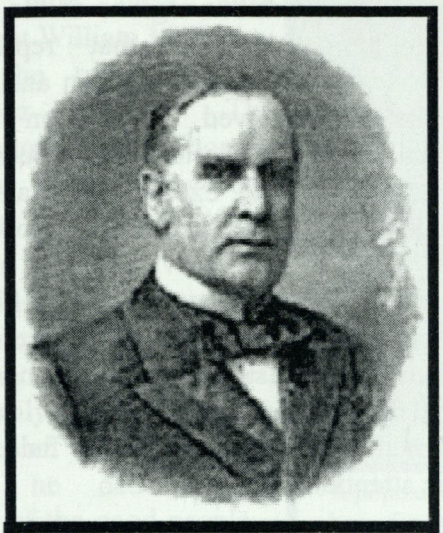
Attacking Anarchism: The Impact of President McKinley's Assassination on Anarchism

By Karen Rosa

Edited and Introduced by Michael G. Woods

As American ushered in a new century in 1901, their future certainly looked bright. The United States recently emerged as a world power industrially robust and recently victorious over the Spanish in their 1898 war. Thousands flocked to the nation's shores seeking political freedom and economic opportunity in an attempt to share in this prosperity. At the time, all looked good for the United States until the sudden assassination of President William McKinley in September of 1901 by Leon Czolgosz a self-proclaimed anarchist. This event understandably shocked the United States on the brink of the Twentieth Century as few events could. In the midst of mourning the loss of the national leader, Americans channeled their anguish toward the anarchist doctrine. Karen Rosa in her essay demonstrates through her use of newspapers and biographies how the nation sought to end a perceived philosophy responsible for taking the life of then beloved president.

In March 1901, William McKinley began a second term as President of the United States. He presided over a successful and



The popular President William McKinley who fell to an assassin one year in to his second term. Courtesy, *The American Presidency;*

prosperous first term, during which the nation emerged from a Depression, as well as a "splendid little war."[1] As a result, McKinley gained the affection of much of the nation. On 5 September 1901, McKinley attended the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. The President greeted those in attendance during a public reception on 6 September where, a member of the audience, Leon Czolgosz a professed anarchist, appeared and shot the President twice in the abdomen.[2] Doctors on site quickly performed an operation, however due to complications, McKinley died on 14 September 1901.[3] Immediately following the shooting, a public outrage arose against anyone suspected of being an anarchist or promoting the anarchist doctrine. In a trial that lasted only two days, and culminated with a mere half-hour deliberation, the jury found Leon Czolgosz guilty of murder, and sentenced him to death.[4]

In concurrence with the public's uproar against the anarchist doctrine, newspapers, weekly publications, and journals devoted much of their content to addressing the various

Czolgosz's mug shot. Courtesy of crimelibrary.com

causes and effects of anarchism. In addition to reviewing these sources, this examination draws on multiple biographies that documented the public's reprisal against the

1. "splendid little war." Refers to the popular 1898 Spanish- American War.

2. Jack C. Fisher, *Stolen Glory: The McKinley Assassination* (La Jolla, CA: Alamar Books, 2001), 49.

There are different variations of the pronunciation of this Polish surname. Most common are: [chol-gosh] or [choal-gosh]. In a newspaper article entitled "Can You Pronounce the Assassin's Name?" readers are instructed to pronounce the name "'Tschal-gotch,' with the 'l' faintly sounded and the second 't' quite full. The average American, however, will get it as 'Shawlgotch,' and that is about as correct as he can make it." The Atlanta Constitution, 11 September 1901, 1. An additional article instructs the reader to pronounce the name as the Russians would, "Sholgush," asserting that the assassin was Russian, rather than Polish. "Czolgosz's Name Discussed," The New York Times, 8 September 1901, 4.

Marshall Everett [Henry Neil], *Complete Life of William McKinley and the Story of His Assassination,* Memorial ed. (n.p., 1901), 34.

philosophy responsible for killing the beloved President. Content and commentary provided in newspapers such as *The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times,* and *The Atlanta Constitution* is also included to illustrate the information that expressed and shaped the public's perceived ideas regarding this doctrine. To offer an additional point of view and insight, a sampling of journals are examined, including *Arena, Outlook,* and *The Independent.*

Most prominent scholarly analysis focused mainly on McKinley's legacy, or argued the true motives that prompted Czolgosz's actions. However, Sidney Fine's 1955 article, "Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley," provided an extensive study of the direct legal repercussions that resulted from the assassination of President McKinley.[5] Fine's research is both rich with primary sources and interpretive detail in reviewing the legal aspects of the attack against anarchism. The author provided an understanding of the principles of the anarchist movement through a brief history and exploration of the theory as related to the assassination of the American President. His work is an important contrast to this study in its focus on the history and impact of anarchism on the United States.

Reports of the attack and the resulting death of President McKinley created a destructive image by those who did not understand or agree with the anarchistic movement and what it truly represented.[6] In an effort to expand on the current understanding of the events that gripped America at the dawn of the twentieth century, this essay will assess newspaper articles and editorials from various regions of the United States, journal articles that represented different viewpoints, and offer an analysis of the rhetoric involved in reaction to the assassination of the President. By focusing on the credibility of Czolgosz's trial, legal responses, debates concerning philosophical merit, various patriotic viewpoints, and the counterattack, this paper will argue that the assassination of President McKinley created a national backlash against anarchism, ultimately causing divisiveness, as the movement then diminished and faded from public attention.

3. Everett, 37-64 passim. For further reading, see Jack Fisher's *Stolen Glory*, passim. Published in 2001, Fisher's work is by far the most up-to-date and extensive examination of the medical aspect of the assassination.
4. Everett, 378-80.
5. Sidney Fine, "Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley," *The American Historical Review* 60, no. 4 (July 1955): 777-99.
6. The anarchist doctrine advocates the abolition of organized authority due to the belief that all government is fundamentally unjust and evil. Believing that when mankind is truly free, society will rationally act toward its own best interest, thus eliminating any need for man-made laws. People would then assemble in voluntary associations, in which they would seek to contribute to the greatest common good, taking only what they need and rightfully deserve. The philosophy is divided into two main groups, each believing that social harmony would be achieved through different methods. The individualist, or philosophical anarchist, believe that society will continue to evolve into an enlightened state, until government ultimately disintegrates. The communist, or revolutionary anarchist, believe that direct action is necessary to overturn the state, resorting to violence and assassination as necessary. Chris Cook, *Dictionary of Historical Terms*, (New York: Gramercy Books, 1989), s.v. "anarchism;" Washington Gladden, "The Philosophy of Anarchism," The Outlook 69 (October 19, 1901): 449-51. Gladden's work defined the doctrine to provide an early argument, based on logic, against the major assertions of the anarchist movement.

Presumed Guilty

On 23 September 1901, nine days after President William McKinley died; the trial of Leon Czolgosz began. The prosecutor, District Attorney Thomas Penney proceeded to fight a battle, in which little doubt existed concerning the outcome.[7] Leon Czolgosz did not deny shooting McKinley. In fact, he readily admitted to the killing of the President, whom he deemed "an enemy of the good people – of the working people."[8] Even so, during the arraignment the prosecution called twenty-eight witnesses to testify to the defendant's guilt.[9] The actual trial consisted mainly of similar events as the arraignment, with the professed anarchist remaining completely silent refusing to aid in his defense. Testimony provided by several alienists pronounced Czolgosz sane, and declared him "the product of anarchy."[10] By irrevocably linking the defendant to the philosophy, this testimony served as the final condemnation of Czolgosz and his act. The concerted effort to prosecute Czolgosz in the eyes of the law mirrored the public's effort outside of the courtroom to extinguish any form of anarchism.

A popular depiction of Czolgosz behind bars. Courtesy of Murat Halstead's The *Illustrated Life of William McKinley, Our Martyred President.*

During the trial, the prosecution entered into evidence a confession that Czolgosz "wrote out . . . in clumsy longhand."[11] The confession consisted of some basic background information, the defendant's activities in the previous two weeks, and several statements in which he claimed his allegiance to socialism and anarchism.[12] However, Czolgosz's statement that he had anarchist friends in Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland, did not correspond with accounts reported from other sources.[13] Yet the public unabashedly accepted the validity of the confession, which the police had obtained after six hours of interrogation, ready to acknowledge the anarchistic doctrine as the true motive for McKinley's assassination.[14] When comparing the detail and meticulous fanaticism in the confession with Czolgosz's utter silence

7. Everett, 375.
8. "Assassin Czolgosz is Executed at Auburn," *The New York Times*, 30 October 1901, 5.
9. Fisher, 119.
10. Alienist is the "pre-Freudian" term for psychiatrists. Selig Adler, "The Operation on President McKinley," Scientific American (March 1963): 118-30, 121. The article notes that the panel of three alienists that examined Czolgosz concluded that the assassin "was sane at the time he planned the murder, when he shot the President, and when he was on trial." Basing this finding, in part on Czolgosz's belief "that the killing of rulers was a duty" and not a hallucination, the alienists surmised that he had "false beliefs, the result of false teaching, and not the result of a disease." "Czolgosz Not Insane," *The New York Times*, 3 November 1901, 8.
11. Robert J. Donovan, "The Man Who Didn't Shake Hands," *The New Yorker* 29 (November 28, 1953): 105-24, 106. Includes the full text of Czolgosz's confession. Everett, 70-72.
12. Everett, 70.

during and following his trial, the authenticity of the confession seems questionable. The fact that Czolgosz did not aid in his defense, or attempt to speak against the structure of law or government during his trial, lends to an argument that undermines the acceptability of the confession.

In addition, the Constitutionality of the legal proceedings were at best, questionable. Newspaper reports did not debate the fairness of an inadequate defense. Instead, they noted that, "the wheels of justice moved swiftly."[15] The entire trial lasted only eight hours and twenty-six minutes.[16] The selected jurors even admitted to having "formed an opinion regarding the guilt or innocence of the accused" prior to jury selection.[17] With the bulk of the trial devoted to the presentation of the prosecution's argument, the defense without calling any witnesses, offered a closing statement that consisted more of an apology for their part in the trial than an attempt to introduce a defense of their client.[18] The fact that the jury deliberated only a half an hour is indicative of the overwhelming public sentiment against Czolgosz, and the impatient readiness to convict the anarchist.[19] In fact, it would appear that the public's prejudiced opinion consumed the entire legal process, in that a mere seven weeks passed from the date of the shooting on 6 September, to the date of Czolgosz's execution on 29 October 1901.[20]

The Legal Ramifications

The laws that emerged as a result of the third presidential assassination are a significant and prolific product of the anti-anarchistic sentiments that became prevalent in the early twentieth century. During this period, presidents rarely traveled with agents designated to protect against attack or assassination. Even throughout the Spanish-American War, when the President received threats from some who opposed his policy, precautions to protect McKinley remained minimal.[21] President McKinley himself did not place a high importance on the need for security. However, this importance became underscored by the ease with which Czolgosz assassinated the President. The intense panic of another such anarchistic attack against an American leader prompted Congress to consider federal legislation to ensure the safety of the President. Regardless of the fact that three secret service agents assigned to guard the President did not stop Czolgosz from shooting McKinley, the unaffected protective

13. Statements from various prominent anarchists contradict Czolgosz's purported close associations with the anarchist movement. Whether in defense of the doctrine, or as a statement of fact, various organizations denied any ties to the assassin. Johann Most, a prominent anarchist, labeled him "a crank or perhaps downright crazy. . . . Every man who kills a President or a King is not an Anarchist." "Anarchists Don't Know Him," *The New York Times,* 7 September 1901, 5. For an analysis of the causes of McKinley's assassination as provided from the anarchist point-of-view, see Voltaireine de Cleyre, "McKinley's Assassination from the Anarchist Standpoint," *Anarchy! An Anthology of Emma Goldman's Mother Earth*, ed. Peter Glassgold (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 2001), 22-5.
14. "Six Long Hours in the Sweat Box," The *Los Angeles Times*, 8 September 1901, 1.
15. "Czolgosz Guilty," *The New York Times,* 25 September 1901, 1.
16. Ibid.
17. Carey L. Draeger, "Guilty and Condemned to Die," Michigan History Magazine 79, no. 6 (November 1995): 16.
18. "Assassin Czolgosz Guilty of Murder First Degree," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 25 September 1901, 1-2.
19. Fisher, 133.
20. Everett, 75.
21. Margaret Leech, *In the Days of McKinley* (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), 559-60.

service continued in practice until 1906, when Congress officially enacted legislation that assigned the secret service to protect the president.[22] Yet even then, this increased security provided only two agents to guard the president.[23] Ironically, the act of a professed anarchist who sought to eliminate governmental authority through an act of violence, instead provided a catalyst that further secured the protection of the head of that government. The aspiration of the anarchist doctrine, to lend a voice to the common man in an effort to ensure his welfare, instead transformed into a public demand for creating "a larger and more efficient federal police system" to protect the president.[24]

A popular depiction of McKinley's assassination . Courtesy of Murat Halstead's The *Illustrated Life of William McKinley, Our Martyred President.*

The American government, driven by mass public opinion, used the increasing mob mentality to bring about wider legislation that could be directly applied to the anarchists and their sympathizers. One such method sought to induce the intolerance that existed in the nations from which anarchists emigrated, noting that they came to the "United States without invitation and often because they could no longer keep out of prison in their native land."[25] Based on an assertion that anarchism did not originate in the United States, suggestions to amend immigration laws became a leading movement among those who sought to eradicate the anarchists. For the leaders involved in the anti-anarchist movement who asserted that the elimination of people who emigrated from "Slav nations" would "stamp out" a source of danger, exclusion became a legal reality in 1902, when the House of Representatives passed immigration laws to exclude anarchists from entry into the United States.[26] Then two years later, in 1904, the Senate added to the law, forbidding entry to those who opposed government or advocated assassination.[27] Believing America could be "cleansed," some states enacted laws "outlawing the teachings of anarchist doctrines" as special agents pursued alleged anarchists to prevent further contamination.[28]

22. Fredrick M. Kaiser, "Presidential Assassinations and Assaults: Characteristics and Impact on Protective Procedures," Presidential Studies Quarterly 11 (Fall 1981): 545-85, 549.
23. Kaiser, 555.
24. "Plans to Protect Our Presidents," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 6 October 1901, 6.
25. Samuel Fallows, ed., Life of William McKinley, our Martyred President, with Short Biographies of Lincoln and Garfield, and a Comprehensive Life of President Roosevelt, Containing the Masterpieces of McKinley's Eloquence, and a History of Anarchy, its Purposes and Results, International Memorial ed. With an Introduction by United States Senator Wm. E. Mason (Chicago: Regan Printing House, 1901), 414.
26. "Put Them Out of the Way," editorial, T*he Atlanta Constitution*, 17 September 1901, 6. William J. Crotty, ed., *Assassinations and the Political Order* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971), 466.
27. Ibid.

In doing so, the American government attempted to rid itself of a symptom to a larger social issue. Through attacking anarchism instead of seeking to help the laboring class, the root cause of the "disease" still existed.

Dividing the Blame

A philosophical attack on anarchism appeared in many journal articles that sought to address the social issues that emerged after the assassination of President McKinley. When discussing the merit of the anarchist doctrine, authors often associated the social theory with other social vices, thereby linking the negative connotation with each. One example is demonstrated in the attack on "yellow journalism" that flourished during this period. Several newspapers engaged in an ongoing editorial debate regarding the *New York Journal*'s negative appraisal of McKinley's presidency, and the possible influence it had on Czolgosz.[29] In a debate that often questioned the extent of journalistic freedom, some articles appeared that linked the "'Reds' and Yellows as informal partners in the propaganda of violence."[30] Even while deliberating the merits of sensationalized reporting, newspapers continued such practices as they reported on the alleged activities of anarchists.

Another observation concerning social vices came from Rebecca Davis in October 1901, when she argued that the "American race . . . is not responsible for the deeds of foreign assassins frenzied with the desire for public notice."[31] She felt that Czolgosz assassinated McKinley in an effort to be seen as a hero in the eyes of two of the most preeminent anarchists, Emma Goldman and Johann Most.[32] Her claim is that receiving notoriety from the act motivated Czolgosz, rather than a true belief in the anarchist doctrine. She argued that vanity is the true evil of the assassin, and of the criminal element in the Republic. By enlarging the issue to encompass other social immoralities, authors used the public's outrage against anarchism to illicit outrage against other social causes.

However, some authors appeared to take a genuine interest in understanding the anarchist doctrine, not in an effort to justify the motivation for the assassination of the President, but instead to illustrate that:

> . . . while the law moves promptly and relentlessly to punish murderers and conspirators for murder, and all who incite to murder, reason must be no less active in attacking the intellec-

28. Fisher, 142.

In an effort to eliminate the spread of the movement, the law that passed in New York (The Criminal Anarchy Act of 1902), dealt with the advocates of anarchism (printers, speakers, and organizers) as the criminal, more so than focusing on the anarchist. Peter Glassgold, ed., Anarchy! An Anthology of Emma Goldman's Mother Earth (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 2001), 6-8. This course of action is based on the believed influence of Emma Goldman over Czolgosz. Those convicted faced fines, up to ten years in prison, or possible deportation.

Crotty, 467.

29. Brian Thornton, "When a Newspaper was Accused of Killing a President: How Five New York City Papers Reacted," *Journalism History* 26, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 108-9, 108. Thornton offers a detailed study of the response of five newspapers following the shooting of President McKinley, and how each argued William Randolph Hearst's degree of influence and blame.

30. "The Press and the Crime," *The Los Angeles Times*, 18 September 1901, 2.

31. Rebecca Harding Davis, "McKinley's Death, is it all for Nothing," *The Independent 53* (October 1901): 2513-4, 2513.

32. Ibid.

tual foundation of Anarchism. It is not enough to show that Anarchy is a crime; it must also be made plain that Anarchism is a stupendous blunder; that it is irrational and unscientific.[33]

A reactionary government seeks to stem he tide of immigrants associated with anarchism. Courtesy of *Harpers Weekly,* 45 (5 October 1901), cover.

In the two-month period that followed McKinley's shooting and death, most articles appealed to the public's fury by demonstrating an unwillingness to acknowledge the prospect of a reasoned foundation to anarchism. However, a few articles addressed the historical basis and various ideals of the political movement. Nevertheless, each of these articles ultimately concluded the same; by reducing the theory to its "logical absurdity."[34] Yet, through the attempt to rationalize and explain anarchism, these authors tried to warn their readers against joining in with the public's wrath in overreacting to McKinley's assassination.

Additional articles rationalized the theory in an effort to distance various political movements often affiliated with the violence of anarchism. Most notably, the public associated the followers of the socialist movement with anarchist activity. *The Atlanta Constitution* erroneously identified Emma Goldman as socialist who expounded "the purest socialistic doctrine."[35] Most of the public failed to distinguish between anarchists, socialists, immigrants, or other contemporary social issues due to a lack of understanding of the anarchist's political doctrine.

In addition, anarchists themselves had difficulties reconciling their various opinions regarding McKinley's assassination. Articles chronicled the division that emerged in the anarchist movement as a result of Czolgosz's claim that the doctrine motivated his act against the President. The divide existed between the "communist" sect, which supported the act, and the "individualist," which did not. Concluding that Czolgosz's act ultimately damaged the American Republic, individualists felt violence cast a negative shadow upon the anarchist movement. Following the shooting of President McKinley, newspapers reported of many instances, in which mobs of people assaulted, attacked, and ran individuals out of town for publicly supporting Leon Czolgosz or any person associated with anarchism.[36] However, most of the articles that sought to explain the differences in the anarchistic theories, also sought to subside the public's growing fanaticism against anyone who portrayed ideas that could be misconstrued as sympathizing with anarchism.[37]

33. Gladden, 452.
34. Gladden, 450.
35. "The Side Lights on the Anarchist's Deed," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 10 September 1901, 2.
36. Examples of various newspaper headlines that appeared immediately, such as "Lynch Him! Hang Him! They Cried," *The Atlanta Constitution,* 7 September1901, 1; "Hunting Out Anarchists," *The Los Angeles Times*, 8 September 1901, 2; "Crowd Beat Anarchist," *The New York Times*, 11 September 1901, 2.

More or Less American

Even as a few authors attempted to quiet the public outcry, others inflamed the rage through an appeal to the patriotic spirit of Americans that resulted in promoting prejudice against anarchists. In remarks such as, "the murder of President McKinley robbed the American people of the Executive of their choice," authors emphasized the President as a symbolic representation of America.[38] Patriotic rhetoric designed to illustrate the link between the President and the American Republic amplified the detrimental effect of anarchism by asserting that:

> [I]t was not only William McKinley that was struck; it was the President. It was not only the President; it was the Presidency. It was not only the headship of the republic; it was the sacred majesty of the law. The blow of the mad deed was aimed not only at the law, but at the liberty which the law shelters and maintains. This makes the crime larger and blacker than the crime against the man, or his office, or against the government, for it becomes a crime against humanity.[39]

Expressions such as this intensified patriotic sentiments and acted as a call to citizens to avenge the assault against the President and the nation. Designating readers as the guardians of freedom and liberty, authors endorsed the idea of Americans as judge and jury of anarchists and their activities.

The use of American pride succeeded in escalating the public's demand for reprisals against anarchists, and by nature intensified the intolerance for immigrants due to the belief that they promoted violence and political unrest. Americans generally viewed the dissatisfaction with government as a European problem, unrelated to Western concerns. However, as larger groups of Eastern Europeans immigrated to the United States, they brought a deep seeded mistrust and aversion of government authority.[40] In response to the immigrant's desire to influence American politics, Senator John P. Dolliver of Iowa, stated that:

> [T]he Bills of Rights, written in the English language, stands for too many centuries of sacrifice, . . . to be mutilated in the least order to meet the case of a handful of miscreants whose names nobody can pronounce.[41]

In condemning anarchists, many authors incorrectly identified Czolgosz as a foreigner, and claimed to be thankful that, although the "serpent of anarchy is among us, it is not a product of the American land."[42] Other authors did acknowledge Czolgosz as American born, yet they noted his Polish descent and observed that, "though born and 'raised' on American soil, was morally and mentally the morbid product of doctrines taught him by the European academy of assassins."[43] In describing the assassination as the act of a foreigner, it made it easier to pass judgment on the act and dismiss the motivations as contrived and unimportant.

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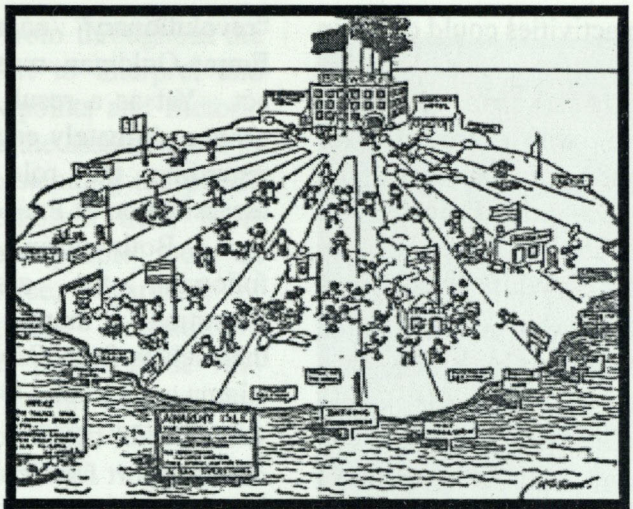
37. These consisted more of journal articles that attempted to provide a measure of understanding. Benjamin O. Flowers, "The Assassination of the President and the Aftermath," *Arena* 26 (November 1901): 532-8; R. Heber Newton, "Political, Economic, and Religious Causes of Anarchism," *The Arena* 27 (February 1902): 113-25; see also, Gladden, 449-54.
38. Flowers, 533.
39. "The Shooting of the President," Harper's Weekly 45 (September 14, 1901): 907.
40. Fisher, 5.
41. Fallows, 417.
42. Ibid., 416.
43. "Justice to the Foreigners," editorial, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 7 October 2002, 6.

This is because the root causes of anarchism often did not affect the people that the United States traditionally considered "American."

Certain groups, in an effort to be accepted and reap the benefits of being classified as "American," denounced Czolgosz. A delegate of a Polish church in New York stated that, "[Czolgosz's] mother was not a Pole. She is German. Therefore do no blame us. We have proved our loyalty on many battlefields."[44] By disassociating themselves from Czolgosz, these groups attempted to escape any retribution from public vengeance. In contrast, groups such as the "Republic" formed to promote pro-American values and to aid in the suppression of anarchism.[45] Operating mainly in a vigilante style, these groups did not seek legal authority, but took an "oath to ostracize Anarchists socially and in business."[46]



Senator Hoar's depiction of "Anarchy Isle." Courtesy of *Chautauquan* 34 (19 October, 1901)

Criticism and Counter-Criticism

During the months following the shooting of McKinley and his subsequent death, anarchists faced physical and verbal assaults from angry mobs determined to punish those considered responsible for the Presidents assassination. Past events, which included the Chicago Haymarket Square riot in May 1886, various assassinations occurring around the world, as well as the continuation of violent labor activities, served to predispose a large amount of Americans against the anarchistic philosophy.[47] As the activities of anarchists increased, public opinion began to question the political foundation of the argument. Both the public and the press viewed anarchism with fear, in a

44. "Poles Denounce Czolgosz," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 2 October 1901, 1
45. "Anti-Anarchy Society," *The New York Times*, 28 September 1901, 2.
46. Ibid.

47. Fisher, 6.

Police originally responded to a public demonstration, and during an ensuing fight between laborers and the police, it was reported that one striker was killed. Laborers again organized for a protest on 4 May 1886. When the police approached to disperse the crowd, a pipe bomb exploded, killing seven officers and wounding others. Eight were arrested, of which four were hanged, one committed suicide, and three served prison sentences.

Some of the contemporary biographies detailed notable assassinations that occurred before McKinley's in 1901. Noting both Presidents Lincoln (1865) and Garfield (1881), the list also chronicled the following anarchist activity (taken from Everett, 13-15):

George Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, killed by communists, May 1871; Marie Francois Carnot, President of France, killed by an anarchist, June 1894; Antonio Canova del Castillo, Spanish Prime Minister, killed by anarchist, August 1897; Empress Elizabeth of Austria, killed by anarchist, September 1898; Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, attempted assassination by anarchist, April 1900; (Humbert) Umberto I, King of Italy, killed by anarchist, July 1900.

refusal to believe such activities could occur in America.

Throughout daily newspapers, articles immediately appeared with demands for justice, and condemned anyone associated with anarchism. One such article reported of a sermon entitled, "Anarchy by the Roots," in which Reverend John E. White stated that, "God hates anarchy."[48] Other articles called for the government to deport anarchists to a designated island in the South Pacific, where "women like Emma Goldman and men like Czolgosz and [Johann] Most would make admirable members of this original colony of degenerates."[49] Yet, for the most part, the public outcry against anarchism did not seek to understand the differing philosophic theories. Instead, the public automatically associated Czolgosz's motives with the entire political doctrine. In doing so, the public failed to acknowledge or recognize that not all anarchists agreed with the act against the American President.

According to the anarchist doctrine, the "individualist" seeks a society without government, but believes it can only be achieved through "peaceful persuasion."[50] This group vehemently disagreed with Czolgosz's act, calling it "murder." For the most part, the individualists felt that Czolgosz did not understand the doctrine.[51] And while the "communist" anarchist also believes in a society without governmental control, they believe that it could only be achieved through violent acts against the government. These "revolutionary" anarchists, which included Emma Goldman, mostly supported Czolgosz's act. Yet as a result of the violent act, both groups ultimately engaged in the larger debate regarding the role of anarchism in the assassination of President McKinley.

Both during, and after the weeks following the assassination, trial, and execution, many anarchists distanced themselves from Czolgosz to avoid a negative stigma. Emma Goldman discovered the division that existed while she attempted to raise support for Czolgosz.[52] Yet, despite this rift, Goldman still supported the assassin through articles in the anarchist journal, *Free Society.* However, many that opposed Goldman felt her support naturally resulted from her status as a Russian immigrant. Regardless of her status in the United States, Emma Goldman remained one of the most prominent of the anarchist following the assassination of President McKinley. She would continued to speak at meetings and write for various journals, including her own, *Mother Earth*, first printed in 1907.[53]

Conclusion

Despite the efforts of Emma Goldman, or of her fellow anarchists, the movement experienced a severe setback due to the mass public opinion against anarchism. Likewise, the United States experienced an immediate and dramatic change in principles and policies. However, any historical investigation into the social and political movements of this period are often overshadowed by the impending "red scare" of 1918. Yet this paper sought to assess the various articles and editorials in

48. "A Fine Tribute to Dead President," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 16 September 1901, 9.
49. "Put Them Out of the Way," 6.
50. Fine, 794.
51. Voltaireine de Cleyre, "McKinley's Assassination from the Anarchist Standpoint," Anarchy! An Anthology of Emma Goldman's Mother Earth, ed. Peter Glassgold (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 2001), 22-5.
52. Fisher, 129, Glassgold, 17, Everett, 76. Everett included a chapter entitled, "Emma Goldman, the Anarchist Leader," that was devoted to Goldman's relation to anarchism.
53. Glassgold, 3.

newspapers and journals from throughout the United States, in an effort to interpret and analyze the different viewpoints and rhetoric involved in the reaction to the assassination of President. Through understanding the public opinion concerning Czolgosz's trial, it is readily apparent that few people took an interest in assuring justice, regardless of Czolgosz's confessed guilt. In addition, legislation did not seek to punish those who acted against the government directly, but rather single-mindedly punished those who promoted the anarchistic doctrine. Philosophical debates did not argue the fundamentals of Czolgosz's act, but instead used the argument to denounce the political philosophy as delusional and criminal. The various patriotic viewpoints expressed and promoted anti-immigrant sentiments rather than acknowledging the assassin to be American-born. Counterattacks promoted division amongst the various sects of anarchism, splintering the movement and allowing dissention.

The "revolutionary" anarchist Emma Goldman, one of Czolgosz's only supporters. Courtesy of Marshall Everett *Complete Life of William McKinley and Story of His Assassination*, Memorial ed. n.p., 1901.

This study argued that the assassination of President McKinley created a backlash against anarchism, as well as the values most closely associated with it. Ultimately, the act of Leon Czolgosz assassinated the anarchist movement by creating the basis that allowed public sentiment to attack the philosophy and its practitioners. Interestingly enough, similar events would be acted out in the future, with other political doctrines and social groups.

Author's Biography

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Karen C. Rosa is currently a full-time student majoring in history at California State University, Fullerton. She also works with the University Outreach Program as an English tutor at Fullerton Union High School. After graduating with a Bachelor Arts Degree in May 2003, she plans to enter the Teacher Credential Program with future plans to teach high school. Two things that bring the greatest pleasure to her, are her family and bidding on items of historical significance on the auction site E-Bay.

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The Mexican-American Experince in the Second World War

By Greogory Hoiland

Edited and Introduced by Miguel Garcia

The Mexican Americans answered the call of Uncle Sam during World War II, serving with distinction and valor. However, the fight overseas extended to the home front as Mexican Americans struggled with racism at the hands of their Anglo counterparts. Gregory Hoiland in his essay examines the struggle of Mexican Americans in American society during the war years. In doing so the author demonstrates how these new immigrants contributed to the war effort and gained a place in the United States.

The Mexican American experience during World War II varied greatly depending on social status, geographic location, and gender. For men fighting overseas, their experiences were similar to their white counterparts. Soldiers tended to face little discrimination. Ironically, half a world away at home many Hispanics were facing the opposite. Regardless of their location, Mexican Americans on both sides faced challenges due to their ethnicity, yet those who remained in Southern California bore the brunt of discrimination while soldiers overseas barely took notice.

Hispanic populations began inhabiting North America during the expansion of the Spanish Empire. They wound their way west and by 1769 the Portola Expedition landed in modern day San Diego. In an attempt to convert the native population and to build a foothold for further development, the expedition established a series of missions up and down the coast of what would become California. By 1850 the United States designated California as its thirty-first state. Many Mexicans seduced by stories of great opportunity in the United States headed to what became known as "El Norte." By 1900 the Mexican population in the southwest was 375,000. Over the next few decades it rose rapidly as the agricultural industry boomed, and by 1930 the population had grown to 1,160,000.[1] Public outcry over the large numbers forced the government to implement restrictions on the rising number of immigrants.

The United States prepared for war in Europe as early as 1939, but when the war came about two years later the nation had serious labor shortages. As men were sent to war, a vacuum existed in the agricultural industry. Farmers in dire need of help asked the Secretaries of Agriculture, State, and Labor for assistance. The United States turned to Mexico, a nation that on 1 June 1942 joined the allies by declaring war on the axis.[2] Mexico's assistance in foreign labor was necessary for the American war production. After the United States appealed for help Mexico obliged, making the agreement Mexico's contribution toward the war effort.

Mexicans bound for the U.S.
Courtesy of: Rosales, Arturo F. Chicano!: *The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement.* Texas: Arte Público Press, 1997, p.84.

On 4 August 1942 the agreement was signed between the two nations, which allowed for the importation of labor from Mexico.[3] This became known as the "Bracero Agreement." The accord laid out several provisions, including the stipulation that temporary labor receives the same treatment as their white counterparts. Once word got out, recruitment centers in Mexico overflowed with volunteers hoping for an opportunity to enter America, but they faced difficulty obtaining permits due to the high volume of applicants.

Agricultural needs were vital during the war, especially coming from Southern California. Once the governments had worked out conditions in the agreement, labor began to

1. Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2000), 91.

2. Julian Samora and Patricia Vandel Simon, *A History of the Mexican-American People* (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 137.

3. Ibid., 138

flow north. The American government spent an estimated $100 million on the importation of helping hands known as "Braceros." The governments spending proved beneficial as braceros harvested $432 million in crops each year. Realizing the potential and responding to the demand, Mexican labor continued to arrive in great numbers: 4,000 in 1942, 52,000 in 1943, 62,000 in 1944, and 120,000 in 1945.[4]

Despite their significant contribution to the war effort, braceros were paid lower wages and often cheated by employers. One worker stated, "The boss I worked for...robbed us of pay, because he used crooked scales for weighing the cotton we picked."[5] Newly arrived workers often found themselves treated as second class citizens. They lived in cramped conditions, and some employers only provided a tent for shelter. Braceros had to obtain many of their essentials, such as food and clothing. Despite a government agreement against discrimination, most worker rights were violated. None-the-less foreign laborers continued to cross the border, and provided vital services to the United States.

Braceros stop work for their midday meal.
Courtesy, Simon, Patricia Vandel. *A History of the Mexican-American People.*

A vast majority of the laborers were Americans of Hispanic descent. Many of them worked in the fields along side braceros. Their duties were generally simple. They were supplied with equipment for harvesting certain products. Most often they were paid according to their production for the day, not by the hour. According to Alfred Aguirre, a Mexican American who grew up in Placentia, California:

> It was easy to find a job, but you had to either go pick oranges, or dig trenches. I used to like picking oranges; it was a lot of fun. Well, I was young and I used to run up and down the ladder. I started from the top picking the oranges, and I used to love it. I thought it was a lot of fun. Of course you didn't make that much money. They'd pay you five cents a box. It was more delicate to pick the lemons because you had to cut them twice. You cut them above the stem, and then you cut them right [at the base] cause they didn't want the lemons to get injured. They didn't want you to dig into the peel. They want you to cut the stem real close to the [base].[6]

Laboring foreigners and Mexican Americans often found their jobs monotonous and unrewarding. Many wanted change in their lives, while others wanted equal treatment. For Mexican Americans, joining the war effort was the opportunity to show their allegiance to the United States while fighting for equal rights. The Congress de Pueblos de Habla Espanola (the Spanish-Speaking Congress) that represented the Hispanic minority in the United States declared, "We are also children of the United States. We will defend her."[7] Following this statement Mexican Americans rushed to recruitment stations to join the military. At the outset of war the

4. Takaki, 93
5. Ibid., 94
6. Alfred Aguirre, interview by Gregory M. Hoiland, 2 September 2002, Placentia, California, tape recording, California State University Fullerton, Oral History Collection, Tape 1- Side A [185].
7. Takaki, 83

total population of Mexican Americans in America was 2,690,000, and of that roughly half a million joined the military.[8]

According to author Raul Morin, "All we wanted was a chance to prove how loyal and American we were."[9] He continued by stating, "The war soon made us all genuine Americans."[10] His feelings summed up those of all Mexican Americans. More than anything else they wanted to display their patriotism, and like any other American, Mexican American soldiers gave their lives for their country. Although thousands enlisted, others waited patiently for the draft so they could continue assisting the war effort at home.

Draftees for the military came from all parts of the United States. A majority of draftees were sent to the Army, while the Navy and Air Force received men from enlistment volunteers.[11] Unlike other minorities, Mexican Americans were generally not segregated into separate units. They fought along side their white counterparts as equals. While overseas they mixed with other Anglos. According to Cesar Chavez who joined the Navy during the war, "I saw this white kid fighting, because someone had called him a Polak and I found out he was Polish and hated the word Polak. He fought every time he heard it. I began to learn something, that others suffered too."[12] Chavez saw first hand racial prejudice against a white man. He realized that discriminated was everywhere, against everyone.

There were only two Mexican-Americans in my company. He was a guy by the name of Munoz. He was from San Antonio, Texas, but I never did talk to him. I used to hang around with these Jewish guys. You know why? Cause they used to pick on them, and I used to kinda defend them. I wasn't afraid of these guys. "Aw, why do you like the Jewish?" I said, "They're people like I am." They used to treat me good. They used to treat me just like a white guy. I hang around with these guys cause they treat me good and I like to be treated good. And I like everybody.[13]

Mexican Americans fought and died along side white soldiers. They fought valiantly in both theaters of conflict and by the end of the war they had been awarded seventeen Medals of Honor. From Germany to Japan they stood beside other Americans and sacrificed their lives for their country. Drafted into the Army and sent into the Pacific, Alfred Aguirre explained the Japanese struggle first hand.

> Shoom, shoom, the big guns start shooting overhead. And they said, "Prepare, we're going to move toward the island." We were like twelve, fourteen miles from the island. The big ships were shooting overhead. He [the Captain] said, "The infantry is going in first" then they start lecturing us. The captain starts reading down, "Well, we're supposed to read where you guys are going. Population about half a million people. They were captured by the Japanese in 1897 during the Spanish-American war. This used to belong to China. It's called the Ryukyu Islands now." They lectured us on the whole thing. "Don't drink their water. Don't eat their food, we've got plenty." Everything they told us was right. Don't eat their food cause we had so much food. That's why I was so happy I was with the Americans.

They already had caves and they were prepared for us to land there so they could shell us back into the ocean. They thought they were going to cut us off. They had a good plan but it didn't work. And the Kamikazes

8. Ibid., 83
9. Raul Morin, *Among the Valiant: Mexican-Americans in WWII and Korea* (Los Angeles: Borden Publishing Company, 1963), 51.
10. Ibid.
11. Manuel P. Servin, *The Mexican-Americans: An Awakening Minority* (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1970), 101.
12. Takaki, 84.
13. Aguirre Interview, Tape 2 – Side B [148].

Cesar Chavez in the U.S. Navy in 1946 when he was nineteen

Cesar Chavez Courtesy Levy, Jacques E. Cesar *Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa.*

were supposed to come by the thousands and sink all our ships. Each plane was supposed to sink one ship, and the Army, we weren't going to have any backing and they were going to shell us right back into the ocean and kill us all. The plan was okay but it didn't work that well.[14]

Proud of the hard work of Mexican Americans servicemen, Spanish language newspapers printed any positive awards of sacrifices Hispanics made. Encouragement from abroad was welcome new to loved ones at home. Soldiers left behind family and friends. Some families had several members in the service at the same time. According to one Mexican American, "At one time there were as many as fifteen of out immediate family who had gone to war!"[15] Another Hispanic soldier left behind his girlfriend who would later write, "It is a privilege for a girl to have someone fighting for her."[16] The Mexican American community took extreme pride in their accomplishments. Aguirre recalled a conversation while on the front lines with several Hispanic soldiers:

> They were all Chicanos and they had twenty, he said twenty seven, twenty eight Mexican Americans in their company. In the company that's almost like one seventh, or one sixth of the company were Chicanos from Southern California. Cause he went to Camp Roberts. They cleaned the whole damn town out here. They didn't leave nothing here. So anyway, he said, "They call us the Mexican Army. We kid around. But they need us and we need them too. Oh, we're real friendly."[17]

While the men served overseas, their wives and daughters often worked in defense jobs at home. They took jobs out of the house because it was difficult for them to stay home not knowing if they would ever see their husbands and sons again. They felt by working defense jobs that it was contributing to the war effort, and helping to get their loved ones home sooner. Unfortunately, even at home women could not escape the horrors of war. According to Margaret Villanueva Lambert,

> "I was working and all of a sudden there would be a loud scream followed by uncontrollable crying of a woman who had learned that her husband or son was dead. We all feared that as women. The workers would always collect a fund for these women."[18]

On occasion male factory workers left their secure positions to take up arms, as explained by Aguirre:

> "Hey Freddy Aguirre, I'm going to enlist in the Marines. Wanna come with me? I'm ready to go fight those Japs, shorten this war. I don't like this job here." He got tired of the job. He said, "Aw come on, let's go. We're going to go to the damn Marines man. We're gonna fight the damn Japs. I'm getting tired of this job." I said, "I'm going to wait a while. Let me learn how to operate one of these things. I'm going to stick around a while and I'm going to let the government call me when they're ready. They'll call me one of these days. I don't know when, but I don't want to be too hasty about it. I want to learn how to operate one of these things. We're still doing the same thing. They need the airplanes." He took off and he said, "I'll see you later. I'll call you one of these days. I'll see you later."

14. Ibid., Tape 2 – Side A [389].
15. Ibid.
16. Takaki, 85.
17. Aguirre Interview, Tape 2 – Side B [308].
18. Takaki, 85.

> He was gone four months and the next thing I know they had it on the bulletin board there, Kenny so-and-so got killed in action in Tarawa. He got killed. You never know. Some guys get killed the first day, some guys don't get killed. Everything depends on where the bullet hits, or where the shell hits.[19]

The war enabled Mexican Americas to enter social arenas previously unattainable. Thousands fought overseas for their country, while just as many worked at home in defense of it. With the great vacuum in labor caused by military need, many shipyards and aircraft factories turned to the Hispanic population to fill empty positions, just as the agricultural industry had done. They worked in defense jobs, such as steel and armament, and by the end of the war, 17,000 Mexican Americas were employed at shipyards alone. In 1941 there had been fewer than a dozen.[20] Aguirre recalled:

> They were hammering metal to form the doors, the windows for the fuselage, the tails, the tails of the plane. Especially the fuselages were round, where they had the propeller. It looked like a tire but it was all metal that protected the engine. The doors, the bottom, the top of the plane. It was all in sections and they send it to another department where they were riveting. They called it jigs. I had very little to do with those on the outside. I started over there where they made the molds, where we bend all the metal so that they could send it ahead. They send it to heat treated, heat treat it so all the metal would stay exactly the way you shaped it. They call it heat treat. They used to dump it in hot liquids and then pull it out. Then they send it ahead and then they made holes. They put it in jigs, like a frame, almost like a plane and they would punch the holes right through it and then they send it farther ahead over where they were building all these wings. Some parts of the wings were round. Some parts of the metal we were bending were round. Some straight and some had very little curve. It's like a jigsaw puzzle. Then they would send them all the way to the end where they had, that's what my wife would do, buckers. They had to get inside the plane. Then they had to put the rivet it. That's how they used to put the plane together.[21]

Mexican American women discovered they too could be influential in the war effort. They filled jobs previously held by men, as they joined the ranks of "riveters." Working at plants gave Mexican women the chance to meet new people, and mingle with other races. Some women refused to work with minorities, and as a result Blacks and Mexicans were frequently paired together. Although there were some initial hostilities, over time the two minorities grew close, finding they were in the same discriminated boat. Just as soldiers overseas felt that their service was a symbol of their allegiance to the United States, so did women workers who had a feeling of patriotism as they built the machinery of war.

Still, minorities received less pay. Mexican Americans fought back with the help of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) who fought for equal rights. Despite advances with the assistance of the FEPC discrimination continued. To escape the hardships of work, men would visit nearby towns on their days off, only to be greeted with hostility. When trying to purchase a meal or item from a small business, they were asked to leave, refusing them service. Discrimination at home came in all kinds for Hispanics, showing the extent of racist views in America.[22]

One of the largest problems Mexican Americans faced was finding housing and real

19. Aguirre Interview, Tape 1 – Side B [108].
20. Takaki, 96.
21. Aguirre Interview, Tape 1 – Side B [163].
22. Roger W. Lotchin, *The Way We Really Were: The Golden State in the Second Great War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 10.

estate. Frequently leases specifically stated that minorities were not permitted to reside at particular areas. This was known as "exclusive covenants." On occasion Anglos in surrounding areas put the exclusive covenant to practice by refusing to sell to Hispanics. As a result, the "East Side" of Los Angeles became predominantly inhabited by Hispanics.[23] They were confined, forced by racist views to form and stay in Hispanic communities, furthering the division between Mexican Americans and the rest of the population.

Within Los Angeles itself discrimination and prejudice ran rapid. Mexican Americans were barred from theaters, restaurants, public parks, swimming pools, and even skating rinks. If they were lucky the city would permit entry one time a week. Occasionally there were signs posted stating, "WEDNESDAYS RESERVED FOR NEGROES AND MEXICANS ONLY."[24] School districts were of no exception. In Orange County schools were segregated into White and Hispanic schools. Mexican American students were prohibited from speaking Spanish. Violating this rule meant one faced suspension.

This is atmosphere that bred rebellion among oppressed minorities. Young people wanted to express themselves, and the most popular way was through dress. The fashion of the time was to wear long and baggy clothing known as "zoot-suits." Immediately those dressed in zoot-suit apparel were tagged as troublemakers by the media. Even zoot-suitor parents disapproved of the trend; however, Mexican American and even some Black youth continued to wear the attire.

Newspapers fed off of public's fears, with headlines such as "One Slain and 10 Beaten by Boy Gang Terrorists."[25] The media spread stories of gangs of zoot-suitors terrorizing the streets of Los Angeles. Gangs were blamed for recent violence, and tagged with the name, "pachucos." As the movement grew Mexican American girls who were part of the gangs were labeled "black widows." In reality only a small percentage of the 36,000 teenage Mexicans were gang members. Perhaps as few as 750 to 1,000 were even affiliated with gangs, yet the public was in a frenzy.[26]

Public concern heightened when on 2 August 1942, in the east side barrios of Los Angeles, the murdered body of Jose Diaz was found at a local swimming hole named Sleepy Lagoon. Police blamed the death on a group of pachucos who had crashed a party in that vicinity the night before. The 38th Street gang was in the sights of authorities, and within a few days of the murder 24 men had been arrested. During the next week six hundred people were arrested and held as suspects.[27] Anyone carrying anything that could be considered a weapon was detained, with a special emphasis on those wearing zoot-suits. Police also raided Mexican neighborhoods, searched cars, and placed restrictions on movement throughout the city.[28]

A mass trial was conducted for all involved, not an individual case by case assessment. During the proceedings the defendants sat separate from their lawyers. Over the course of the trial they were also deprived of showers, shaving razors, haircuts, and new clothes, making their appearance unappealing. It was evident that many of the defendants had been victims of police beatings, as they entered the courtroom with new bruises and blood on their faces. To top things off, the judge was noticeably biased as he continually

23. Carlos M. Jimenez, *The Mexican American Heritage* (Korea: TQS Publications, 1994), 198.
24. Ibid., 199.
25. *Los Angeles Time*, 8-3-42.
26. Stan Steiner, *La Raza: The Mexican Americans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 201.
27. Ibid., 205.
28. Ibid., 233.

made inappropriate racist remarks to the jury and defendants.[29]

In the end three men were found guilty of first degree murder and sentenced to life in prison, nine of second degree murder and received five years to life, five of lesser crimes and received one year, and five were found not guilty.[30] Their case, trial, and subsequent conviction were a supreme example of prejudice in Los Angeles during the war. As a result of the verdict, tensions between Hispanics and the community began to grow. Only six months after the Sleepy Lagoon trial, riots between servicemen and Mexican Americans broke out in Los Angeles on 3 June 1944. It was known as the "Zoot-Suit Riots."

A youth stripped of his zoot suit by servicemen in Los Angeles, June 7, 1943. Courtesy of Rosales, Arturo F. Chicano!: *The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement.*

Once again, racism would play out in Southern California as mobs of sailors combed the streets of Los Angeles. The servicemen's outrage apparently came from verbal and physical harassment of eleven sailors earlier that night. The sailors joined together in a group of two hundred, which became know as the "Vengeance Squad." They hired twenty yellow taxi cabs, and used them to cruise around town looking for anyone of Hispanic descent.[31] When they saw anyone who fit their description they would jump out of their cabs and beat them.

Zoot-suit youth were attacked physically and verbally as servicemen shouted that they were draft dodgers. On one occasion sailors entered a theater looking for zoot-suits. They went up and down the isles until they happened upon tow of them. They dragged them out of the theater and forced them to strip down. As a final insult, the sailors urinated on their clothing. One Hispanic man stated, "Who the hell they fighting, Japs or us? Hell man, this is a street in Germany tonight. This isn't Los Angeles." Another man said, "They're going in the houses looking everywhere for us guys."[32] Police stood idly by, doing nothing to stop the beating of innocent Hispanics. The only arrests made were against Mexicans. Not a single serviceman was detained for his actions.

Civilians also joined in the beatings. Police and newspapers praised the servicemen for their acts. One headline read, "*SAILOR 'TACK FORCE' HITS L.A. ZOOTERS.*"[33]

29. Lotchin, 194.
30. Takaki, 105.
31. Steiner, 208.
32. Takaki , 107.
33. *Los Angeles Time*, 6-5-43.

Another headline proclaimed, "*ZOOT SUITERS LEARN LESSON IN FIGHT WITH SERVICEMEN.*"[34] Servicemen were regarded as heroes, as they justified their actions by stating that they were trying to wipe out juvenile delinquency.[35] The mob riots came to an end when the Navy closed Los Angeles to all personal. Later the city of L.A. passed an ordinance outlawing the wearing of zoot-suits within city limits.

Word of the brutalities spread throughout the nation, even all the way to Japan. The Japanese government used the riots as propaganda proclaiming American racism. Pressure from overseas and from civil rights groups forced the government to re-evaluate discrimination in the United States Even Eleanor Roosevelt spoke out against discriminatory acts in Southern California, referring to them as 'race riots.' The Sleep Lagoon murder trial was re-opened, and on 4 October 1944, two years after the trial concluded, the convictions were overturned by the District Court of Appeals.[36] Despite legal progress, minorities continued to suffer civil injustice in their communities.

Felix Longoria, a Mexican American who fought on behalf of the United States, was returned home after losing his life in the Pacific. Despite the ultimate sacrifice for his country, the Three Rivers Mortuary in Texas refused to take his body. The public was outraged and protested to the state government. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson addressed the issue in a telegram to the soldier's widow by stating, "I have today made arrangements to have Felix Longoria buried with full military honors at Arlington Cemetery."[37]

Pachuco defendants in the infamous Sleepy Lagoon Case, 1944. Courtesy of Rosales, Arturo F. Chicano!: *The History of the Mexican American*

Racist attitudes like those of the funeral home director who turned away Longoria were shared by many. Thousands who fought and died for America returned to a country that didn't support their right to equality. Minority soldiers found that while overseas they received better treatment than those who remained at home. Victoria Morales best summed it up by saying, "My generation went proudly to war because this country, despite the discrimination, had provided my family with a better life than my relatives had in Mexico."[38] Indeed, the Mexican American population suffered deeply from prejudice and discrimination, yet they found it in themselves to fight for their beliefs, hoping that their sacrifices would pave the way for equality, and prove their patriotism, for they too are American.

34. Jimenez, 212.
35. Lotchin, 197.
36. Jimenez, 214.
37. Servin, 174.
38. Takaki, 101.

Author's Biography

Gregory Hoiland

Throughout the years Gregory Hoiland has had many opportunities to develop his leadership skills. Beginning during his senior year in High School, Greg took the prestigious and demanding position of Editor-in-Chief of the annual. He was in charge of over 25 people covering an enrollment of over 2000 students. This experience prepared him for his next big task of overseeing work at Allstate Insurance. Gregory's skills paid off as he was promoted several times, eventually taking a senior position in which he developed new training programs and techniques widely used throughout the company. While working at Allstate, Greg continued his education.

He graduated from Fullerton College in 2001. After transferring to Cal State University Fullerton and joined the Southwest Oral History Association (SOHA). In 2002 he was invited by SOHA to speak in Los Angeles during a three day conference of professors, historians and students from around the country. In January 2003 Greg graduated from CSUF with honors and a bachelor's degree in history. Currently, he is working toward his master's degree at Fullerton with an emphasis on the social impact of World War II on Japanese Americans in Southern California. He is also assisting the Center for Oral and Public History with the digital archiving of reel to reel and cassette tapes. He attends church weekly, and maintains a strict workout program.

Greg plans to serve his country following his completion of the graduate program. He believes that college and work have prepared him for success, in his future careers. After his term of service Greg intends to teach at the junior college level, helping others understand the role history plays in their lives.

A Cautionary Tale of Three Little Pigs: The Political Military Industrial Triumvirate in America

By Scott Behen

Edited and Introduced Thomas de Martino

In an eye-opening article, Scott Behan investigates the bewildering world of defense spending. He concludes that both the military's and the federal government's "myopic" support of the defense industry's research and development has delivered a crippling body-blow to civilian industry and created a nearly impregnable fortress of financial waste. Behan cites such landmarks of ineptitude as the Lockheed C-5A debacle, where governmental contract directives actually encouraged the aircraft corporation to fail on early production models in order to "merit" increased research bonuses. In the process of such examinations, Scott paints a devastating portrait of bureaucratic inefficiency and irresponsibility, as aided and abetted by the "greedy little pig" triumvirate of politicians, military experts, and defense industrialists.

From the Union infantrymen whose shoes came apart on their first march and whose overcoats literally disintegrated in the rains of Virginia, to the grunts in the jungles of Vietnam who discovered their newly issued rifles, the M-16, had an unnerving tendency to jam and misfire under routine conditions.[1] From the submariners in the Pacific during the first three years of World War Two (WW II) who, much to their chagrin, discovered their torpedoes most often failed when fired from the best angles of attack, to the tank commanders and their crews in the 3rd Armored Division after the Normandy landings that died in droves in their M-4 Sherman's because their tanks were too lightly armed and too thinly armored against the German Panzers.[2] These failures were not simply due to poor manufacturing (though that happened as well) but rather political expediency, failed strategy, and flawed design were just as often the culprit that cost unnecessary casualties and loss of soldiers' lives. Though the effectiveness of weapons and the well-being of troops whose lives may depend upon their equipment functioning as expected should be top priority, frequently it is subjugated by profiteering, political maneuvering, and a lack of flexibility and efficiency in the bureaucracy of the Political Military Industrial Triumvirate (PMIC). Often, a cornucopia of issues clouds the realized vision of a weapons system as it goes from mere fantasy on the drawing board to reality in a soldier's hands. Though ancestors of the modern defense establishment likely existed in loosely-related forms in all earlier American wars, perhaps even in all earlier wars, the end of WW II in 1945 was a harbinger for the birth of fraternal twins: the Cold War, and the Political Military Industrial Triumvirate.

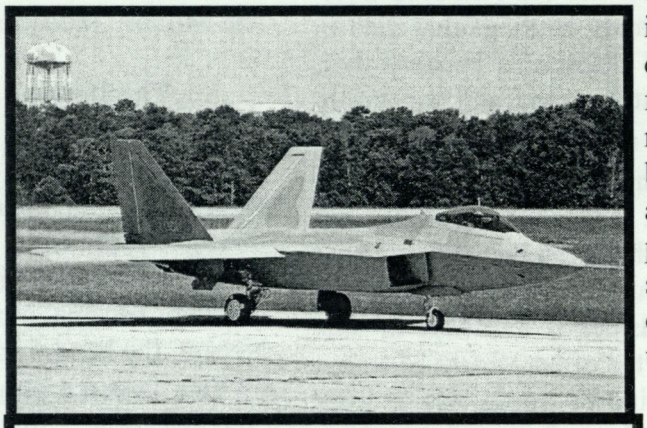
The Defense Industry

The defense industry and the armed forces grew in concert during WW II and throughout the Cold War. During the last year of WW II, the entwined relationship between the two became more visible when Donald Nelson, the head of the War Production Board (WPB), issued a program designed to achieve "reconversion," towards the production of civilian goods after the war was won.[3] The Army savaged Nelson and the WPB in the press, claiming they were responsible for

1. Geoffrey C. Ward, Ric Burns, and Ken Burns, *The Civil War: An Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 128. When soldiers complained about their boots whose soles fell off after a few minutes marching, the manufacturer's excuse was that the boots had been intended for the cavalry.
2. Admiral Eugene B. Fluckey, *Thunder Below!: The USS Barb Revolutionizes Submarine Warfare in World War II* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 18-19. Admiral Charles Lockwood ordered testing of torpedoes that proved firing pins were deforming on impact, rendering most shots from perpendicular angles inert upon impact.
   Belton Y. Cooper, *Death Traps: The Survival of an American Armored Division in World War II* (Novato: Presidio Press, 1998), vii-x.
3. Kenneth S. Davis ed., *The Reference Shelf*, vol. 43 num. 1, *Arms, Industry and America* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1971), 53-55. The four point program did the following: it allowed for the releasing of formerly scarce materials such as aluminum and magnesium for the production of civilian goods, as manpower allowed; granted manufacturers permission to make experimental models of planned postwar products, as well as plan for making the tools to create civilian goods such as dyes and molds; and finally, the provision that would eventually cost Nelson his job, allowed regional WPB directors to authorize small manufacturers to create civilians goods, on a case by case basis, provided none of the components involved in the process interfered with the war effort.

shortages of material; claiming falsely that there was a "production crisis," and even going so far as implying the Army's information came from a mole within the WPB. It was soon evident that the only shortages were due to the Army's "own mistakes in making premature cutbacks," but Nelson and the WPB never recovered from these attacks.[4] In statements made to Congress after the war, Army officials admitted that there had never been any significant shortages, stating that "no one ... suffered from a lack of supplies."[5] At the same time, major defense contractors such as General Electric were successful at inducing the military to place stringent restrictions on civilian manufacturing by smaller, less powerful companies – thus guaranteeing for themselves a disproportionate amount of postwar, civilian manufacturing. Followed by the removal of price caps at the end of the war, this allowed the defense industry to exorbitantly increase prices on planes that were in many ways only slightly more advanced design-wise and technologically-speaking than their WW II predecessors:

> The cost of modern weapons had risen exponentially. During WW II, for example, a B-17 Flying Fortress cost $218,000. The new B-36 cost $3.6 million. A World War II P-51 fighter plane cost $54,000 while an advanced F-89 cost $855,000.[6]



F-22 Raptor, Courtesy of Bill Sweetman, *F22-Raptor.*

The reasons given for the increased cost, repeated over and over in the subsequent decades, were inflation and high prices due to technological advancement. While buy-ins, gold plating, and cost overruns certainly played a part in what today has become routine inefficiency, what becomes apparent in any discussion about rising military procurement costs is that it happens simply because the process involved in getting a military contract allows it to do so.

Defense contracting is a unique industry because most of its research and development is paid for by the Department of Defense and because it is virtually guaranteed a profit due to the standard method of contracting used by the Defense Department. This myopic spending on defense-related research and development, indeed all defense spending, has generally come at the expense of civilian industry. In comparison, little or no money is left over to assist civilian industries- a fact that has allowed countries such as Germany and Japan to become America's industrial and technological equal in

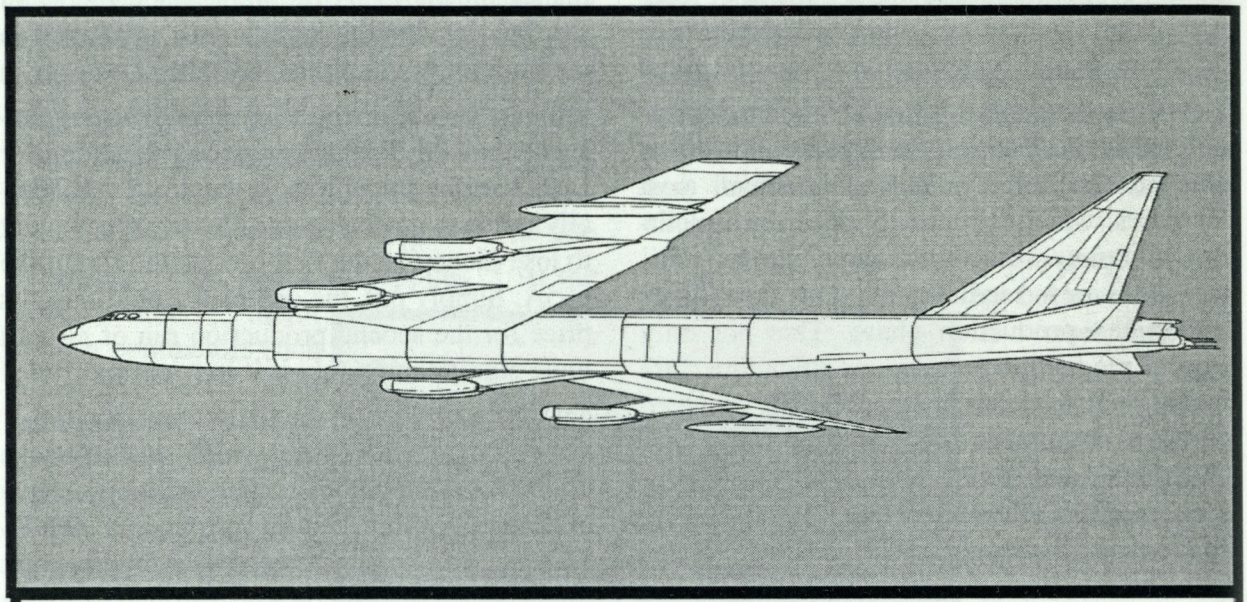
4. Ibid., 58-59. Nelson would be forced to leave his position due to ill health although Roosevelt had caved in to pressure from the Army and had issued a directive that would have sent Nelson to China.
5. Ibid., 60-61.
6. Gerard Clarfield, *Security With Solvency: Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Shaping of the American Military Establishment,* (Connecticut: Praeger Publishing, 1999) , 77. The B-36 was a propeller-driven behemoth of a plane with jet engines placed on the ends of its wings to assist during take off. These jet engines were shut down during flight to increase range and endurance of flights. The nearly exponential cost increase between the straight wing and the swept wing variant of the F-84 highlights the dramatic increases.

many ways by conversely spending heavily on civilian industrial research and development and only fractionally upon the military counterparts. Proponents of Keynesian (guns and butter) economics argue that a transfer of technology between military and civilian industries is common and beneficial, yet the statistical facts do not support this myth.[7] Even more significant is the fact that the defense industry is able to repeatedly get contractual cost increases, which it routinely does for a plethora of reasons, while at the same time the military adds new requirements and capabilities during the production phase. This not only slows production while modifications are made, it also means that previously finished parts and equipment often have to be modified, or scrapped and then remade. Defense contractors are often offered rent-free manufacturing space as well as equipment and interest-free loans based on the progress of a project, while its product has a singular, guaranteed customer, or a monopsony. The defense industry even has executives on Department of Defense (DoD) advisement committees helping to decide how procurement should be handled. It should come as no surprise that DoD procurement strongly favors an industry supported at its bedrock by the federal government.[8] Added to this, in later years, was a revolving issuance of contracts, actually corporate welfare, intended to keep afloat companies that were unsuccessful with their commercial products.[9]

The debacle surrounding the Lockheed C-5A, beginning in the mid-1960s, demonstrated nearly everything that could go wrong in military procurement. Lockheed's performance on the C-5A program was a model of the buy-ins, gold plating, and cost overrun methodology which had become the norm in military procurement.[10] It should be emphasized that the Pentagon opened the door for Lockheed by negotiating a contract that actually made it profitable for the aerospace giant to lose money on the first production run of the C-5A. Simply put, the company could raise its price for the second production run of aircraft quite significantly only if it lost a proportional amount of money on the first production run.[11] Though a complex issue, which several books and a multitude of other writings have expanded, circumstances surrounding the C-5A issue can be synthesized to a few relevant issues that consistently run through military procurement. Negotiated contracts included details such as how many man-hours could be spent on a certain part of a project, which meant that even when the labor was not used it was spent, which led to conditions where employees were being paid for doing nothing at all. Also included in the contract was the basic assumption that the company would in no way be allowed to lose money on a DoD project. Thus, in sharp contrast to commercial business and in spite of badly run and inefficient programs or inferior products, the defense corporation was guaranteed a profit. Lastly, those companies that had fared poorly

7. Anthony Difilippo, *From Arms to Industry: The Political Economy of High Technology.* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 4-9,136-149., Anthony Difilippo, *Military Spending and Industrial Decline: A Study of the American Machine Tool Industry.*(New York: Greenwood Press, 1986) , 82.
8. Berkeley Rice, *The C-5A Scandal: An Inside Story of the Military-Industrial Complex.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), 210-211.
9. Gordon Adams. *The Politics of Defense Contracting: The Iron Triangle.* (New York: Transaction Books, 1981) , 22.
10. GAO, *Tactical Aircraft: Concurrency in Development and Production of F-22 Aircraft Should Be Reduced, Report to Congressional Committees.* GAO/NSIAD-95-59. (Washington, April 1995), 2. The GAO states flatly that Lockheed has had a history if mismanagement that has led to consistent cost overruns in its military contracts.

in the commercial marketplace could count on the Pentagon awarding them another contract to keep them in business. These points were illustrated by the competition between Boeing and Lockheed for the C-5A contract.



Boeing B-52F Bomber, Courtesy of Robin Cross, *The Bombers.*

The Air Force desired a giant cargo plane capable of carrying arms, troops, and supplies anywhere in the world, under all flight conditions, and able to land in near-battlefield conditions on what are referred to as forward airfields. What the Air Force finally received was something considerably less capable. Even though the Boeing plans were approved by the military advisory committee in charge of recommending the prime contractor, it was determined by the Pentagon that Lockheed, based in Marietta, Georgia, would be forced to close down if it did not receive the lucrative contract. Subsequently, the contract was given to Lockheed and the Air Force eventually got a C-5A Galaxy fleet one-third smaller than originally ordered at three times the initial per plane cost. The commercial airlines industry procured Boeing's hugely successful 747 Jumbo Jet at almost exactly its original estimated cost.[12] Unlike their civilian counterparts who were obligated by contractual agreements with their buyers, the defense industries could constantly renegotiate their contracts to guarantee a profit. In hearings before the Subcommittee on Priorities and Economy in the Government of the Joint Economic Committee, in April of 1971, Vice Admiral H.G. Rickover stated quite succinctly that:

> Large defense contractors can let costs come out where they will and count on getting relief from the Defense Department through changes

11. Rice, 18-28. Using a complex formula that was written into the original contract, Lockheed could actually raise the price on the anticipated second production run to more than offset losses on the first production run. With many Air Force officials privately admitting Lockheed's original bid was impossibly low, what was called a buy in, it was counterintuitive to stipulate prices could be increased based on loss for a contract that was virtually guaranteed to lose money.

12. Ibid., 54-56.

> and claims, relaxation of procurement regulations and laws, government loans, follow-on sole source contracts or other escape mechanisms. Wasteful subcontracting practices, inadequate controls, shop loafing, and production errors mean little to these contractors since they will make money whether their product is good or bad, whether the price is fair or higher than it should be, whether delivery is on time or late.[13]

If Boeing had delivered two-thirds of the contracted planes at three times the individual cost, its 747 customers would have cancelled their contracts. Yet the military had time and again allowed the kind of waste that was so clearly described by Admiral Rickover.

Problems with Lockheed and its C-5A program went far beyond merely being over cost and fraught with delays. Only minutes had passed since the passing of the defense procurement bill for 1972 when the Air Force announced that eight days earlier one of the massive jet engines on the ponderous cargo plane had simply fallen off onto the tarmac at Altus Air Force Base in Oklahoma during routing pre-flight checks by the pilot. The Air Force had already grounded seven of the forty-seven operational C-5A's by October of 1971 due to various teething problems and, just nine days after the announcement, the entire fleet was grounded for safety reasons.[14] It turned out that the C-5A had major engineering problems, among a host of other glitches, failures, and defects. Among these was a wing failure, a crack that formed behind the wing in the fuselage of the aircraft, which had plagued the plane since its first production, and severely limited its performance. Due to this wing crack and some other problems associated with the engine mounts and landing gear, the C-5A was only capable of carrying half of its expected capacity, and could not take off at full throttle, fly at full speed, or land on forward battlefields. The landing gear was so problematic that the Government Accounting Office (GOA) reported to congress that during a single six month period in 1971 there were 3,327 reported landing gear failures.[15] This did not include a highly public fiasco during the celebration of the acceptance of the first operational plane in October of 1970. Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee (HASC) Mendel Rivers was among the many prominent politicians and military officials in attendance that day who saw a C-5A suffer a tire blowout which caused another wheel to fall off and subsequently, much to the amusement of the officials watching, roll down the runway ahead of the plane itself.[16]

Pressured by the mounting negative publicity and looking to reduce costs, the Air Force renegotiated the Lockheed contract to the tune of roughly $5 billion for only 81 planes, down from the original figure of 120. This so called "reduced cost" escalated the per plane cost of the C-5A from a mere $16.2 million to a figure well above $60 million per plane. This cavernous airplane was touted by the Air Force as an "advance in the state of the art" but was delivered to the Air Force riddled with problems, failing to meet any of its flight specifications. Incredible as it may seem, Lockheed was forced to accept a fixed loss of $200 million on the C-5A program at the same time a $250 million dollar bailout was being negotiated on the failing company's behalf in Congress.[17]

Other factors that greatly influenced how the defense industry obtained contracts

13. *Congressional Quarterly*, "The Power of the Pentagon", 1972, 86.
14. Ibid., 88; Rice, 149-156.
15. Ibid.
16. Rice, 161-162.
17. *Congressional Quarterly*, 87, 89, 92. While the bailout was technically for the failing civilian Tristar airliner that Lockheed was attempting to sell, it is clear that the company essentially gained $50 million dollars despite failing to produce results.

included political engineering and the reciprocal hiring and transfer by the DoD and defense industry of employees with clear conflicts of interest. The defense contractors, both individually and via trade groups, invested heavily in marketing through trade publications such as the *Defense News* and *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, and also by way of local pro-defense newspapers such as the *San Diego Union.*[18] To bolster these efforts, inside information was obtained in order to present proposals for future projects through a network of senior employees who retired from the military and were given lucrative positions in the companies with whom they had a liaison while on active duty. This conflict of interest did not prevent the new employees from accessing connections inside the military to acquire information that was essentially used as intelligence by the defense industry. These same defense companies 'loaned' senior level employees to the DoD to act as liaisons with the industry. A Brookings Institution report found that the Kennedy Administration hired 20% of its civilian executives in DoD agencies from defense contractors and unearthed evidence of DoD officials having been paid by both the DoD and a defense contractor who still employed them. [19] A clearer example of conflict of interest would be hard to find. Unfortunately, there was little or no attention given to these matters since they were considered "business as usual" within both the Pentagon and the defense industry.

In tandem with the revolving-door employment between the Pentagon and the defense industry was the conflict of interest that was nurtured by political engineering. In an attempt to garner political protection for a program, companies in the defense industry, such as Lockheed, spread contracts and subcontracts throughout as many states and individual voting districts as possible. The purpose was to decrease the likelihood that any politician would oppose a project that brought jobs and money to the people of his home district. For instance, the C-5A program had 2,000 subcontractors dispersed throughout 41 states and employing 125,000 people while Lockheed had 35,000 subcontractors working for the company as a whole in 1971.[20] In Lockheed's recently successful bid for the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, the company overcame a perceived weakness: that it would only have suppliers in half of the states even when the plane was in full production, thus jeopardizing the almost automatic support of Representatives and Senators from the districts and states that could do work on the project. [21] This was perceived as a weakness because Lockheed's competitor for the bid (Boeing once again) had shown that it would have contractors and suppliers in more states than Lockheed's plan. Echoing the DoD's decision on the C-5A project, Lockheed was awarded the contract, in no small part due to the perception that it needed the contract far more that the commercially successful Boeing company.

The Pentagon

Prior to WW II, the American military was considered second-rate when compared to

18. Roger W. Lochin, *Fortress California 1910-1961: From Warfare to Welfare.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 120. Here and several other places Lochin refers to the *San Diego Union* as a "booster-oriented'" newspaper.
19. Adams, 31-42, Davis ed., *The Reference Shelf*, 97-98, Richard J. Barnet, *The Economy of Death.* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 60. Eisenhower's first Secretary of the Air Force, Harold Talbott, continued to receive a $400,000 per year salary from his former employer in the defense industry while working for the administration.
20. Rice, 110. *Congressional Quarterly*, 89.
21. James Fallows. "Uncle Sam Buys An Airplane." *The Atlantic Monthly.* June 2002, 73.

nations such as Britain, Japan, and Germany. Its arsenal still included World War One-era battleships, slow, obsolescent planes, and even horse cavalry. It had a small number of men who received relatively little training, and were generally posted to desolate parts of the continental United States and not to international soil, which reflected the American government's isolationist tendencies. Following WW II, victorious America's arsenal and its newfound political strength placed it center stage among the nations of the world. In what can only be termed a revolutionary change, America and its military had acquired a newfound respect both abroad and at home. The maturation of the Cold War in the aftermath of WW II, coupled with the booming American economy and a rising belief in the advancing technology of the time, led to a military and defense industry that increasingly shared the same interest.

A government document, published a year after the war ended, sheds light on the origins of the PMIT. It stated that the Army attempted to acquire during the war "total control of the nation, its manpower, its facilities, (and) its economy...." Since one third of every dollar of Gross National Product (GNP) went to the War (Defense) Department, the military felt there was legitimacy, indeed a need, for this nearly total control of the nation's economy. These attempts at control were blocked by President Roosevelt and by then-head of the WPB, Donald Nelson. Nevertheless, the military, reinforced by business leaders including the head of General Electric, advocated a permanent war economy for a looming conflict with the Soviets.[22]

During WW II the military used hyperbole and exaggeration, at a time when it was already receiving a third of the GNP, to browbeat more funding from Congress. An example of this came to light during investigations after the war when it was discovered that the Army's claimed shortage of large shells in July of 1944 had caused soldiers to fight at closer range with smaller munitions, which resulted in more casualties on the allied side. A routine WPB report, due to be released almost concurrently with the Army's claim, was suppressed because it showed there was no shortage at all, that indeed there were stockpiles ranging from eight months' to five years' worth of munitions.[23] Given this willingness to outright lie in order to achieve its aims, it should come as no surprise that much of the early Cold War was exaggeration and hyperbole fed by the Pentagon and the defense industry to serve their own needs for funding and growth.[24]

The Pentagon, and the individual branches of the service within it, uses trade publications and even friendly newspapers to push its agenda in a more public forum, especially when it is promoting a new project or floating strategies or theories that emphasize a particular weapons system. In February 2001, the *Aviation Week & Space Technology* (AW&ST) magazine ran a typical short article that was intended merely to support the flagging F-22 Raptor and B-2, two very expensive stealth-technology planes that far exceeded the mark in costs, while falling far short on expectations. It was reported that Air Force officials, particularly then-Chief of Air Combat Command General John Jumper, were "touting" a "Kick-down-the-door" strike force of F-22s and B-2s that, depending on how they were armed, could strike a many as 426 targets in a single day.[25] This was quite impressive in the gloss, but was the devil in the details. A task force comprised of 12 B-2s and 48 F-22s could attack between 270 and 426 distinct targets per day for one to three days via single long range sorties by each aircraft Clearly a sales pitch for the F-22, which could, "sweep the skies of enemy fighters," it was sullied by a significant

22. Davis ed., *The Reference Shelf*, 61.

23. Ibid., 64.
24. Ibid., 61-64.
25. AW&ST, Feb 26, 2001, 24-25.

white lie that would not have been obvious to the general public, nor for that matter anyone who had not attended hearings or read the proceedings regarding the B-2s performance in the Kosovo air campaign.[26] There were only twenty-one B-2 bombers which, due to the ease with which their radar absorbent skin sustained damage, could not be forward based. In the Kosovo air campaign, the flight time alone, from their home base in Missouri to Kosovo, with six mid-air refuelings while in transit plus a stop at Diego Garcia for a change of flight crews before the leg back to Missouri, totaled a whopping 44 hours. At any given time, only a fraction of the twenty-one B-2 bombers were available for missions, and each assignment effectively took that B-2 out of mission readiness for another week.[27] Later, in the wake of September 11th and the Afghan campaign, AW&ST published a single-page article covering air combat simulations run at a Boeing facility in St. Louis. Here the pro-Air Force mouthpiece no longer touted the claim that hundreds of targets could be hit by a mythical task force, rather it detailed exactly how a Russian-made fighter, the SU-30MK could easily shoot down the Air Force's current air superiority fighter, the F-15C Eagle. Also, while promoting future air-to-air missiles, the Pentagon and the defense establishment leaked a report to the media that verged on being treasonous simply to justify continued support for the purchase of the F-22 Raptor.[28] Finally, in another stump for the F-22 program, then facing scrutiny and possible further reductions in orders, an editorial piece ran in the *Los Angeles Times*, a year after the tragedies of 9-11. The article referred to "hushed whispers" circulating within the Air Force. These "whispers" stated that if the Air Force had had its vaunted F-22 at the time of the terrorist attacks "it could have intercepted and shot down the second airliner heading for the south tower of the World Trade Center," as well as the plane that crashed into the Pentagon.[29] In a newly defined war on terror, the Air Force was still determined to buy an aircraft designed for a war against the Soviets that would be shoehorned one way or another into a role for which it was never intended.

The Department of Defense continues to use spin, obfuscation, and flat out lying to achieve its goals in public relations as it pertains to particular programs, strategies and overall policies. The previously-discussed timed release of information that, in light of the Proxmire hearings would have been damaging to the Air Force's C-5A program, was scrupulously withheld until after the money for the next year's worth of spending had been approved. Indeed:

> DoD affects Congress's ability to oversee defense policy: the Pentagon is far better situated than most bureaucracies to resist congressional oversight...At a minimum, defense officials are reluctant to give Congress information that may hurt defense programs...At a maximum the Pentagon actively seeks to deny information to potential critics [in Congress.][30]

When Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin of the Joint Economic Committee (JEC) requested to have the GAO examine Lockheed's accounts, the DoD flat out refused,

26. David A Fulghum "USAF Plans Rapid, All-Stealth Task Force." *Aviation Week & Space Technology. 26* February 2001:24-25.
27. Ibid., U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. June 30, 1999.
28. David A. Fulghum and Douglas Barrie. "Su-30MK Beats F-15C 'Every Time.'" *Aviation Week & Space Technology.* May 27, 2002: 47.
29. William M. Arkin, "Flying Off Course," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 September 2002, 1,3 (M).
30. James M. Lindsay, "Congressional Oversight of the Department of Defense: Reconsidering the Conventional Wisdom." *Armed Forces & Society* 17 (Fall 1990), 14.

stating that the JEC did not have statutory authority to request such information because it was regarded as a study committee and, as such, had no authority to issue subpoenas. In what amounted to negotiations between the Pentagon and the GAO, it was announced that the Department of Defense was "allowing" only a review of cash flow statements. Literally, this agreement meant that GAO staffers could, "look at Lockheed's books, but they could not write down any figures, remove the material from the Pentagon or release to Congress any of the figures they saw."[31] So then, exactly to whom was the Pentagon responsible if not to elected representatives holding office? Further complicating the situation was the tendency of the DoD to act as if it suffered from a multiple personality disorder, due to the inter-service rivalries within the Pentagon's walls - rivalries, it would seem, that had existed since time immemorial.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Courtesy of Fred Greenstein, *The Hidden-Hand Presidency.*

An explanation of inter-service rivalries, which were at their height following WW II and during the early stages of the Cold War, is required to further understand the motives that lay behind some of the Pentagon's actions. Prior to WW II, the Army and the Navy fought each other for a share of the meager budget available to them. They each acted independently of the other, somewhat analogous to two separate political parties with no unified command structure, who lobbied directly to Congress for funding and support. Each branch duplicated the other in many ways - their own planes, armies, and support ships - to the point that the Navy refused to transport the Army by sea, requiring the Army to rely upon the Merchant Marine for any transportation that was not over land.[32] Meanwhile, the Navy relied upon its own army, the Marines, to fight battles on shore. For many civilians it was very difficult to understand why the Navy, the Army, and even the Navy's army, the Marines, had their own air forces. Even more perplexing was the fact that the Air Force was in charge of nuclear missiles launched from the ground, seemingly Army turf. The rise to prominence of air power during WW II led to the establishment of the Air Force in the National Security Act of 1947. From then on there were three military services, disunited and vying for influence, prestige, and dollars. The intensity of the rivalry, the lack of trust among the services, and absence of any cohesive strategic vision would lead to three services pulling the government and the public in three separate directions. Each service exacerbated the Cold War paranoia merely to gain a larger budget.

In large part this internecine battle was fought between the Air Force and the Navy, who were considered the glamour services because of their capital ships and gleaming jet bombers. To make matters worse, the battle was waged visibly in the press and within the corridors and chambers of Congress. The defense budgets shrank after the war from $500.6 billion in 1946 (as a percentage of GNP this was an all-time high) to $94.7 billion in

31. *Congressional Quarterly,* 90.

32. Davis ed., *The Reference Shelf,* 62.

1948 before increasing to almost $130 billion by the start of the Korean War.[33] The Korean War years matured the fears and spending levels that had been nursed along by the Berlin Airlift Crisis of 1948 and the first test of a Soviet atomic bomb in 1949. The Korean "Police Action" rapidly increased military spending through 1954 to its peak Cold War levels. The spiraling cost of military equipment, the redundancy, and the lack of efficiency and oversight controls further increased the fighting for dollars among the services as the strategic triad emerged. This triad still exists today as America's nuclear deterrent via submarine-launched ballistic missiles, stationary land-based inter-continental ballistic missiles and strategic bomber forces made up of the aging B-52s, and younger B-1s and B-2s.

Battles in the press in 1947 through 1949 revolved around the Navy's supercarrier program and the Air Force's Strategic Bomber program, the B-36 Peacemaker.[34] The Air Force, its promoters in Congress, and the defense industry released reports on the technical capabilities of the B-36 as well as a highly classified report on the bombers ability to penetrate the Soviet air defenses. These reports were countered by vigorous Navy attacks on the cumbersome bomber and its inability to penetrate Soviet air space, essentially claiming it was easy prey for Soviet interceptors. The Navy claimed only planes launched from their supercarrier could penetrate Soviet airspace, yet their argument was so illogical as to be self-defeating. If no Air Force plane could penetrate Soviet airspace, many Congressmen asked, how could a Navy plane fare any better? In light of this dubious logic, the notion that a single supercarrier cost more than 60 B-36s swung the fight in the Air Force's direction. Carl Vinson, then-Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and normally a strong advocate for the Navy, put to rest this very public battle when he stated, "We cannot afford the luxury of two strategic air forces."[35] The Air Force, with its publicity-minded leadership and strong advocacy in both the industry and the press - not to mention grandstanding stunts - was winning the battle for budget dollars until the Korean War opened the floodgates and the Navy received its supercarriers. [36]

The zenith of this hyperbole came in 1948 when the Air Force leadership, including General Leslie Groves of Manhattan Project fame, issued a statement that in the "first 5 minutes of an atomic blitz 40 million Americans would die." However, at this point in time, America was the only country with nuclear capability as the Soviets did not even test their first bomb until 1949, let alone possess an arsenal of them or the means for effective delivery.[37] This served as yet another

33. C. Vann Woodward, 121-123 ; Center for Defense Information, "U.S. Military Spending, 1945-1996." <http://www.cdo.org/issues/milspend.html> , 9 July , 1996 [Accessed 5 August,2002].
34. Gerard Clarfield, *Security With Solvency: Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Shaping of the American Military Establishment,* (Connecticut: Praeger Publishing, 1999). 36-38, 66-69.
35. Ibid., 80-81. It should be clear that the Air Force leadership was behind this statement, and others of its kind. In the military, as in any large organization, public statements are cleared through channels and are usually highly managed in order to coincide with policy, or to test new policy ideas publicly. It should also be noted that two of the current dozen nuclear powered supercarriers are named for former House Armed Services Committee chairmen, Vinson, and Stennis, both ardent Navy supporters.
36. Ibid., 66-67. LeMay trumpeted an around the world flight of B-50 which was specially modified as proving the Air Force capable of dropping a nuclear bomb anywhere in the world. This was patently untrue until the B-36 came into service and was questionable even then.
37. Davis, *The Reference Shelf*, 60.

example of what the Air Force, indeed any of the services, was willing to say and do in order to increase their war chests. These arguments varied little in the following decades, even after the establishment of a powerful Chief-of-Staff and a revised Joint-Chiefs-of-Staff organization. In the early 1960s, with Robert McNamara as Secretary of Defense, the Air Force was arguing for the B-1 bomber and the Navy for an expansion of its ballistic missile fleet, to thus keep a function of the strategic triad under their respective control.[38]

An insidious side effect of inter-service rivalries was the constant duplication of effort that resulted in each branch having similar programs that did not share research or funding. The missile programs approved by Eisenhower during the mid-1950s were a prime example of this redundancy and waste. Foregoing his distaste for duplication, Eisenhower allowed the three services to independently work on separate Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile programs. Meanwhile the Air Force was also allowed to continue work on two separate Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) programs that would eventually come to be known as the Atlas and Titan missiles.[39] This smorgasbord of missile research led to a missile manufacturer comparing attaining a DoD contract to, "Playing a slot machine: it took 'a lot of nickels and a lot of time' but eventually you hit the jackpot."[40] Unfortunately, the defense industry was very often able to apply this statement to many different programs due to the inherent inefficiency of the procurement system, which led to overlap and duplication in the three existing services.

Another wrinkle that further complicated the military procurement and budgeting process was the intra-service rivalry existing within a particular branch of the military - what Air Force General John Jumper referred to as stovepiping.[41] An example of this intra-service rivalry was the turf war in the Navy between the carrier-based arm and the submarine fleet, who were both vying for their share of funding out of the Navy portion of the overall defense budget. Within the Air Force this rivalry was best exemplified by the way the Air Force identified its major component parts in the latter portion of the Cold War. The Air Force was essentially divided into the Military Airlift Command (MAC), Strategic Air Command (SAC), and the Tactical Air Command (TAC) or, in other words, the cargo/troop carriers, the bombers, and the fighters. Within the Air Force, funds designated for the F-22 program would have been in direct competition with the funds allotted for the C-17 or the B-2. As a by-product, this competition would have affected funds for such aircraft as the A-10, which provided close air support protection for ground troops via the suppression of enemy infantry and armor. Whatever the name- intra-service rivalries, turf wars, or parochialism- this form of program advocacy generally did more harm than good and led to a further sullying of the overall strategic and tactical integration of all the armed services. According to Gen. Jumper, the funding programs indicated why it took the Air Force a minimum of 72 hours to plan a mission, and even longer for missions that included the high maintenance B-2 Spirit stealth bombers.[42]

38. Gordon Adams, *The Politics of Defense Contracting: The Iron Triangle,* (New Brunswick, CT: Transactions Books, 1981), 24-25.
39. Clarfield, 123.
40. Piers Brendon, *Ike: His Life and Times,* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1986), 350.
41. Erwin, Sandra I. "Gen. Jumper: Time to Change Traditional Program Advocacy." *National Defense.* July 2002:14.
42. Ibid.

The Politicians

As Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR) during WW II, and later as a two term President, Eisenhower was one of the most popular and respected leaders of his time. Though history has not done much to tarnish this image, it does show that his inability to lead with a firm hand both as Chief-of-Staff and as President allowed the inter-service rivalries to grow while inflating the Cold War with his contrary military policies. Eisenhower's conciliatory approach to generalship and politics showed both strength and weakness. As the SACEUR, this approach was clearly a strength because it allowed him to handle such fiery personalities as Generals Montgomery and Patton, who were both very egotistical and competitive men.[43] However, there was an ominous shadow to this conciliatory style, which led to what General Omar Bradley subsequently phrased as "strategic incoherence."[44] Later, as Chief-of-Staff and as President, the weakness of this approach caused two distinct problems: it did not stop the bickering and inter-service rivalry that was steadily increasing in severity and it often led to a confused and contradictory strategic picture at a time when a coherent strategy was most needed. Eisenhower publicly claimed support for the supercarrier, yet privately spoke of its obsolescence, and claimed in his memoirs that, as early as 1947, he had urged the building of rockets and missiles, when, as late as 1956, he told the DoD he did not consider ballistic missiles military weapons. After Sputnik, he reversed this position and again decried the desire for bombers in a time when missiles were necessary.[45] Eisenhower's failure to bring a unified command structure, his unwillingness or inability to use his prestige to demand cooperation from the service chiefs, coupled with an unwillingness to impose his strategic views, led to a dangerous buildup of nuclear weapons and an escalation of tensions in the Cold War. Ironically, a side effect of this misguided leadership was the rapid expansion of the defense establishment. Eisenhower could have used the respect he earned during WW II, his influence while serving as Army Chief-of-Staff and advisor to Truman, or his authority as Commander-in-Chief while President, to usher in the much needed changes. He failed in all measures and the best opportunity to contain both the growth of the Cold War and the burgeoning PMIT, which he claimed to fear in his farewell address in 1961, was frittered away.

If Eisenhower failed in his attempts at reform and leadership, it was not always for lack of trying. Congress however has no such excuse. By allowing the military unprecedented control of the economy and, in essence, the nation itself, Congress has let go of the purse strings which it is constitutionally obligated to control. With many thousands of employees and numerous committees and subcommittees, whose task it is to monitor the Pentagon and its procurement procedures, why has there been such a consistent failure to do so effectively? This failure is due to another inherent conflict of interest that is at the core of the matter.

Congress is a political institution and not a bureaucratic one. Because it lacks the attributes of a bureaucracy, Congress's ability

43. Kenneth S. Davis, *Dwight D. Eisenhower: Soldier of Democracy*, (New York: Konecky and Konecky, 1945), 434-436. There was probably no other General that could have managed the fractious infighting between Montgomery and Patton, especially after the Sicily campaign where Patton's end-around embarrassed Montgomery by traveling almost three times the distance and still arriving in Palermo first.

44. Brendon, 163. Eisenhower gave in to Montgomery's demands to be put in charge in France, which General Omar Bradley considered to have been an attempt to placate Montgomery's ego.

45. Clarfield, 172-173.

to review and revise DoD policies is limited; it is not capable of comprehensive oversight. Moreover, congressional policy reviews often differ from those conducted by bureaucracies. Because legislators need to win reelection to remain in Congress, they often pursue oversight activities with an eye toward potential political profit.(emphasis added.)[46]

There are two key factors that inhibit effective Congressional oversight of these programs. First and foremost is the need to get reelected, and one of the best ways to do this is to bring money and jobs back to the representative's home district. Hence, a place on one of the influential committees and subcommittees overseeing budgeting for the DoD is widely recognized as one of the best ways to bring "pork" home. It is no coincidence that the Chairmen of the HUAC have aircraft carriers and parts of military bases named after them.[47] Chairman Rivers, whose tenure coincided with the C-5A Galaxy debacle, was ardently pro-military and, not too surprisingly, managed to install 13 military bases and industrial manufacturing centers in his home state during his term in office.[48] The second factor is the elected official's susceptibility to the same hyperbole as the public, regarding the need for more and better weapons with which to fight. Loopholes in the laws regarding lobbying, combined with aggressive marketing by both the military and defense industries, make these politicians, many of whom are not military experts of any sort, extremely vulnerable to persuasion and influence peddling.

An American Triumvirate

> Any close associations between munitions and supply companies...and the service(s)...of the kind that existed...constitutes an unhealthy alliance in that it brings into being a self-interested political power which operates in the name of patriotism and satisfies interests which are, in large part, purely selfish, and that such associations are an inevitable part of militarism, and are to be avoided in peacetime at all cost.[49](emphasis added.)

Though parallels do indeed exists to the modern PMIT in the United States, the previous statement was issued in a report of the Nye committee, which convened shortly after World War One to investigate the war's causes, and was actually made in reference to Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany.[50] In what was yet another eerie coincidence, Eisenhower, in 1946 while Chief-of-Staff, issued a memorandum that implored the military to work hand-in-hand with both industry and scientists, stating that the "Security of the nation demands that all those civilian resources ...[which] constitute our main support in time of emergency be associated closely with the activities of the Army in time of peace." Eisenhower's purpose was to insure that the military never again denigrated back to pre-war levels.[51]

Ironically, this was the same man who first coined the present-day term for the collusion of the Military with Civilian Industry. In his farewell address at the end of his second Presidency, Eisenhower warned: "We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence whether sought or un-sought, by the military-industrial complex." [52]

The Political Military Industrial Triumvirate is a modern reality whose roots were planted in WW II and whose continued existence seems indefinite. It appears unlikely, perhaps even all but impossible, that any true

46. Lindsay, 7.
47. Rice, 74-75.
48. Ibid., 74-83.
49. Davis, *The Reference Shelf*, 35, Paul A.C. Koistinen, *The Military –Industrial Complex: A Historical Perspective*. (New York: Praeger Publishing, 1980), 10-12.
50. Davis, *The Reference Shelf*, 34.
51. Ibid., 72-73.
52. Ibid., 77-78.

reform will come from within this triumvirate. There is no motive to do so because, in the existing system, the rewards have consistently outweighed the penalties. With their considerable influence and ability for self-promotion, it seems unlikely that even a powerful grassroots campaign would make much more than a dent in the triumvirate. The Pentagon had 6,400 workers employed in their various public relations departments in 1978, a figure that has continued to grow steadily to the point where, within hours after the completion of a combat mission, colored photographs enlarged to the size of blackboards and filled with pertinent information will make The Evening News in time for all to see. Added to this was the consolidation of the 1990's defense industry into essentially only two companies, Lockheed and Boeing, who were capable of producing military airplanes. Finally, even without considering campaign finance reform and the contributions given to politicians by the defense industry, common sense (as Chairman of the HUAC Rivers found) dictated the support of military programs that brought bases, industry, jobs, and over $4 billion dollars to the Congressman's state.

The United States spends more on defense than the combined total of the next fifteen highest-spending nations in the world.[53] This list includes, among others, those nations the United States considers its likely foes in any future conflict: Iraq, Iran, China, and North Korea. In the 2002 budget, the triumvirate accounted for more than 50% of all discretionary spending. Economic capital, once spent on the triumvirate, cannot be replaced and will not be made available for any other research, education, or healthcare programs. The DoD admits that up to $20 billon per year is wasted on unneeded or inefficient infrastructure.[54] Though the true depth of the waste may never be fully known, it is clear that once this capital is spent it cannot be recovered, and the vast sums squandered by the triumvirate will never be put to good use either within the defense establishment or anywhere else.

53. Center for Defense Information, The Unites States spends more on defense than the next 15 highest spending nations added together. This includes twice as much as the 6 nations considered by DoD to be among America's most likely foes in a coming conflict, including: China, North Korea, Iran, and Iraq.

54. Susman and O'Keefe, 25.

Author's Biography

Scott Behen

Scott was born in Belgium, NATO's military headquarters, a month prior to man's first step on the moon. His father, was a career Air Force officer served in Korea, occupied Japan, Vietnam, and at bases in several states before settling at Pease AFB in Portsmouth, NH, where Scott was raised. He still considers this his home. Scott dropped out of college after aimlessly attending two schools and moved to California just in time for the fires, floods, mudslides, riots, and earthquakes of the 1990s.

After eight years as a manager for one of the nation's largest booksellers Scott left his job in order to return to school full-time. At California State University, Fullerton Scott is pursuing a degree in history. His active participation in the University's History Student Association and in Phi Alpha Theta gave him the opportunity to present a paper in the spring of 2003 at the Southwest Social Science Association's annual meeting in San Antonio, Texas. Scott intends to pursue his doctorate in history specializing in military studies and Cold War history.

The Evolution of the Mother Figure in Television Series

By Sean Sean O'Hare Langevin

Edited and Introduced by Mateo M. Farzaneh

Sean Langevin's research paper entitled The Evolution of the Mother Figure in Television Series reflects the accomplishments of the feminist movement and women's liberation in popular cultures most successful medium. This essay covers a period of 48 years of family TV sitcoms, between 1951 and 1999 pertaining to the role of women.

After reading this paper, the reader will see the overwhelming accomplishments of the TV sitcom mother, which were portrayed by Lucy Ricardo in I Love Lucy, June Cleaver of Leave It To Beaver, Edith Bunker from All In The Family, Elyse Keaton of Family Ties and finally Jill Taylor in Home Improvement.

The roles of the television mother have evolved from such characters as Lucy Ricardo, the housewife, who was always getting into trouble, to Jill Taylor who worked on her masters, was employed, and raised a family. These positions reflected the changing times of women in the workplace and family. A review of the change in characters from the 1950s to the present shows how the character of the mother has evolved to reflect the accomplishments of the feminist movement and women's liberation. Current productions usually portray a household that relies on income from both spouses. The mother figures for this paper are: Lucy Ricardo in *I Love Lucy* (1951-1958), June Cleaver of *Leave it to Beaver* (1957-1963), Edith Bunker in *All in the Family* (1971–1979), Elyse Keaton in *Family Ties* (1982-1989), and Jill Taylor in *Home Improvement* (1991-1999).

In the 1950's the hit series *Leave it to Beaver* set the mold for a tradtional mom. Courtesy, *Leave it to Beaver* Archieves, 1955

The role of the mother reflects the period when the television show was produced; therefore, it explains much about the period's culture. The 1950s mothers were inclined to remain at home and take care of the family while the father worked to "bring home the bread." The concept of an employed housewife was not portrayed during the early years of television. The government along with the publications of that period attempted to depict the stay-at-home mother image. Author Cecelia Tichi wrote that the magazines women read at the time often "encouraged their readers to commit themselves to postwar lives as homemakers."[1] A mother's job was to raise the family and have dinner ready for the family when her husband returned from work. The husband usually gave her an allowance if she wanted to buy anything for herself. The husband did not treat his wife as an equal. These attitudes were reflected in 1950s TV sitcoms.

Women have gained some equality with men in the political, social, and educational areas since the 1950s. Women's groups such as National Organization for Women (NOW) formed in 1966 led to a larger female workforce, which is an element featured in the television series of *All in the Family*, Family Ties, and Home Improvement. In two of the recent shows, female characters such as Elyse Keaton and Jill Taylor worked and raised a family.

The domain of the mother figure evolved from the kitchen to the office, while early portrayals of mothers focused on the home, family, marriage, and romance, the current fields include the home, classroom, office, and extracurricular activities. There are several themes in the television family sitcoms that could be found repeatedly over the last five decades. For example, the mother did not abandon her job of raising children and the family. She talked with her children and typically provided advice for them to use in life. One area of the mother's role that evolved was giving advice to her son when he was dating a girl; her advice became more useful, and she let him figure out how to solve the problem instead of trying to solve it for him.

The families where the mother found employment had a difficult time adjusting to the wife/mother leaving the house to pursue a career or join a club. The response was to hire a nanny or housekeeper that in turn inflicts guilt upon the mother. She feels like she has

1. Cecelia Tichi, *Electronic Hearth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 93.

abandoned her family or vice versa. An example can be found in Jill Taylor's character and her son Mark. She believed he was failing because of her absence when in fact it was due to Mark's need of glasses.

The battle between the sexes occurs frequently in the later shows following the woman's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s. *All in the Family* was a bridge that connected to the current type of image in television. There are friendly competitions between the sexes of the families or spouses in *Family Ties* and *Home Improvement.*

Husbands have a hard time trusting their wives when women pursue a job outside the home. This trend is seen in the 1970s shows, as the husbands feared their spouse would find someone else outside the home. Ricky Ricardo never worried about Lucy working outside the home because she would mess up and lose her job anyway. Tim Taylor in contrast worried about his wife, Jill, leaving the house. She could find another man more intelligent or successful than Tim. Jill could survive on her own without her husband's support unlike Lucy who depended on Ricky.

The family sitcom gained popularity with the *I Love Lucy* show, which aired from 1951-1958 on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). The story usually focused around two couples, the Ricardos and the Mertzs. Ricky and Lucy Ricardo rented an apartment, while Fred and Ethel Mertz were their landlords; together they experienced many adventures throughout the series. Lucy constantly found herself in one jam after another, and it was usually Ricky who bailed her out. The characters were often stereotyped, as the everyday family was at that time. The 1950s father brought home his income and the wife stayed home and raised the family.

Ricky controlled Lucy by restricting the money she received and paying her a weekly allowance as demonstrated in "Lucy Wants New Furniture."[2] Lucy saw some furniture she liked and bought them without her husband's permission. The audience watched as Ricky removed it from her possession, like taking toys from a disobedient child. Lucy constantly attempted to get a job, but was usually unsuccessful in retaining a full time job. In one of the most memorable episodes, "Job Switching," Lucy and Ethel were hired at a chocolate factory to pack candies from a conveyer belt, but they were overwhelmed by the system's speed.[3] The show was just one episode, but it successfully portrayed how females were unable to hold a decent job, unless it was at home raising children.

Television provided an escape for viewers from their mundane lives. Characters such as Lucy Ricardo provided similar characteristics viewers could relate to, and provided an escape through their adventures. Author Todd Gitlin explains that the episode type of television were "gold mines."[4] Elizabeth Anticaglia writes that there are "three stages in the television arena with each holding a stereotype."[5] The author also added that Lucy was depicted as a "brainless featherhead."[6] Lucille Ball did not reflect her role outside the studio. Ball became the first woman to head her own production company, *Desilu Productions.*

The decade of the 1960s was turbulent. TV producers attempted to create a family show where the family represented the stable family of the 1950s. The role of the husband was portrayed as an intelligent, industrious, and responsible man. Writer Muriel G. Cantor spent over ten years of research in the field of

2. Bob Carroll Jr., Jess Oppenheimer and Madelyn Pugh, "Lucy Wants New Furniture," *I Love Lucy*, Episode # 63, 1 June 1953, Dir. William Asher.
3. Ibid, "Job Switching," *I Love Lucy*, Episode # 36, 1 June 1953, Dir. William Asher.
4. Todd Gitlin, *Inside Primetime* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 65.
5. Elizabeth Antiglica, *A Housewife's Guide to Women's Liberation* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1972), 49.
6. Ibid.

mass communications. She explained, "few, if any, middle class programs portrayed the man as a fool and the woman as superior."[7]

The CBS and American Broadcasting Company (ABC) television series, *Leave it to Beaver*, aired from 1957 to 1963. The show focused on the Cleaver family and on their youngest son "Beaver." The family was nuclear consisting of Ward and June as the parents of young Wally and Theodore, "the Beaver", who lived in a middle class neighborhood.

June Cleaver's main concerns in life were the happiness of her family and the cleanliness of the Cleaver house. She kept the peace in the house between the two brothers in "Brotherly Love" and "Beaver's Newspaper." [8] Another concept that began to appear in family sitcoms illustrated the mother's attempt to fix her son's dating problems. In *Leave it to Beaver* episode, "Eddie's Girl" Caroline asks Wally to the dance, but he refuses because she is his best friend, Eddie's, girl.[9] When his mother interfered and attempted to have the two date, she called Caroline's mom and created a mess. The theme is illustrated again in "Wally's Glamour Girl." June set him up on a date with her friend's daughter.[10] June tried to solve Wally's romance problems with a girl from Germany in the episode "Wally's Dream Girl."[11] June's attempt at creating a successful relationship for her son illustrates that the mother did not know when to stay out of her son's life. She offered poor advice. This role changed; the advice the mother character offered would later became valued as can be seen in *Family Ties* and *Home Improvement.*

All in the Family changed the view of families with interracial issues in the 1970's. Courtesy, ABC Studios, 1978

The mothers of the 1960s became more involved within their community, though not in the working force. June Cleaver was a member of a local Mother's Club as seen in "June's Birthday."[12] Her membership also included the local Community Chest. One of her obli-

7. Muriel G. Cantor *Prime Time Television: Content and Control* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980), 42.
8. "Brotherly Love," *Leave it to Beaver*, Episode # 6, 23 April 1957, Dir. David Butler and Gene Reynolds.
"Beaver's Newspaper," *Leave it to Beaver*, Episode # 69, 4 October 1957, Dir. Ibid.
9. "Eddie's Girl," *Leave it to Beaver*, Episode # 42, 16 October 1958. Dir Ibid.
10. "Wally's Glamour Girl," *Leave it to Beaver*, Episode # 146, 15 April 1961 Ibid
11. "Wally's Dream Girl," *Leave it to Beaver*, Episode #146, 10 April 1961, Dir. Ibid.
12. "June's Birthday," *Leave it to Beaver*, Episode # 91, 26 December 1959, Dir. Ibid.

gations involved going around the neighborhood and collecting money for causes. In one episode, she let Beaver make the rounds to collect the money, but he lost it while eating ice cream, as seen in "Community Chest."[13] This episode represented an example of how the mother; attempting to leave the house, was not always successful. She had a responsibility, and she left it to her son who was not responsible.

All in the Family (1971-1979) brought the image of the television family to its knees by introducing the then current political topics into the television arena. Archie and Edith Bunker were the parents of Gloria. Together with her husband Michael, the show focused on their lives in Queens, New York. Archie, a bigot, spoke what was on his mind and often belittled others. This show left the comfort zone of the television family through its writers and liberal producer Norman Lear. Cantor demonstrated that All in the Family garnered its success from diving into the current issues of the era and portraying them on television. He wrote, "political topics once forbidden on television are now allowed."[14]

Edith Bunker's character developed over the nine year run from a quiet housewife to learning that she deserved to be treated with respect by Archie. The audience began to see the character development of Edith Bunker in the first season. In several episodes her in-depth goodness and love for humanity seeped through. She was chosen for jury duty in "Edith Has Jury Duty."[15] In another episode, "Edith's Accident", she dented her priest's car and left a note.[16] The priest returned and witnessed the bigotry of Archie, but also the kindness of Edith.

Her daughter was the future outlook of Edith as Gloria was confident and felt equal to her husband, Michael. Gloria brought the women's liberation movement to the show in the first season, in the episode, "Gloria Discovers Women's Lib", and demanded to be considered an equal partner in her marriage to Michael.[17] The late 1960s to early 1970s saw the growth in women's rights for the first time since the 1920s. Gloria symbolized NOW's objectives; she wanted to educate Edith. The two of them left their husbands for an episode and waited for them to apologize in the "The Battle of the Month."[18]

The fourth season brought in the Lorenzo family as the Bunker's next-door neighbors. Irene Lorenzo's character was a feminist. She aided in Edith's growth in realizing her equality to Archie in their marriage. The feminist movement shined in the episode of "Edith vs. the Bank."[19] Edith was not allowed to withdraw money from the bank without Archie's signature. Edith's character illustrated how the male figure held power over the female figure and stood up and demanded to have payment. Edith began to demand Archie to pay her every week for cleaning the house and other housewife duties, at a charge of $5 per week!

The show displayed the bond between a mother and her daughter. There were several

13. "Community Chest," *Leave it to Beaver*, Episode # 150, 13 May 1961, Dir. Ibid.
14. Cantor 41.
15. Susan Harris, Don Nicholl, and Bryan Joseph, "Edith has Jury Duty," *All in the Family*," Episode # 9, 9 March 1971, Dir. John Rich.
16. Michael Ross and Bernie West, "Edith's Accident," *All in the Family*," Episode # 20, 6 Nov 1971, Dir. Ibid.
17. Norman Lear and Sandy Stern, "Gloria Discovers Women's Lib," *All in the Family*, Episode # 11, 23 March 1971, Dir. Ibid.
18. Michael Ross and Bernie West, "The Battle of the Month," *All in the Family*, Episode # 61, 23 March 1973, Dir. John Rich and Bob LaHendro.
19. Mel Tolkin and Larry Rhine, "Edith vs. the Bank," *All in the Family*, Episode # 187, 19 November 1978, Dir. Paul Bogart.

episodes where Edith and Gloria sat and talked about life around the family's kitchen table. The two episodes that best illustrate this point were in "Gloria Sings the Blues" and "Love by Appointment." [20] Gloria realized that she had a lot in common with her mother and learned from her experiences. Edith learned a lot from Gloria about equality.

The wife and mother on television shows often attempted to leave the domesticity of the home and pursue a job or just to get out of the house. Lucy often failed miserably, while June only did it when her husband needed help. Edith Bunker's character broke away from this tendency. At first, she only pursued a job following Archie's union strike. She worked for the next-door neighbors, the Jeffersons, at their laundromat in "Edith the Job Hunter."[21] She soon volunteered at the Sunshine Nursing Home resulting in Archie feeling like he had been abandoned in "Edith Breaks Out."[22] The episode, "Edith's Night Out,"[23] shows that she spent an evening at the local neighborhood watering hole, Kelsey's Bar. She left the mundane repetition of everyday life and "partied" for a while.

The Bunkers broke one of television's unwritten rules when they slept in the same bed in the episode, "The Joy of Sex."[24] In the past sitcoms showed couples sleeping in twin beds. Television shows today, following *All in the Family*, continue to portray couples sleeping in the same bed. Television shows are more open to portray sexual relations in their story lines following the Bunkers.

All in the Family covered several delicate subjects that centered on women's issues, which until that time had been taboo. In the eighth season, a rapist held Edith hostage on her fiftieth birthday. She fought and escaped, while the rest of the family was next door at the party. She was humiliated when the rapist unzipped her dress, but she kneed him in the groin and escaped but still the emotional scars remained in the episode "Edith's Fiftieth Birthday."[25]

One example of an attempt to alter the normalcy of television occurred in 1972, when television station CRC-TV attempted to renew its license with the Federal Communications Commissions (FCC). The station was petitioned by NOW for not allowing equal programming for women in television series. The argument centered around two issues as Cantor describes, women were "underrepresented and not shown in a variety of roles and occupations."[26] In the end, the renewal was awarded under the first amendment. NOW attempted to demonstrate that women viewers were being negatively affected due to a lack of positive female role models on television.

The 1980s show of *Family Ties* further bolstered the emergence of the television mother from the shadow of the house and out into the work place. Elyse Keaton was the mother of the Keaton household and a great example of how the evolution of the mother

20. Michael Ross and Bernie West, "Gloria Sings the Blues," *All in the Family*, Episode # 83, 2 March 1974, Dir. John Rich.
Lou Derman and Bill Davenport, "Love by Appointment," *All in the Family*, Episode # 130, 16 February 1976, Dir. Paul Bogart.
21. Don Nicholl, Michael Ross, and Bernie West, "Edith the Job Hunter," *All in the Family*, Episode # 88, 28 September 1974, Dir. H. Wesley Kenney.
22. Lou Derman and Bill Davenport, "Edith Breaks Out," *All in the Family*, Episode # 117, 3 November 1975, Dir. Paul Bogart.
23. Lou Derman, Douglas Arango, and Phil Doran, "Edith's Night Out," *All in the Family*, Episode # 133, 8 March 1976, Dir. Paul Bogart.
24. Erik Tarloff, "The Joy of Sex," *All in the Family*, Episode # 152, 5 February 1977, Dir, Ibid.
25. Bob Schiller and Bob Weiskopf, "Edith's Fiftieth Birthday," *All in the Family*, Episode # 160, 16 October 1977, Dir. Ibid.
26. Cantor, 56.

role has developed. Mrs. Keaton pursued a career as a free-lance architect and became a role model to her children.

The Keaton couple was depicted as a team, a theme that developed during the 1980s. The evolution of the mother's role came a long way toward illustrating the gains in female equality, following Lucy Ricardo. Steve and Elyse Keaton both led the family by holding full-time jobs. In the pilot episode, the couple questioned whether or not to impose their values on their oldest son Alex.[27] This set the tone for the series as both husband and wife worked together. Steve suffered a heart attack toward the end of the series, and Elyse was terrified at the thought of losing her husband. After talking with Steve, she learned he also shared the same feelings in the episode "Heartstrings."[28] They supported each other through the surgery and after it. The audience learned that the two gathered strength from each other.

Home Improvement in the 1990's change the role of mothers as the center of the family., *Home Improvement,* ABC Studios 1995

Elyse Keaton felt the burden of carrying too much on her plate at one time, as seen in "Elyse D'Arc."[29] She held positions as a free-lance architect, volunteer, wife, mother, committee chair, and later attempted to revive a singing career, "Lady Sings the Blues" while attending the state college.[30] This theme of too much responsibility was repeated in several episodes. In "Working at It," the Keaton family felt left out and neglected after a major architectural firm hired Elyse.[31] She was swept back in the working atmosphere, where she had not been in a long time.

The Keatons finally decided to hire a housekeeper to provide assistance with the house while Elyse was pregnant with Andy in the episode entitled, "Help Wanted."[32] In another episode, Elyse forgot to pick Andy up one afternoon after school and contemplated the advantages and disadvantages of being a professional worker and a "Super Mom."[33]

The recurring theme of the bond between a mother and her children resurfaced in *Family Ties*. Early in the first season, Elyse and her youngest daughter, Jennifer, sat down to discuss boys in "I Know Jennifer's Boyfriend."[34] Elyse stood up for her children and

27. Gary David Goldberg, "Pilot," *Family Ties*, Episode # 1, 22 September 1982, Dir. Asaad Kelada.
28. Alan Uger, "Heartstrings," *Family Ties*, Episodes # 151 and 152, 4 and 11 December 1988, Dir. Sam Weisman.
29. Michael J. Weithorn, "Elyse D'Arc," *Family Ties*, Episode #2, 13 October 1982, Dir. Michael Zinberg.
30. Alan Uger and Michael J. Weithorn, "Lady Sings the Blues," *Family Ties*, Episode # 42, 23 February 1984, Dir. Andrew McCullough.
31. Lloyd Garver, "Working at it," *Family Ties*, Episode # 30, 10 May 1984, Dir. Sam Weisman.
32. Michael J. Weithorn and Ruth Bennett, "Help Wanted," *Family Ties*, Episode # 56, 6 December 1984, Dir. Will Mackenzie.
33. Alan Ulger, "Super Mom," *Family Ties*, Episode #132, 18 October 1987, Dir. Mike Diamond.

illustrated confidence when she punched Alex's teacher in the face for some despairing remarks he made in "The Harder They Fall."[35] The Keaton family went on camping trips to spend quality time with each other. These trips replaced the kitchen table of the Edith and Gloria Bunker. Elyse wanted to spend some quality time with her children before the new baby arrived. She attempted to have a mother-daughter bonding time, but instead her two daughters were bored in the "Lost Weekend."[36]

The Keaton men and women square off in "The Battle of the Sexes" as they recount past adventures in this episode.[37] The creators of the show used this episode to reflect back on the past events the family experienced. The episodes reviewed focused around equality. Jealousy grabbed Steve during a production of a play he directed. Elyse was cast as the lead female role and kissed her male lead in "The Play's the Thing."[38] Steve learned to trust Elyse when she was outside the house in her workplace or participating in a play.

Family Ties ended its eight-year run when Alex accepted a large Wall Street firm's offer to join them. Elyse struggled with separation anxiety, as Alex had to leave right away. The show concluded with Alex giving everyone a big hug and Elyse sharing her feelings with him. Family togetherness was achieved even though the family would now be separated in "Alex Doesn't Live Here Anymore."[39]

Home Improvement represented the current television family and paralleled the current evolution of the mother. Jill, mother of the Taylor household, raised three sons and sometimes a husband. Tim Taylor ran a cable television home improvement show called, "Tool Time." Tim was always making a fool of himself. The series ran from 1991 to 1999 and in eight seasons, Jill pursued a degree, raised three children, and worked outside the home. She symbolized the advancement of the confident and capable female who was no longer confined to the house.

Jill Taylor's character desired to escape ordinary domesticity and became active in several clubs, worked, and pursued her psychology degree. Early in the series, Jill was asked to write a speech for the library association, which she belonged to in "Look Who's not talking."[40] She felt fear at the beginning but succeeded in presenting a successful speech.

Jill took up pottery and brought her work into the Taylor garage, which Tim felt was the man's domain in "A Battle of Wheels."[41] *Home Improvement* used several episodes to create a battle over domains. Jill began to take up several of the so-called "man's" areas. In the episode "Howard's End", Jill opened up her own checking account much as Edith Bunker had with similar results; both men felt challenged![42]

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34. Gary David Goldberg, "I Know Jennifer's Boyfriend," *Family Ties*, Episode #3, 6 October 1982, Dir. Michael Zinberg.
35. Richard Reinhart, "The Harder they fall," *Family Ties*, Episodes # 26, 19 October 1983, Dir. Sam Weisman.
36. Michael J. Weithorn and Ruth Bennett, "Lost Weekend," *Family Ties*, Episodes # 49, 22 November 1984, Dir. Will Mackenzie.
37. Steven J. Curwick, "The Battle of the Sexes," *Family Ties*, Episodes # 110 & # 111, 19 February 1987, Dir. Sam Weisman and Andrew McCullough.
38. "The Plays the Thing," *Family Ties*, Episode # 140, 10 January 1988, Dir. Debbie Allen.
39. "Alex Doesn't Live here Anymore," *Family Ties*, Episodes # 175 and 176, 14 May 1989, Dir. Sam Weisman.
40. Billy Riback, "Looks Who's Not Talking," *Home Improvement*, Episode # 11, 10 December 1999, Dir. John Pasquin.
41. Lauren Eve Anderson, "Battle of Wheels," *Home Improvement*, Episode # 21, 17 March 1992, Dir. Ibid.

The abandoned family theme was illustrated again after Jill pursued a job and the household began to fall apart. Tim tried to become Mr. Mom but failed in "Abandoned Family."[43] In "The Eyes Don't Have It", Jill felt Mark was failing school because of the long hours she spent in studying for classes, but that proves to be incorrect.[44] Mark needed glasses.

The subject of feminism was broached when Jill's feminist friend stops by for a visit. Tim's masculinity was shaken by her accusations that he is insecure with his masculinity in "Forever Jung" The battle of the sexes continued as Tim and Jill clashed over who could build a house faster as part of a project for humanity in the episode, "The Eve of Construction." [45] In this episode, Tim admitted that women have equal ability to men. Jill and Tim competed in a tank-driving contest, which she defeated him in the episode, "Tanks for the Memories."[46]

The lack of trust in the marriage of a television family was seen again following Jill's decision to pursue her college degree in the episode titled "Back in the Saddle Again."[47] He was afraid that Jill would fall for a smarter student at school and lose interest in him.

Jill Taylor is a symbolic character of the strides the mother character in television has made. The domain of the female increased from the boundaries of the home. Jill worked several jobs and received a salary, unlike Lucy Ricardo who only worked when she was in a jam or when Ricky suspended her allowance. The feminist movement gained momentum during the 1960s and 1970s, creating the capability that women are equal to men. The producers and writers of All in the Family attempted to reflect this.

Television shows often mirror the reality of society and have the power to "influence behavior", according to author Donald E. Stewart.[48] The evolution of the television mother over the last fifty years is only one tool to view the evolution of female roles over the last five decades. The mother is no longer depicted as a brainless fool as Lucy was, but now is shown as an intelligent and competent person, as illustrated in the character of Jill Taylor.

42. Stacey Hur, "Howard's End," *Home Improvement*, Episode # 38, 13 January 1993, Dir. Andy Cadiff.
43. Rosalind Moore, "Abandoned Family," *Home Improvement*, Episode # 35, 2 December 1992, Dir. John Pasquin.
44. Jon Vandergriff, "The Eyes Don't Have It," *Home Improvement*, Episode # 78, 11 October 1994, Dir. Andy Cadiff.
45. Matt Williams, Carmen Finestra and David McFadzean, "Forever Jung," *Home Improvement*, Episode #15, 21 January 1992, Dir. John Pasquin.
Rosalind Moore, Howard J. Morris, Elliot Shoenman and Marley Sims, "The Eve of Construction," *Home Improvement*, Episode # 67, 9 March 1994, Dir. Andy Cadiff.
46. Bruce Ferber and Lloyd Garver, "Tanks for the Memories," *Home Improvement*, Episode # 115, 30 January 1996, Dir. Ibid.
47. Jon Vandergriff, "Back in the Saddle Again," Home Improvement, Episode # 78, 11 October 1994, Dir. Andy Cadiff.
48. Donald E. Stewart, *The Television Family* (Melbourne: Institute of Family Studies, 1983), v.

Author's Biography

Sean O'Hare Langevin

A native of Southern California, Sean O'Hare Langevin will graduate in June of 2003 with a bachelor in History. He is planning to complete his education by attending a teaching credential program by the fall of the same year. Sean plans to continue the long line of teachers who have come from his family. Being a big sports fan, he cheers for the cross-town rivalry Los Angeles Kings and Dodgers. He is active at the nearby Eastside Christian and hopes to continue to serve God's will.

Tragedy in the New Forest: The Accidental Death of William II Rufus, King of England (d. 1100)

by
Lindley Carter Himes

Edited and Introduced by Miguel Garcia

The death of King William II was one mired in controversy. It is widely known that hunting is a very dangerous sport. However, the death of Rufus is not one suffered at the hands of battle, but as a result from an accidental arrow meant for a stag. Medieval Europe is filled with stories of traitors and revenge. However, even though there was probable cause for murder by his trusted companions, Rufus's passing is seen as the will of God.

Introduction

William II of England, called Rufus, was accidentally killed by an arrow shot by his companion Walter Tirel on 2 August 1100 AD, while hunting in the New Forest in south eastern England [1] This tragic event is seen as nothing more than the will of God by medieval chroniclers. With the death of Rufus, his younger brother Henry became king of England. After his return from the first crusade Henry I's older brother, Robert Curthose, contested Henry's succession to the throne. Walter Tirel, the man who shot William II, fled to France for fear of his life.

There are many sources for the reign of William Rufus. Two, however, stand out as particularly useful in examining the circumstances of his death. The first one is Orderic Vitalis' Historia Ecclesiastica.[2] The second one is William of Malmesbury's De Gestis Regum.[3] These two sources are models of medieval English historical writing. A critical examination of the nature and validity of these sources can be found in Antonia Gransden's work Historical Writing in England.[4]

There has been extensive research done on Norman England and William II. Several works are valuable due to their detailed research and in-depth study of William Rufus

William Rufus (fo. 124). Courtesy, Frank Barlow, *William Rufus.*

in particular. In 1983, Frank Barlow published a biography titled William Rufus.[5] The work offers valuable insight into the reign and times of William II drawn from extensive research. Hollister's article "The Strange Death of William Rufus" examines and debunks several of the wilder theories about William's death.[6]

This paper is going to argue that King William II's death was the result of a hunting accident. In order to prove this, an examination of the contemporary evidence will show that medieval chroniclers were convinced that Walter Tirel, one of William II's favorites,

1. The New Forest is a hunting ground which was created by expanding an Anglo-Saxon hunting ground at the expense of the peasant families living in the bordering land. It was established by William I after the English conquest in 1066 AD. Cf. Orderic Vitalis, The Ecclesiastical History, 6 vols., ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-1980), 5: 283-5.
2. Orderic, op. cit.
3. William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum, ed. and trans. Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998).
4. Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England ca. 550 to ca. 1307* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).
5. Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (London: Methuen, 1983 Reprint; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).
6. C. Warren Hollister, "The Strange Death of William Rufus," Speculum, 48 (1973): 637-53. Reprint in Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World, London: Hambledon Press, 1986, 59-76.

accidentally shot and killed the king while hunting, and that there is no underlying hint of treason in the sources.[7] Secondly, to demonstrate that hunting was a dangerous sport: Several of William II's relatives with no potential claim to refute English throne died while hunting.[8] With these two major points established the third and fourth chapters will refute the conspiracy theory concerning Rufus' death. By taking a closer look at the two men whom historians have accused of plotting the assassination (namely Henry, Rufus's brother, who became king of England after William II's death, and Walter Tirel, who gained nothing from Rufus' death, but, rather, lost everything), it will become apparent that the charges against them are rather doubtful.[9]

The Sources

There is no dispute that King William II died on 2 August 1100, or that the king was hunting in the New Forest when he was killed. The question is: What happened in the New Forest that left the king dead? There are discrepancies in the sources as to how exactly William II died. By examining and comparing the major sources we can reconstruct a fairly accurate account of the Rufus' death.

The first mention of the king's death is in the Anglo Saxon Chronicle's entry for the year 1100 which states, "in the morning after Lammas, King William when hunting was shot with an arrow by one of his own men and then brought to Winchester and buried in that bishopric."[10] There is no hint of treason in this statement. Although there is no mention of the shooter's identity, this is a clear and simple rendering of the event. Eadmer, writing about 1110, builds on the story in his History saying that, "on that day [2 August] after having breakfasted he [William II] went out into the forest to hunt and there, struck by an arrow that pierced his heart, impenitent and unconfessed he died instantly."[11] Eadmer does not identify the shooter of the fatal arrow. To Eadmer, it was irrelevant who killed William Rufus, because he believed it was "by the just judgment of God that he [William II] was struck down and slain."[12] The shooter acted through the dictates of heaven and not through his will. Here in the medieval world view we see that God directs the flow of history. William of Malmesbury, writing around 1120 was the first chronicler who wrote a detailed account of William II's death, and who identified the killer. William writes in his Gesta Regum Anglorum that on the morning of the event, "he [William Rufus] dined well, and cooled his fevered brow by drinking more heavily than was his custom."[13] The account

7. Dr Round believed that there were treasonous undertones in the sources, particularly the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, Cf. John Horace Round, *Feudal England: Historical Studies on the XIth and XIIIth Centuries* (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1930), 472-3.
8. Cf. Hollister, "Strange Death," 75 and Barlow, *William Rufus*, 123.
9. Dr. Round and Dr. Poole are the main proponents of this idea. Cf. John Horace Round, *Feudal England*, 472-3, and Austin Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216, 2nd ed.*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 113-4. Also see Thomas Callahan Jr., "The Making of a Monster: The Historical Image of William Rufus," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), 175-185, passim. Callaham argues that the poor opinion of William Rufus held by modern scholars is derived from monastic writers who objected to William Rufus' anticlerical attitudes. He concludes that the bias of the original sources has produced a negative attitude, painting William II as a "monster," that modern historians have unfairly assessed his character and accused him of crimes. I believe that this attitude contributed to Dr Round's and Dr. Poole's willingness to belief that Rufus was assassinated.

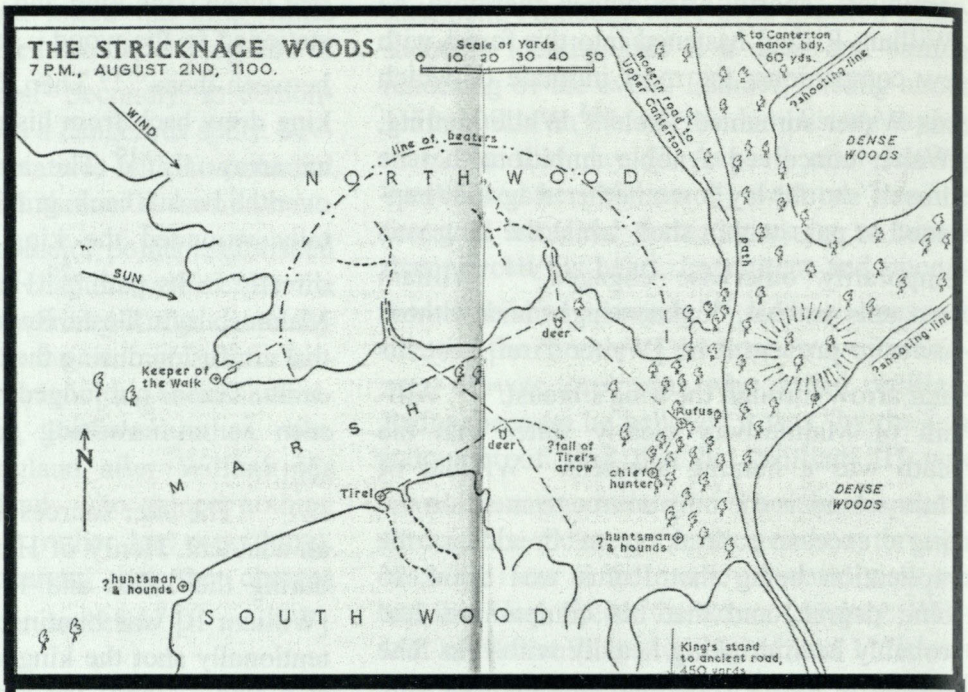
continues: "shortly after dinner, therefore, he [William Rufus] hastened into the forest with few companions; the most intimate of which was Walter surnamed Tirel."[14] While hunting, "Walter conceived a noble ambition, that he himself should lay low another stag that happened to pass within shot, while the king was temporarily otherwise engaged."[15] William then tells us that, "unknowingly and without power to prevent it he [Walter Tirel] sent his fatal arrow through the king's breast." [16] William of Malmesbury clearly states that the death was a hunting accident. William of Malmesbury is the only source to mention the king's excessive drinking at breakfast, the implication being that Rufus was drunk to some degree, and that his companions had probably been drinking heavily with him. The story now seems to be that Tirel and the king had enjoyed a morning of drinking. They went into the woods to hunt. Walter saw what he thought was a stag, shot an arrow at it, and killed King William II.[17] Orderic Vitalis, who wrote around 1130, also gave us a detailed account. In his Historia Ecclesiastica he says that when, "the king and Walter of Poix were stationed in the wood ... a beast suddenly ran between them." [18] Then, Orderic tells us, "the king drew back from his place, and Walter let an arrow fly."[19] The arrow, "sped speedily over the beast's back, grazing the hair and mortally wounded the king who was standing directly in its path."[20] Here, as in William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum there is a sense that confusion during the hunt led to the king's death. Tirel is not judged harshly, though; he is seen as an unwitting accomplice to God's will.[21]

The later sources also echo this idea of an accident. Henry of Huntingdon who wrote during the 1130s and 1140s said, "while he [William II] was hunting, Walter Tyrell unintentionally shot the king with an arrow aimed at a stag ... [and] the king who was pierced though the heart fell dead."[22] Roger of Wendover, writing around 1235, said the king, "went to hunt in the New Forest, where Walter Tyrrel, shooting at a stag, unintentionally struck the king, who fell pierced to the heart, . . . and thus by a miserable death ended his cruel life."[23] The passage contains the animosity

10. Lammas was originally a festival in pagan England held on August 1 to celebrate the harvest, in which the first bread made from the crop was blessed. In Roman Catholicism it is a holy day more often called The Feast of St. Peter's Chains, in memory of Peters imprisonment by the Romans. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Dorothy Whitelock (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1961), 177. Round believed there was a hint of treason in the original Anglo Saxon writing. Hollister, however, saw no treason in the wording. I found no hint of treason either in the entry which in the original Anglo Saxon reads "on morgen aefter Hlammæsse dæge wearð se cyng Willelm on huntnoðe fram his anan men mid anre fla ofsceoten 7 syððan to Winceastre gebroht 7 on þam biscoprice bebyrgred" *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Cecily Clark (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1970), 27.

11. Eadmer, *History of Recent Events in England: Historia Novorum in Anglia*, trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet (Philadelphia: Dufour, 1965), 120.
12. Ibid.
13. William of Malmesbury, 575.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. A further implication might be that Walter mistook the king for a stag and shot him. This is a genuine concern in America and hunters are advised to wear bright orange "hunting jackets" to lessen the potential for confusion which might lead to a fatal accident.
18. Walter Tirel was the count of Poix. Orderic, 5: 293, 291.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.

directed toward William II typical of monastic writers of the period. However much Roger dislikes the king he still states that the death was an accident. Ingulf's chronicle which dates from a much later period still holds the opinion that this was an accident. The chronicle reads, "Walter incautiously aimed an arrow at a stag, which missed the stag and pierced the king in the breast."[24] Almost three hundred years after Rufus's death, writers still believed it was nothing more than an accident.



New Forest at the time of the king's death. Courtesy of Duncan Grinnell-Milne, *The Killing of William Rufus: An Investigation of the New Forest.*

Why William, a healthy and vigorous man, died in his prime under such sudden and unexpected circumstances bothered the contemporary chroniclers. William II, who ruled by the grace of God, suddenly died unconfessed and unrepentant. The monastic writers needed a reason to explain why a king would die under conditions that would put his immortal soul in danger of damnation. There was no other way for the monastic writers to explain this, nonetheless justify it, than as the omnipotent will of God.[25] A series of omens and portents are listed to explain why King William was killed in such an unexpected manner.[26] The story becomes a tale of redemption offered by God but rejected by William II. The omens are signs sent by God to convince Rufus to mend his ways. The king however ignores these warnings. God in response strikes down the unrepentant sinner. This is especially prevalent in the works of Orderic

21. Ibid., 5: 285 and 291. William of Malmesbury states that king William II was punished by God, Orderic only implies it. Cf. William of Malmesbury, 575.

22. Henry of Huntingdon, *The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon Comprising the History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Accession of Henry II*, also *The Acts of Stephen, King of England and Duke of Normandy*, ed. and trans. Thomas Forester (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), 239. Henry of Huntingdon's work was started around 1135, but was constantly being revised by the author and the last revisions date to about 1154. Cf. Gransden, Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307, 192-4.

23. Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History Comprising the History of England from the descent of the Saxons to AD 1235, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris,* trans. J. A. Giles, (London: Henry G. Bohn 1853; Reprint New York: AMS, 1968), 444. Except for the last statement this could have been copied from Huntingdon's work.

and William of Malmesbury. The people of the day needed omens to explain Rufus' death because, "for an event of the magnitude of Rufus' death a comet or eclipse would have been preferable, but in their absence contemporaries had to make do with dreams, visions, and mysterious messages."[27]

The Dangers of Hunting

Hunting was a favored sport of nobility and royalty alike. It provided meat for their table, exercise, and military training. But hunting was fraught with danger. A man could become lost in the woods. Hunting boar and bears could lead to maiming or death, not to mention the danger posed to men by their hunting companions.

Rufus' own family had suffered from tragic hunting accidents. Orderic tells us that in May of 1099, "while the king's knights were out hunting . . . one of the knights shot an arrow at a wild beast and accidentally struck the noble youth Richard, Duke Robert's son."[28] The boy was killed instantly. Rufus' own Brother Richard was fatally injured and killed while hunting in the New Forest. Orderic said he was pursuing a wild beast when, "he had been badly crushed between a strong hazel branch and the pommel of his saddle." [29] In 1143, Miles of Gloucester, the earl of Hereford was shot in the chest by a knight in his party wile hunting and died before he could repent."[30] Shortly after Miles' death, Malcolm of Morville was accidentally killed by Adulf of St. Martin while hunting.[31]

The hunting party was constantly moving at quick speeds chasing their prey. There seems to have been much confusion during the chase. William II's brother Richard died, we can assume, because he was traveling as fast as his horse would carry him and was not paying attention to his surroundings.[32] This combination of confusion and high speed was dangerous and cost many noblemen their lives. Many of these hunting parties may have enjoyed a morning of drinking before the hunt like William II.[33] There is, however, no record of pre-hunt drinking habits in the sources for the above-mentioned accidents.

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24. Ingulf, Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland: with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers, trans. Henry T. Riley (London: George Bell and Sons, 1908), 230. Ingulph, usually spelled Ingulf, is not an accurate source for the period. The chronicle is a complete fabrication. It was made in the early to mid fifteenth century by the monks at Croyland so that the abbey would have an official chronicle. The chronicle claims entries dating to the time of William II's death, but in fact they were written in the fifteenth century. The chronicle, shows that the view of William II's death, as an accident, was not questioned by later sources. Cf. Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 400 and 490-1.
25. Frank Barlow, *William Rufus*, 426-29.
26. Ibid. and Hollister, "Strange Death," 63-64.
27. Ibid.
28. Richard was the son of Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, and eldest living brother of Rufus. Orderic, 5: 283.
29. Richard was the first son of William the Conqueror, born before William's conquest of Normandy. Richard was seventeen when he died and is consequently left out of most genealogical tables that list the Dukes of Normandy and the Norman kings of England. Orderic and William of Malmesbury tell us little about Richard other than he was the son of William the conqueror and that he was killed while hunting in the New Forest.
Orderic, 3:115.
30. Quoted from the Gesta Stephani in Barlow, *William Rufus*, 425-26.
31. Quoted from the Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh in Hollister, "Strange Death", 75.

Henry I and the Throne of England

In his From Doomsday Book to Magna Carta, Poole argues that the actions of Walter Tirel and Henry I after the death of William II suggest a plot.[34] He was concurring with the work of J. H. Round who also believed the death to have been a conspiracy.[35] The conspiracy theory is based on circumstantial evidence relating to the timing of the death and the actions of the conspirators following the death. The circumstantial evidence is almost convincing. But when viewed as a whole step-by-step, it becomes questionable.

The first charge against Henry I is that of timing. His brother Robert Curthose had left for the crusade in 1096.[36] Robert had mortgaged the duchy of Normandy to his brother William Rufus for 10,000 marks and then set out for Jerusalem.[37] After serving in the Holy Land for three years, Robert began his return to Normandy. He stopped for a time in Sicily where he fell in love with Lady Sibyl, a noble woman of high material standing.[38] Whether he was in love with Sibyl or her dowry through which he raised enough money to repay his debts to Rufus will never be known. It was a great sum of money which, "he providently intended to hand over to his creditor in order to recover his duchy in peace."[39] Robert, like many returning crusaders was viewed as a hero for serving in the crusade. According to Round, Robert was returning from the crusade a wealthy man, a hero of the cross, married, and with an agreement to become king of England upon the death of Rufus.[40] With Robert married and likely to produce an heir, which he would eventually do 1103; Henry's chances of ever becoming king were dwindling.[41] So, taking into account Rufus' and Curthose's kingship agreement, William II's death was to well timed too be anything but an assassination orchestrated by Henry I.[42] This seems convincing except that, there was no agreement between Rufus and Robert that, should either die heirless, their respective lands would fall to the other. In 1091, Rufus and Robert had made such an agreement but, "it lasted only a little while after."[43] In 1093, Robert, "utterly repudiated the truce and terms."[44] Then, in 1096 when Robert borrowed money from Rufus, no inheritance rights are mentioned in the sources.[45] Lastly, when Robert claimed the English throne in 1101, he did so based solely on primogeniture, not based on any pervious agreement with Rufus.[46] So, in 1100, when Robert was returning to Normandy it is unlikely that Henry, who knew the kingship agreement had been terminated, saw this as his last chance to become king and therefore began plotting against his brother William II.

In fact, there is some question as to whether Rufus even intended to return the duchy to his brother upon repayment of the loan. Rufus seems to have been on the verge of a highly ambitious plan, though what exactly that plan entailed is in question. Will-

32. If his horse had been moving at a walk or light trot he likely would not have been killed, but he may still have been injured.
33. William of Malmesbury, 575.
34. Austin Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 113-4.
35. John Horace Round, *Feudal England*, 472-3.
36. Orderic, 5: 27.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Christopher Brooke, *Saxon and Norman Kings* (New York: Batsford, 1963) 189-90.
41. Orderic tells us she produced a male heir three years after marriage. Orderic, 5: 279.
42. Brooke, Saxon and Norman Kings, 189.
43. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, 169.
44. Ibid., 171.
45. Ibid., 175. Orderic, 5: 209, 229. William of Malmesbury, 503, 563.
46. Orderic, 5: 319-21.

The Holy Face of Lucca, in the cathedral church of St. Martin, Lucca. Courtesy of Frank Barflow, *William Rufus*.

iam, the count of Poitou, had been stirred up by all the fervor of the crusade. He agreed to pledge Aquitaine for, "a great sum of money from his [Rufus'] treasure store."[47] Orderic and William of Malmesbury both agree that William II was trying to build an empire. Abbot Suger went so far as to state that Rufus' ambitions were to rule all of the kingdom of France.[48] William Rufus' goals may not have been as extreme as ruling all of France. Both Orderic and William of Malmesbury suggest, however, that Rufus was not prepared to surrender Normandy to his brother Robert.[49] Whatever William II's goals were, Normandy would have been a strategic location for any continental expansion due to its geographical proximity to England. In this light, it seems unlikely that Henry was trying to protect himself from the ambitions of his brother Robert.

The next charge brought against Henry is his presence in Rufus' company at the time of the king's death and the speed of his actions afterwards.[50] It is true that Henry was with him in the forest when he died.[51] It is true that he left for the treasury to prevent men loyal to Robert Curthose from seizing it first rather than seeing to his brother's dead body.[52] It is also true that he was crowned three days after his brother's death.[53] These actions, though suspicious, when put into the proper context, cast little to no suspicion on Henry I's character.

The key to Norman kingship was speed of action.[54] So, for Henry I to rush and seize the treasury is not so much a sign of conspiracy but rather a sign of the intelligence for which Orderic praises him.[55] Henry who had received relatively little from his father's will had stayed to see his father's burial at Caen in France.[56] In fact, Henry I was the only of the conqueror's sons to attend his burial.[57] Rufus left France, crossing the English Channel,

47. Orderic, 5: 281. Orderic states that the count of Poitou pledged Aquitaine and all his lands. William of Malmesbury, 577, is not clear on the terms of the agreement. Either way Rufus died before the transaction was complete and the count of Poitou was forced to look elsewhere for money.
48. Abbot Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat, trans Richard Cuisamano and John Moorhead* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1992), 20.
49. William of Malmesbury, 705. Orderic, 5: 210-214.
50. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 113-4.
51. Orderic, 5: 291.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., 5: 295.
54. Hollister, "Strange Death," 64.
55. Orderic, 3: 160.
56. Ibid., 3: 95.
57. William of Malmesbury, 513. Roger of Wendover, 354.

before his father had died.[58] Once in England, Rufus seized the treasury.[59] He promptly set about buying the loyalty of the nobility and clergy though money, grants of titles, and investiture with religious offices.[60] Then, shortly after his father's death, he was crowned king by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury.[61]

Henry I would have remembered his brother's rush to become king. Furthermore, Henry I's steps to become king are similar to Rufus'. Henry left his dead brother's body unattended.[62] Then he and his companions, the Beaumont brothers, seized the treasury.[63] Control of the money in the treasury was so crucial that Henry I almost resorted to violence to insure his claim against the men claiming the treasury for Curthose.[64] Henry I then set out to gain support through money, grants of titles, and investiture with religious offices.[65] Lastly, he was crowned king, as soon as possible, on 5 August 1100.[66] To gain the throne Henry I did what he had seen his brother, William II, do. The opportunity coupled with the ambition does not suggest that Henry had his brother murdered. Henry simply saw a chance and did what he needed to do to become king. In 1135, when Henry I was dying, Stephen of Blois,[67] grandson of William I, too, saw his chance to become king. Stephen rushed to seize the treasury.[68] Then, he had himself crowned before Henry was even buried.[69] Speed was crucial to a Norman claimant's chance of becoming king. The speed, "of Stephen's actions has not ceased to provoke amazement and admiration."[70] There were no accusations of foul play against Stephen.[71] Stephen simply did what Henry I had done, and Henry in turn had copied William Rufus. Following precedent in order to become king cannot serve as reasonable evidence to accuse Henry of murder.

58. William of Malmesbury, 513. Roger of Wendover, 354.
59. Anglo Saxon Chronicle, 166. Roger of Wendover, 355.
60. William of Malmesbury, 513. Roger of Wendover, 355.
61. Anglo Saxon Chronicle, 165-6.
62. Orderic, 5: 291.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., 5: 297.
66. Ibid., 5: 290-3.

Walter Tirel and the Clares

Walter had let his arrow fly which struck and killed the king. Walter, "ran up, but finding him unconscious and speechless, he leapt hastily on his horse, and with good help from his spurs got cleanly away."[72] According to Round, Walter Tirel fled because he was guilty of murder.[73] Would an innocent man who had just accidentally killed the king stay and tend to his body? Or would he flee for his life despite his innocence? Walter fled to avoid reprisals which could be expected for the killing of a king, accidentally or not. Orderic tells us that the unseemly members of Rufus' court which included, "mercenary soldiers, lechers, and common harlots ... sought desperately for Walter Tirel to rend him limb from

67. Stephen I, king of England r. 1135-1154, was a grandson of William I and a nephew of Henry I. Technically he did not have claim to the English throne because he had an elder brother, Theobald of Blois. Theobald was actually nominated king by a council of barrons after Henry I's death. With Stephen's brother having the rightful claim to the throne it is all the more remarkable that he was able to seize it for himself. Cf. Frank Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England, 1042-1216* (New York: Longman, 1955) for a short but detailed discussion of Stephen's usurpation.
68. Roger of Wendover, 483-4.
69. Henry of Huntingdon, 262-3.
70. Quoted from Ralph Henry Careless Davis, *King Stephen*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1967) in Hollister, " Strange Death," 64.

limb for the death of their protector."[74] In 1099, Robert Curthose's son, Richard, had been killed while hunting. The knight who struck him, "fled to St. Pancras at Lewis, and by becoming a monk ... expiated by penance the crime of homicide."[75] No one had questioned his intention. The knight had simply been incautious and had accidentally killed Richard. Yet, to avoid punishment, he fled and became a monk. Walter who had accidentally killed a king could be sure that his safety and even his life were in great danger.

What did Walter have to gain from murdering a king? He fled to France after Rufus' death and years later set out for Jerusalem dying a penitent on the way. The only mention of Tirel in the sources is in relation to the death of King William. These brief passages make two things clear: first, he was the king's favorite, and second, he killed the king. William of Malmesbury tells us that when the king went hunting that day he took few companions and, "the most intimate of these was Walter surnamed Tirel."[76] Orderic tells a story of how on that day a blacksmith came to the king and gave him five finely crafted arrows.[77] Rufus then giving two arrows to Walter says, "it is only right ... that the sharpest arrows should be given to the man who knows how to shoot the deadliest shot."[78] In no other source can there be found any mention of Walter's prowess at arms. Without any other way to support this assessment it is fair to interpret this as a show of the king's favor and not as a comment on Tirel's skill with the bow.[79] Both Orderic and William of Malmesbury state that Walter was popular with the king and, naturally, he would have had a bright future. As the king's favorite it is hard to imagine that Walter Tirel believed he would have more to gain by conspiring against William II than by protecting his position. What could Henry I have possibly offered Walter Tirel to convince him to kill King William II? Henry I could have offered to make Tirel his favorite, but Walter already was the favorite of one king. Henry may have offered to enhance Walter Tirel's family's power and prestige. But the family of the favorite would already stand to gain. With the death of William II, Walter lost everything. He fled to France, losing his chance at social advancement in England, and was no longer the favorite of a king. Though he was a guest of the king of France on a few occasions he never held the same level of prestige, nor was he ever a favorite of the French king.[80]

This brings up the last charge against Walter Tirel. Round argues that Walter killed the king for the advancement of the Clares and the Giffards to whom he was related to by marriage.[81] Round's genealogy of the Clares, Giffards, and Walter Tirel is accurate.[82] However

71. There is no indication that Henry I's death was anything but natural. In Stephen's case the rush to seize the treasury was crucial because civil war was unavoidable. Stephen actively violated his pledge to support Henry I's daughter Matilda's claim to the throne. Stephen would have needed the money in the treasury to buy support for his usurpation.
72. William of Malmesbury, 575.
73. Round, Feudal England, 468.
74. Orderic, 5: 293.
75. Ibid., 5: 283
76. William of Malmesbury, 575.
77. Orderic, 5: 289.
78. Ibid., 5: 289. Orderic has caused much consternation among historians by this passage. The debate is whether the blacksmith gave King William arrows for a bow or crossbow bolts. Orderic used the word "catapultas" in this passage but several lines later in the passage about the king's death used the word, "sagittae". See Orderic, 5: 289 n. 3.
79. This seems to me to be Orderic's way of conveying that Walter Tirel was the king's favorite since he does not mention it bluntly; Cf. the blunt statement of the king's favor in William of Malmesbury, 575.
80. Cf. Hollister, "Strange Death," 73-4.
81. Round, *Feudal England*, 468-9.

there is nothing in the sources to conclude that Henry had a relationship with the Clares or Giffards before his brother's death. Henry's supporters seem to have come from around his lands in Normandy.[83] Round argues that Gilbert and Roger of Clare were in Rufus' hunting party.[84] However none of the contemporary sources mention either of them as being present.[85] Geoffrey Gaimer states that they were in the hunting party in his poem L'estorie des Engles.[86] Hollister argues this work is so error-ridden that it has to be questioned.[87] The work dates to about 1140 and its value, "as a historical source is small."[88] Round also argues that the Clares were constantly at the king's court, a charge which, according to Hollister, is misleading, because the number of royal charters granted to the Clare family are considerably lower than the other noble families present at court, and known to be in King Henry's inner circle of supporters.[89]

What is clear is that Henry tried to gain the favor of the Clares after his brother's death. The family was powerful and Henry needed all the support he could get to insure his crown. Orderic tells us that to solidify his rule Henry "treated the magnates with honor and generosity."[90] Henry also, "made William Giffard, who had been the dead king's chancellor, bishop of York."[91] However all six of the previous chancellors had eventually become bishops.[92] So, Henry may merely have been following his late brother's pattern of promotion to help insure that William II's supporters would now support him.

In 1101, however, the Clares and Giffards acted quite strangely. If they had conspired to place Henry I on the throne, their future was vested in Henry's survival. When the Anglo-Norman civil war of 1101 broke out, they did not rush to fight with the king whom they supposedly had made. Walter Giffard is listed by Orderic as one of Robert Curthose's main supporters.[93] Gilbert and Roger of Clare are not mentioned in any of the sources as supporters of Henry I, nor are they listed as supporters of Curthose.[94] It appears they were standing by, waiting to see which way the wind would be blowing. In 1102, Richard of Clare was stripped of his abbacy at Ely, which Henry I had given him, for failing to obey royal orders.[95] The actions of the Clares and Giffards border on treason.

The main argument in favor of the Clare and Giffard conspiracy theory seems to be than Walter Tirel murdered William II for the advancement of his family. The circumstantial evidence might suggest that this was how events played out. Clearly this evidence convinced the esteemed scholar Dr. Round. The conspiracy theory assumes three points that are highly suspect: first, that Walter Tirel, the favorite of the king, was convinced, or convinced himself that his family had more to gain from Henry; second, that the promise of future reward was so much greater than his current position that it was worth conspiring against a

82. Hollister, "Strange Death," 68.
83. John Le Patourel, *Feudal Empires Norman and Plantagenet* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 28-33.
84. Round, *Feudal England*, 468.
85. Orderic, 5: 285-295. William of Malmesbury 573-5.
86. Round, *Feudal England*, 468-9.
87. Hollister, "Strange Death," 68-9
88. Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, 212.
89. Round, *Feudal England*, 472. Hollister, "Strange Death", 70.
90. Orderic, 5: 297.
91. Ibid.
92. Hollister, "Strange Death," 72.
93. Orderic, 5: 309.
94. Ibid., 5: 215-9. William of Malmesbury, 717-25.
95. Hollister believes this was due to Richard's holding his forces back before Henry's encounter with Curthose's initial forces. Hollister, "Strange Death," 73.

king who was known to act mercilessly towards his enemies; third, that Walter was willing to sacrifice himself, not for the benefit of blood relatives, but for his in-laws. [96] Conspiring against William would have entailed great risk, as Rufus' response if such a plot would have been uncovered could have been extremely savage. It is hard to believe that Walter was willing to sacrifice everything and endanger his life for no potential personal gain.

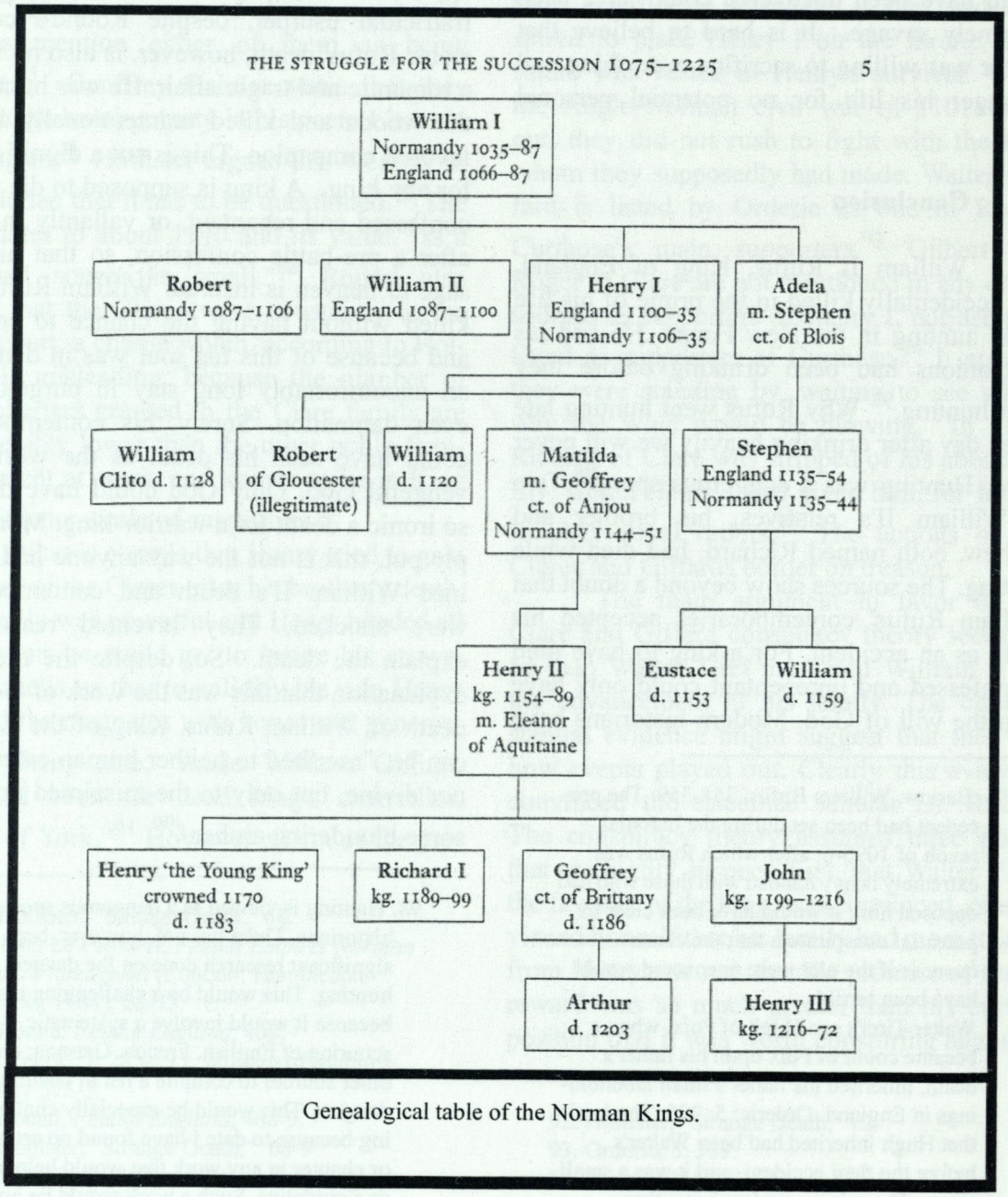
Conclusion

William II Rufus, King of England, was accidentally killed in the prime of his life while hunting in the New Forest. He and his companions had been drinking before they went hunting.[97] Why Rufus went hunting late in the day after drinking heavily we will never know. Hunting was a dangerous sport.[98] Two of William II's relatives, his brother and nephew, both named Richard, had died while hunting. The sources show beyond a doubt that William Rufus' contemporaries accepted his death as an accident. For a king to have died unconfessed and unrepentant could only have been the will of God. Modern historians have had trouble to accept this at face value. Round could not accept that a king could die in a hunting accident. In Round's scenario, Walter had sacrificed his future for the future of his in-laws. He created the Clare-Giffard theory which, though plausible, does not hold together. Henry I should not be viewed as a fratricidal usurper, despite Round's conclusions. Rufus' death, however, is also no longer a romantic and tragic affair. He was hunting in the woods and killed unintentionally by his favored companion. This is not a dignified end for any king. A king is supposed to die in bed confessed and repentant, or valiantly in battle after a pre-battle confession, so that his passage to heaven is insured. William Rufus was killed without having the chance to confess, and because of this his soul was in danger of an uncomfortably long stay in purgatory, or even damnation. Surely, his contemporaries could have seen his death as the work of a vengeful God. Only God could have devised so ironic a death for a warrior-king. More simply put, this is not the way anyone had imagined William II's death and contemporaries were shocked. They invented reasons to explain the death. So, despite the medieval explanation that this was the work of God, the death of William Rufus, King of the English, can be, "ascribed to neither human calculation nor divine, but only to the misaimed arrow of some blundering archer."[99]

96. Barlow, William Rufus, 358-359. The precedent had been set during the baronial revolt of 1095-6, after which Rufus was extremely heavy handed with those who had opposed him. It would have been clear to potential conspirators that the consequences if the plot were uncovered would have been terrible.
Walter Tirel's son Hugh of Poix, who became count of Poix upon his father's death, inherited his father's small landholdings in England. Orderic: 5: 295. The land that Hugh inherited had been Walter's before the fatal accident, and it was a small estate. There is no evidence in either Orderic or William of Malmesbury to imply that Hugh gained anything from his fathers supposed sacrifice.

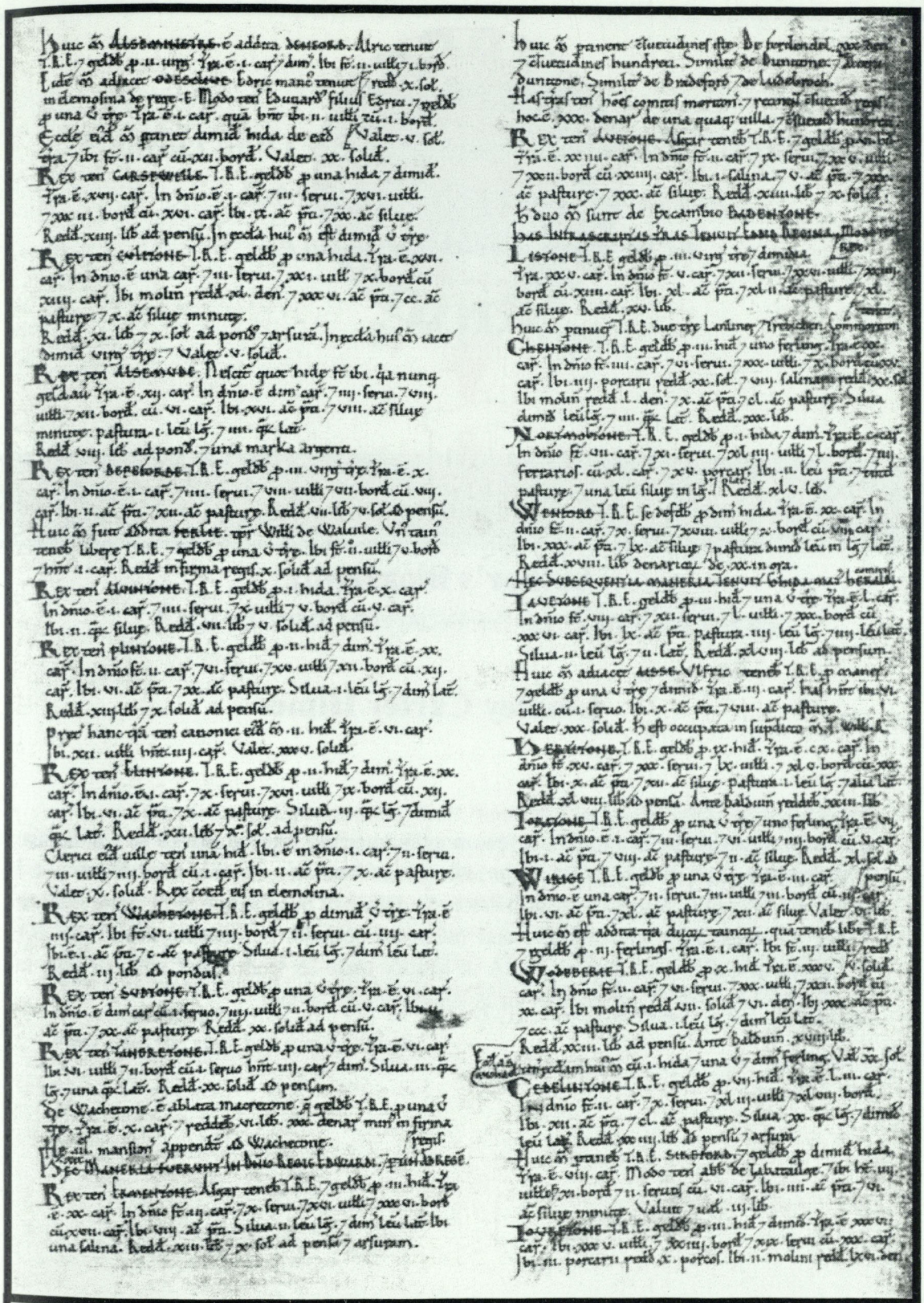
97. William of Malmesbury, 575.

98. Hunting is viewed as a dangerous sport by historians. There has not, however, been significant research done on the dangers of hunting. This would be a challenging task because it would involve a systematic scouring of English, French, German, and other sources to compile a list of deaths and dangers. This would be especially challenging because to date I have found no article or chapter in any work that would help act as a guideline. Such a work would be both ground-breaking and valuable to medievalists everywhere, and would help to better our understanding of hunting in the middle ages.



Genealogical table of the Norman Kings.

99. Hollister, "Strange Death," 75.



Domesday Book: Vol I, fo. 100 verso; The Kenton (Chentone) entry is the fourth item in col. 2. Courtesy of Frank Barlow, *William Rufus*.

Author's Biography

Lindley Carter Himes

I was born in Florida, a few months later my family moved to California. After two years as a business major, which had been my original intended major, I decided to study history instead. History had always been a source of great interest for me, especially the classical and medieval periods. I intend to finish my BA degree at CSUF then pursue a MA in history there as well. After which I plan to transfer into a Ph.D. program at an as yet undecided school.

Conflict and Compromise: Military and Diplomatic Interaction between Damascus And the Franks, 1104-1154

By Peter Yanez

Edited and Introduced by Charles Gray

In Conflict and Compromise, Peter Yanez discusses the political and military history of Damascus, focusing on its interactions between neighboring states, both crusader and Muslim. Yanaz theorizes that while Damascus shrewdly manipulated the surrounding states to maintain its independence, this resulted in its ultimate downfall. The gradual reduction of Damascus' military power in relation to these states resulted in it becoming completely dependent on political maneuverings, which in the end proved insufficient to insure the long term survival of the state. As a result, Damascus fell in 1154 to Nur Al-Din, ironically one of the individuals who's aid the state had earlier sough.

Introduction

Damascus, situated in a large oasis between a desert and an imposing mountain range, is one of the oldest and greatest cities in history. Its position makes it the natural capital of Syria and a major center for trading activities. In 1097, the crusaders came to Syria with the intention of recapturing the Holy Land. Damascus never fell to the Franks (as the crusaders were called due to large French contingents) because of its geographic position, the city's arsenal of military might, and its tactful and skillful diplomats.[1] It is the interaction between Damascus and the Franks, both militarily and diplomatically, that is the focus of this study.

William of Tyre, one of the most important historians of the crusades, provided a Christian and Crusader viewpoint of events. Courtesy Ernle Bradford, *The Sword and The Scimitay.*

This paper is based on 12th-century primary sources. *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusade,* written by Ibn al-Qalanisi, is the most important of these sources.[2] Ibn al-Qalanisi was present in the city of Damascus during the first half of the 12th century and provides a valuable account of the internal workings of the city as well as the city's interaction with the Franks and other Muslim groups. Another very important work is that of William of Tyre. His *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* provides an important contrast to the Damascus Chronicle due to the fact that it is written from a Frankish perspective.[3] *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades* is the title of the English edition of the memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Mundiqh. Usamah's life spans the period that this paper deals with and the various anecdotes he relates prove useful as evidence of the dealings between Franks and Damascenes as he spent a considerable amount of time in Damascus.[4]

With regard to the scholarship pertaining to this topic, *The Saljuqs of Syria* by Saljuq historian Taef Kamal El-Azhari may be the most comprehensive study of the leadership in Damascus in the early 12th century.[5] El-Azhari readily admits that his views differ slightly from those of western historians, such as the German historian of the Crusades, Hans Eberhard Mayer, but bases those differences on the fact that he is studying the Crusades in relation to the Saljuqs of Syria and not (as Mayer) from the Western perspective.[6] Hadia Dajani-Shakeel's article "Diplomatic Relations Between Muslim and Frankish

1. R. C. Smail, *The Crusaders In Syria and the Holy Land* (New York: Praeger, 1973), 12.
2. Ibn Al-Qalansi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London: Luzac and Company, 1967).
3. William of Tyre, *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York: Octagon Books, 1976).
4. Usamah Ibn-Mundiqh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. Philip K. Hitti (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929).
5. Taef Kamal El-Azhari, *The Saljuqs of Syria* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1997).
6. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (Oxord: Oxford University Press, 1990).
El-Azhari, 259.

Rulers 1097-1153 A.D" focuses mainly on the diplomacy between the rulers and contains an excellent summary of the treaties between the rulers Damascus and the kings of Jerusalem.[7] This paper will attempt to combine both the military and diplomatic aspects of the time in order to create a better look at the political relationships that existed between Damascus and the Franks.

The city-state of Damascus attempted to maintain its independence by negotiating treaties with the Franks.[8] This paper will argue that this independence eventually evolved into a dependence upon the Franks for assistance against the Muslim enemies of Damascus. This dependence led the rulers of Damascus to lose their power as the citizens lost trust in them and turned the city over to Nur al-Din, their main Muslim rival in 1154.[9] This study is of the military and diplomatic interactions between Damascus and the Franks shows tactful use of diplomacy for mutual benefit, which eventually evolved into a dependence of Damascus upon Frankish military assistance. When Damascus was forced to call for help from Nur al-Din during the Second Crusade, it became obvious that the once powerful city of Damascus was weaker than ever, a weakness which led to the loss of its independence.[10]

7. Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, "Diplomatic Relations Between Muslim and Frankish Rulers 1097-1153 A.D.," in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (New York: E.J. Brill, 1993), 190-215. Cf. Ibid., 201-9.
8. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, passim and William of Tyre, passim.
9. Nur al-Din (1146-1174) was the second son of Zengi. He gained control of Aleppo in 1146 when his father was killed and eventually succeeded in capturing Damascus in 1154. Mayer, 92.
10. Cf. El-Azhari, 264-71. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 318-322.

Diplomacy under Tughtagin 1104-1128

In the first half of the 12th century, the city of Damascus was able to act independently from the rest of the Muslim world when interacting with the Franks. However, this freedom that Damascus enjoyed led to the loss of their independence to Nur al-Din in 1154 after the decisions Damascus' rulers made led to dependence on outside military assistance.[11] The political and military trend shows the diminishing strength of the Damascene army, the increase of the Frankish influence in the area, and the resulting use of diplomacy by the rulers of Damascus instead of war.

Tughtagin (1104-1128) was the first ruler of Damascus to challenge the Franks of the Latin Kingdom.[12] He was the stepfather of the young ruler Duqaq, and after Duqaq's death in 1104, Tughtagin became the sole ruler of Damascus.[13] One of the earliest encounters between Tughtagin and the Franks took place in the years 1105-1106. The lord of Tiberias, Hugh of Saint Omer, had begun the construction of a castle called Al-Al on the Jaulan Heights, only a two-day march away from Damascus. When Tughtagin learned of this and heard the rumors that this castle was supposed to be impregnable, he sent out the army of Damascus to prevent its completion.[14] Al-Al would have been the second castle built by Hugh in the area. The first, Toron, was situated upon the mountains overlooking Tyre and

11. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 289-322.
12. Also known as Zahir al-Din. Ibid., passim.
13. When Duqaq was on his deathbed, he stated that he wished for Tughtagin to become regent for his son, Tutush. After Duqaq's death, however, Tughtagin did not follow his wishes and named prince Artash the ruler of Damascus. After only a month in this position, Artash fled Damascus and went to Jerusalem to try and convince Baldwin to invade Damascus. Ibid., 62-6.
14. Ibid., 71-2.

allowed Frankish knights to raid the countryside.[15] If Al-Al had been allowed to be completed, it (along with the fort of Toron) would have enabled the Franks to control the main roads of commerce of the Damascenes.[16] In January 1106, a surprise attack was made on Al-Al. In a classic show of force the Damascene army secured the fort and all that was in it, and Tughtagin had every one of the Franks killed, including Hugh.[17]

This victory was followed by another one near Tiberias in the coming years. In 1106, King Baldwin I of Jerusalem had taken on more responsibilities than his army could handle. Tughtagin noticed this and, in response to increased harassment of the area of Sawad, Hawran, and Jabal Awf by the Franks, he sent an army to ravage the lands surrounding Tiberias. Baldwin marched his army north in order to engage the army of Damascus, but after hesitation on both sides they withdrew to their respective lands.[18] Less than two years later, in 1108, Tughtagin returned with an army of 2000 mounted soldiers accompanied by a large number of foot soldiers to Tiberias. This time, by splitting his troops, he was able to surround Gervase of Basoches, the new lord of Tiberias, and his army of 400 knights and 2,000 men-at-arms. After a complete victory Gervase and others were taken prisoner and executed even though the crusaders had made an offer of ransom.[19]

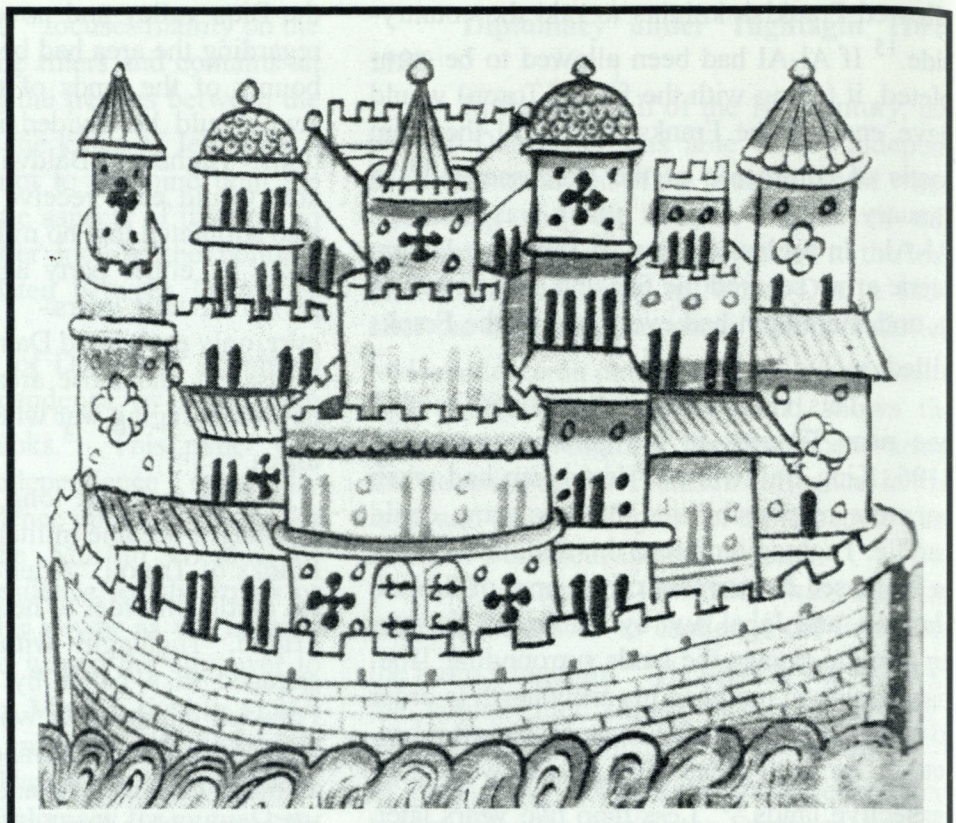
King Baldwin had become uneasy with the situation and decided to open diplomatic relations with Tughtagin. A truce was agreed on in 1109 (Treaty of Tiberias). Baldwin sent a delegation of representatives to Tughtagin to negotiate the future of the Biqa valley, the breadbasket of Syria. Baldwin had ravaged the Biqa valley and now a mutual agreement regarding the area had been agreed upon. The bounty of the lands of the Sawad and Jabal Awf would be divided into three equal sections. Tughtagin, Baldwin, and the local peasants would each receive a share. The treaty also stipulated that no military action would be taken by either party against the other for a period of four years. This stipulation, however, only prohibited Damascus from attacking Jerusalem and those areas ruled by Baldwin, not from waging war with other Frankish territories.[20]

In fact, not long after this agreement Tughtagin became militarily involved with the Franks of Tripoli. After capturing two Frankish castles in order to help the besieged city of Tripoli, Tughtagin with 4000 knights was engaged in a battle by William Jordan, the Frankish commander who was besieging Tripoli and who had owned one of the castles. William Jordan commanded only 300 knights, but managed to force the Damascene army to flee in disgrace, leaving much of their equipment behind, to the town of Hims. King Baldwin, who could have gained greatly if he had taken advantage of the situation by attacking Damascus, sent a letter to Tughtagin stating that he would respect the treaty.[21] This action may be ascribed to Baldwin's hesitation to take on an area he did not have the means to defend. This is important because it shows that although the army of Damascus had once been strong, the city only survived due to King Baldwin's respect for the treaty that he called for because of his own army's defeat at Tiberias.

After the Muslim's loss of Tripoli to the crusaders, the new lord of that Tripoli, Bertram, began a campaign in 1110 in order to gain control of the Biqa Valley. He marched

15. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 1, 469-70.
16. Cf. El-Azhari, *Saljuqs*, 183-4.
17. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 72.
18. Cf. Ibid., 74-5.
19. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 86-7 and El-Azhari, *Saljuqs*, 186-7.
20. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 91-3. See also Dajani-Shakeel, *Diplomatic*, 202-3, and El-Azhari, *Saljuqs*, 186-9.
21. El-Azhari, *Saljuqs*, 188-9.

to Rafaniyya with the hopes of capturing it but was met by Tughtagin and his army. A truce was agreed upon that divided the revenues of Al-Biqa and provided for the surrender of two castles as well as the taxing of the inhabitant of three others.[22] Ibn al-Qalanisi states that the Franks only kept the peace a short time and returned to their "customary ravaging and destroying."[23] This shows that although Baldwin had shown he was trustworthy, a feeling of distrust regarding the other crusaders was widespread.



A 13th century depiction of Damascus from the Historia Major II. Courtesy, Ernle Bradford, *The Sword and The Scimitar.*

Damascus was now losing its influence over the surrounding areas and Tughtagin became fearful that the city of Baalbak would fall into the hands of the crusaders, as its leader, Gumushtakin, had contacted the crusaders in hopes of allying himself with them and had encouraged them to raid the Damascene frontier.[24] Tughtagin's response to this was to besiege Baalbak himself, and the city finally surrendered to him in April of 1110.[25] Once again, Baldwin was faced with an opportunity that could have led to the destruction of the Damascene army, but he instead respected the treaty of Tiberias (1109) by not joining forces with the rebellious Gumushtakin.[26]

In August of the same year (1110), King Baldwin arrived near Baalbak with the intention of plundering the Biqa Valley. Again a treaty was made which divided the revenues of the valley between the Franks, Muslims, and the peasantry, with each receiving a third.[27] The Baalbak Treaty is important because it was the second treaty between Damascus and the crusaders within two years. The fact that Tughtagin would give up more of the

22. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 93.
23. Ibid., 93.
24. Ibid., 96. Ibn al-Qalanisi also mentions that Gumushtakin sent his brother, Baitagin, to the Sultan in hopes that by "slanderous intrigue he might find a way to rouse discord and dissension" and turn the Sultan against Tughtagin.
25. Ibid., 96-8.
26. El-Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 192.
27. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 106.

Biqa Valley rather than fight shows that he was not as strong as he had been when he had agreed to the Treaty of Tiberias. This weakness can again be seen in the fall of Sidon.

In December of 1110, Baldwin along with a Scandinavian fleet of sixty vessels was able to secure the surrender of the port of Sidon.[28] With the loss of Sidon, the Damascenes lost an important port where they were able to secure goods and aid from, as only Tyre and Ascalon had not yet succumb to the crusaders.[29] By capturing Sidon, King Baldwin was able to impose a ransom upon the city of Hamah, which was controlled by Damascus. Hamah paid 2,000 dinars in order to secure a peace long enough to harvest its produce.[30] Baldwin was also able to increase his share of Jabal Awf and the Sawad to half, up from a third after a brief standoff between his army and that of Tughtagin outside of the city of Hauran.[31] Instead of giving battle Tughtagin ceded to Baldwin's demands, which shows that Tughtagin was truly in a much weaker position than he had been and was now in no position to fight.

However, Tughtagin soon found an ally in Mawdud of Mosul and together they became very powerful.[32] They were successful in protecting the city of Tyre, which had been under siege by the Franks from November 1111 to April 1112.[33] Baldwin, still looking to expand after his failed attempt at Tyre, raided a suburb of Damascus in 1113. In response, Tughtagin set out to join forces with Mawdud accompanied by an immense army consisting of his "entire 'askar (army), together with the troops from Hims, Hamah, and Rafaniya" to confront Baldwin.[34] Although no accurate number of the combined strength of Tughtagin and Mawdud's force is available, William of Tyre gives this description, his pro-crusader bias clear; "Persia again poured forth her countless hosts like a contaminated spring that constantly emits waters which give rise to pestilence."[35] This description by William of Tyre, clearly shows his opinion that the Muslims were inferior to the crusaders. While the Damascenes were still on the march, Baldwin sent word to Tughtagin, through Joscelin, lord of Tell Bashir, offering him the Castle of Toron and a truce.[36] Now, Tughtagin had the upper hand, but only due to the large army of Mawdud. He rejected Baldwin's offer and a large battle between the Damascenes and the army of Jerusalem took place on 28 June 1113 near Tiberias.[37] It was an overwhelming success for Tughtagin and Mawdud. According to Ibn al-Qalanisi, Baldwin I was actually captured but escaped after his weapons were seized.[38] After much pillaging by the Muslims, both armies returned to their respective cities. William of Tyre believed that this was due to the arrival of new pilgrims to the Holy Land and that Tughtagin feared revenge.[39] In his analysis of the event, El-Azhari disagrees and believes that Tughtagin returned to Dam-

28. Ibid., 106-8. William of Tyre, *History,* vol. 1, 486-8. Ibn al-Qalanisi claims the siege of Sidon lasted on 45 days and ended on December 4th, 1110, while William states the city fell on December 19th, 1111. Also Mayer, *Crusades*, 69-70.
29. Cf. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 1, 487 and Ibn al-Qalanisi, 106-8. Also El-Azhari, *Saljuqs*, 196.
30. El-Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 195.
31. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 113.
32. Mawdad was the ruler of Mosul from 1108-1113. With the blessing of the Seljuk Sultan , Mawdad was trying to organize a Muslim coalition to rid the Holy Land of the Franks. Mayer, 69-70.
33. Ibid., 115-32.
34. Ibid., 134.
35. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 1, 493. William goes on to state that Mawdud led "forces so vast that their number was without limit."
36. Ibn al-Qalanisi. 132-5.
37. Ibid., 136.
38. Ibid., 136.
39. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 1, 495.

ascus because he feared for his territories with Mawdud in the area and convinced him to withdraw as well.[40] Tughtagin did not want Mawdud to become any more powerful than he already was which was sure to happen if Mawdud was allowed to capture any crusader held lands. Nevertheless, Mawdud died two weeks later (September 1113) as a result of an assassin, possibly hired by Tughtagin.[41]

In 1114, as a result the battle near Tiberias the year earlier, Baldwin and Tughtagin reached another truce. It provided that the roads of the countryside would be made safe and allowed for the restoration of the farms after the devastation.[42] .

The son in law of Tughtagin, Il-Ghazi, Lord of Mardin, had defeated a Sultanate army and was given shelter by Tughtagin in Damascus. When the Sultan sent out another army, with in order to capture Il-Ghazi, Tughtagin turned to the Franks for help. He organized a Damascene-Crusader pact, which allowed for an army that large enough to deter the Sultanate army into a trap set near Aleppo by Roger of Antioch in 1115.[43] Once again a weakened Damascus was able to survive a superior force through clever use of diplomacy, this time in the form of an unexpected alliance.

In 1116, Tughtagin made an allegiance with the ruler of Mosul, now Aq-Sunqur al-Bursuqi.[44] Together they managed to defeat Pons, Lord of Tripoli, who had been ravaging the Damascene possessions in the Biqa Valley.[45] As before with Mawdud, Tughtagin returned to Damascus without capturing any land, only protecting his own.[46] This is because the army of Damascus was too weak to protect any newly captured land. Also if al-Bursuqi was allowed to capture any land for himself, Tughtagin feared that he might become too powerful and turn against Damascus.

Shortly after this, in 1118, Baldwin I died. Baldwin II, who replaced him as the King of Jerusalem, immediately proposed a truce to Tughtagin. Tughtagin tried to take advantage of Baldwin II's perceived weakness and added the condition that Baldwin II give up his share of revenues on two pieces of land in the Biqa Valley. Baldwin refused these conditions and the truce negotiations failed.[47]

Damascus, however, was still not powerful enough to take on a crusader army alone, which is why Tughtagin allied the city with Aleppo in 1119 in order to minimize the threat coming from Roger of Antioch, who had been attacking the lands of both Damascus and Aleppo.[48] Aleppo was now under the leadership of Il-Ghazi, and in repayment for Tughtagin's protection four years earlier he joined the Damascenes in their march to meet Roger of Antioch. In June 1119, they attacked the large force of crusaders, in which Roger was killed along with nearly all of his men in only one hour's time.[49] This victory satisfied Tughtagin, as he did not press on to the undefended city of Antioch and instead returned to Damascus.[50] Ibn al-Qalanisi claims that Tughtagin did not take advantage of this opportunity in

40. El-Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 204.
41. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 1, 495-6, and Ibn al-Qalanisi, 140-1.
42. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 147.
43. El-Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 206.
44. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 154-6.
45. Cf. Ibid., 154-6.
46. Cf. El-Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 209.
47. Cf. Ibid., 210.
48. Roger of Antioch, who had defeated the Sultanate army in 1115 (Damascene-Crusader pact), turned his focus on expansion and increased his pressure on Muslim lands. Mayer, 73.
Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 157-9.
49. William of Tyre numbers this force at 700 knights and 3000 infantry, while Ibn al-Qalanisi claims the crusaders exceeded 20,000. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 1, 529 and Ibn al-Qalanisi, 160.
Ibn al-Qalanisi, 159-61.
50. Cf. Ibid., 161.

part because a large portion of his army had engaged the Franks without him and he had arrived to the battle late, but mainly because these eager soldiers had taken to collecting the spoils and would not be an effective force with their hands full of plunder.[51]

Tyre, a large port city and the last city on the coast that had remained under Muslim control, with exception of Egyptian controlled Ascalon, fell to the crusaders in 1124.[52] Tughtagin was unable to prevent its fall, but according to William of Tyre, he "sent wise and discreet men as envoys to the chiefs of our army" whose purpose was to gain favorable terms for the citizens of Tyre.[53] Ibn al-Qalanisi states that Tughtagin succeeded in obtaining the guarantee that the "citizens who desired to depart should do so with as much of their property as they could remove, and those who desired to stay should stay."[54] By failing to protect Tyre, Damascus now found itself weakened by the crusaders' complete control of the coast. Taking advantage of this, Baldwin II was able to gain complete control over some areas of the Biqa Valley without having to share them with Damascus.[55]

Beginning in 1109 with the Treaty of Tiberias until Tughtagin's death on 11 February 1128, Damascus only survived only through the skillful diplomatic truces and allies that its leader had made. Twice Baldwin I had had the opportunity to possibly capture Damascus but he respected the truces. Twice Tughtagin had been able to alleviate pressures on his countryside caused by the raids of the crusaders by allying himself with the rulers of Mosul. He had also managed to outsmart the Sultan by forming a pact with the Franks, as well as defeat the same Franks that helped him by joining forces with Il-Ghazi and his army from Aleppo. In the coming years, the city would now have to try and survive without Tughtagin.

Survival 1129-1147

The death of Tughtagin had left the city without a real leader, and the subsequent decades were difficult for Damascus. Those that succeeded him ruled for short periods before they met their death as well.[56] In time a strong enemy would appear in the form of Zengi, ruler of Mosul and Aleppo. The crusaders and Zengi would make various attacks on the city of Damascus, but they all would fail, due in part to clever diplomacy by the rulers of Damascus.

Tughtagin's son Buri took control of the city in 1128.[57] King Baldwin II decided that he would take advantage of this change in leadership and attack Damascus. After reinforcements had arrived from Europe, Baldwin II set off for Damascus in 1129.[58] Buri came out of the city with his army in order to meet the crusaders. While the crusaders were searching for food they were attacked by the Damascenes and took heavy casualties.[59] The remaining crusaders mistakenly tried to push on to Damascus despite a violent rainstorm. William of Tyre notes that when the crusaders

51. Ibid.
52. Mayer, *Crusades*, 75-6. The port of Ascalon was not as important as Tyre for two reasons. The arrival of a large Venetian fleet, which neutralized the Egyptian navy, before joining the siege of Tyre effectively controlled the impact of Egyptian assistance and secondly its geographic position made it too far from Damascus to really do any good.
53. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 2, 19.
54. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 172.
55. Cf. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 2, 25-30.
56. El-Azhari, *Saljuqs*, 220.
57. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 186-7.
58. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 2, 40-1.
59. Ibid., William mistakenly states that Tughtagin was the ruler of Damascus at the time of this attack, when in fact he had been dead almost two years at this time. Also Ibn al-Qalanisi, 197-8.

"realized that the tempest had been sent upon them because of their sins" they returned to their lands.[60]

Zengi, ruler of Mosul, had taken over the town of Aleppo in 1128.[61] He wrote to Buri and asked him for his cooperation in fighting the crusaders. Buri agreed and sent 500 horsemen under the command of his son Baha al-Din Sawinj, ruler of Hamah.[62] Zengi's request turned out to be a trap, as he ordered the arrest of these soldiers and of Sawinj. Then unopposed, he took control of the town of Hamah and returned to Mosul with Sawinj.[63] Damascus was now surrounded by strong enemies and with the loss of Hamah, the city found itself with very little territory. Fortunately for Damascus, Baldwin II died in 1131, and the new King of Jerusalem, Fulk of Anjou, had to deal with rebellions within his own territory and could not afford to risk another attack against Damascus.[64]

This tragedy for the Kingdom of Jerusalem couldn't have come at a better time for Damascus, but Damascus, too, received its share of tragedy, as Buri died in 1132 as a result of an illness that he had contracted because of an assassination attempt.[65] His son Ismail was now the ruler of Damascus and took advantage of King Fulk's internal troubles capturing the town of Banias from the crusaders were he took many prisoners.[66] Ismail then turned his attention to the city of Hamah, which at this time was still held by Zengi, who had captured it in 1129. The Damascenes prevailed and the governor appointed by Zengi surrendered the city in 1133.[67] Zengi was unable to come to the rescue of the town due to his involvement in a battle with the caliph in Iraq.[68] In the preceding four and a half years (1128-1133), Damascus had been able to survive through a bit of luck and even regain some of its lost territories, but the city's influence was still far less than it had been before the crusaders had arrived.

In 1134, Fulk and Ismail agreed upon a truce. In exchange for the prisoners taken at Banias, the crusaders granted a temporary peace.[69] Now that Damascus was safe from attack, at least from the Franks, Ismail made an unusual request to Zengi, which put the city's independence in danger again. After surviving an assassination attempt, Ismail became mentally unstable and invited Zengi to take over Damascus.[70] The citizens of the city feared the rule of Zengi and plotted along with Ismail's mother Zumurrud Khatun, to have Ismail killed. On the 14 February 1135, the citizen's plot went into effect and Ismail was assassinated, leaving Damascus under the control of his brother Mahmud.[71]

Zengi arrived at Damascus later in the same month to take control of the city, Zengi attacked after he learned that Mahmud would not surrender the city.[72] The defense of the city was led by one of Tughtagin's Mamluks named Unur, who successfully defended the city.[73] Zengi then turned his attention to the city Hamah in order to make his trip productive and succeeded in gaining control over it.[74]

60. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 2, 42.
61. El-Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 235.
62. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 200-1.
63. Cf. Ibid., 201-2.
64. Cf. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 2, 45-6.
65. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 208.
66. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 215-8.
67. Cf. Ibid., 219-20.
68. El- Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 240.
69. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 2, 76.
70. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 228-31.
71. Ibid., 231-3.
72. Cf. Ibid., 233-6.
73. El- Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 243.
74. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 236. It is unclear if he captured Hamah by force or if he was given the city. Ibn al-Qalanisi states Zengi "became displeased with its governor…and having removed him from his governorship appointed in his place another person of his choice."

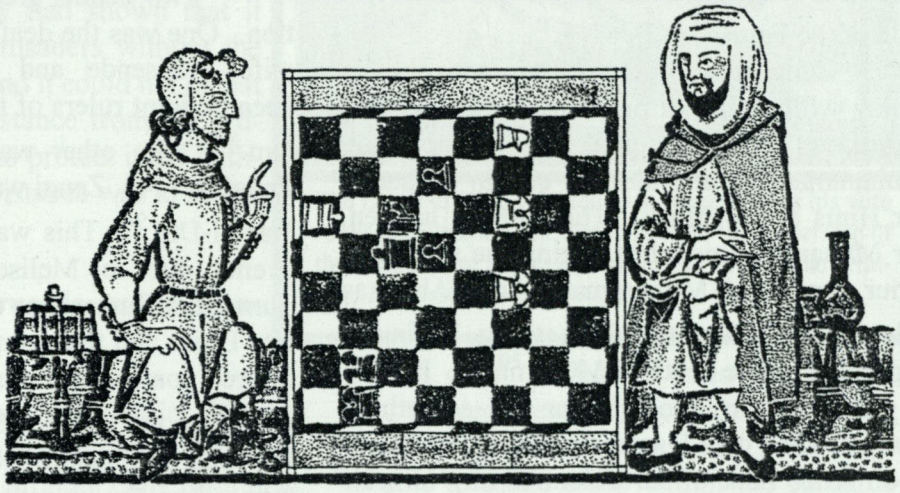
Zengi's rule over Hamah would not last however, as Mahmud quickly regained control of Hamah. In appreciation of the successful defense of Damascus, Mahmud appointed Unur as the governor of Hamah. The city of Hims, located on the road between Hamah and Damascus also came under the control of Mahmud as a result of his campaign to recapture Hamah.[75]

In 1138, Zengi married Zumurrud Khatun, Mahmud's own mother. A political marriage, this was meant to provide the city of Damascus with some peace. As a condition for the marriage, the city of Hims was turned over to Zengi's control.[76] Unfortunately the assassination of Mahmud in 1139 did not allow for this brief peace to last between Zengi and Damascus.[77]

Muhammad, the brother of the Mahmud, was next in line to become the new ruler. When he arrived to take power, instead of taking political control for himself, Muhammad invested Unur with all the powers of the state.[78]

Zengi, pressured by his new wife to avenge the murder of her son, took the opportunity to besiege the city of Baalbak, one of the last territories under the rule of Damascenes beside the city of Damascus itself.[79] After the citadel surrendered under the promise of safety, Zengi broke his word and ordered the prisoners to be crucified.[80] Ibn al-Qalanisi states,

> When the fortress was in his [Zengi's] hands he violated his pledge and went back on his guarantee of security, owing to a personal grudge and irritation against its defenders which he nursed in secret. He ordered them all to be crucified and none of them escaped except those whose destiny guarded them. The people were horrified at his action and at such an unheard of breach of oath on his part.[81]



Not all contacts between Damascus and its crusader state neighbors were likely to be political or military. Such scenes as the Frank and Muslim noble playing chess quite probably also occurred. Courtesy of Martin Erbstosser, ***The Crusades.***

75. Cf. Ibid., 237-9.
76. Ibid., 250-2.
77. Cf. Ibid., 253-4.
78. El- Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 251.
79. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 254-5.
80. Ibid., 255.
81. Ibid., 255-6.

It is interesting that Ibn al-Qalanisi portrays Zengi as one who did not normally act in such a manner, mainly because modern scholars usually describe Zengi with words such as "menacing" and "abominable," as though he wasn't well liked by many.[82] Also this very incident prompted crusade historian Steven Runciman to comment that the Damascenes began to "regard Zengi as a foe outside the pale of the Faith."[83]

Zengi now besieged Damascus, but in a way which did not promote any undue suffering, as his main goal was to persuade Muhammad to surrender the city in exchange for Hims and Baalbak. This did not happen, for Muhammad perished during the siege and Unur appointed Muhammad's son, Abaq as ruler.[84] Zengi kept the siege strong, hoping to capitalize on the death of Muhammad. Instead of giving in to Zengi, Unur did something characteristic of a Damascene ruler; he called upon King Fulk of Jerusalem to ally himself with Damascus in order to defeat Zengi.[85]

In return for aid Unur offered a reimbursement of 20,000 dinars a month during the campaign and pledged to help recover the city of Banias for the crusaders. Unur offered hostages from prominent families of Damascus to prove that his request was genuine.[86] In 1140 Fulk agreed and began his march to Damascus. While he was en route Zengi withdrew to Baalbak. Fulk arrived with his army to find a severely weakened city that showed all the signs of having just survived eight months of siege. Fulk did not attempt to take over Damascus, even though the state that the city stood in made it a real possibility.[87] Instead, in honor of the agreement, his army along with the promised support of the Damascenes went to Banias and after a long siege captured the city.[88]

Two deaths greatly changed the situation. One was the death of Fulk in 1143. His wife Melisende and her son Baldwin III became joint rulers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[89] The other was the assassination of Zengi in 1146. Zengi was succeeded by his son Nur al-Din.[90] This was an important turn of events due to Melisende's support of al-Tuntash, a Damascene deputy in control of the city Bosra and the stronghold of Sarkhad. He offered control of these cities to Melisende in exchange for the lordship of Hauran.[91] Hauran was still controlled by Damascus, however, when the crusader army marched to try and 'convince' Unur to renounce ownership. This caused Nur al-Din, who wanted to repair the relations with Damascus to support the Damascenes and together they forced the crusader army to retreat.[92]

The ability to make alliances independent from the rest of the Muslim world allowed the city to have options such as those discussed between Unur and Fulk. The citizens had confidence in their rulers in 1140

82. Mayer, *Crusades*, 86.
Carole Hillenbrand, "'Abominable acts': the career of Zengi" in *The Second Crusade: Scope and consequences*, ed. Johnathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (New York, Manchester University Press: 2001) 110-32.
83. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 1968) vol. 2, 226.
84. Ibid., 256-8.
85. Ibn al-Qalanisi. 259-61.
86. Ibid., 259-61.
87. Usamah writes that he used to visit Fulk during this time and his experiences suggest that Unur and Fulk had a friendly relationship. Usamah would buy Muslim captives from Fulk in order to gain their freedom and many times Unur was the man who financed the deals. Cf. Usamah, *Memoirs*, 110-1.
Cf. El- Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 253.
88. William of Tyre, *A History*, vol. 2, 107-10.
89. Mayer, *Crusades*, 91-2.
90. El- Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 256.
91. William of Tyre, History, vol. 2, 149-50.
92. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 275-9.

when Fulk came to the rescue as they saw Zengi as the greater evil. Zengi had ordered prisoners to be crucified after they had surrendered under his guarantee of safety just one year earlier. The citizens began to lose confidence in their rulers when the Franks proved themselves to be just as untrustworthy as Zengi when Baldwin III and Melisende supported al-Tuntash. Unfortunately for Damascus, the city had shown that it could not defeat the crusaders without the help of Muslim allies and it could not defeat Zengi without the assistance from the crusaders. This inability to protect itself without outside military assistance was to be the cities downfall.

The Death of King Fulk led to the accession of his wife Melisende, and his son, Baldwin III to the leadership of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Courtesy of Jonathan Phillips, *The Crusades 1095-1154.*

The Second Crusade and its Consequences, 1148-1154

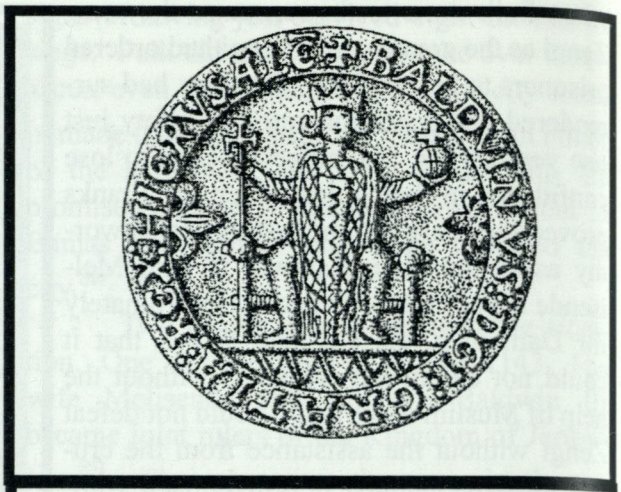
Zengi had managed to inflict damage upon Damascus even after his death. His capture of Edessa in 1144 brought calls for a new wave of crusaders to the Holy Land.[93] These crusaders, led by the German King Conrad III, met at Acre in 1148 and decided upon Damascus as their first destination to capture.[94] This was the obvious choice over Aleppo, because the Franks of Jerusalem had seen firsthand the weakness of Damascus, due to their failed campaign the year before. If they could reach Damascus and put it under siege, and at the same time prevent Unur from contacting his latest ally Nur al-Din then they would be able to capture the city. Even though they had a history of peaceful relations with Damascus, the support of the rebellious deputy by Melisende suggests that they were waiting for an opportunity to take over the city.

After an initial victory over the Damascene army outside the city, the siege began as the Damascenes took refuge in their great walled city.[95] This is when the Crusaders encountered greater difficulties. According to Conrad III, after the force had gone to great trouble to make camp within the orchards to the west of Damascus, it was suggested that the camp be moved to the plains in the southeast.[96] Realizing that the new location provided no water, Conrad suggested that the move had been an act of treason, by "whom we least suspected."[97] That person may have been Baldwin III as the Syriac Chronicle suggests: it claims that as the neighbor of Damascus he "wished it well."[98] It goes on to state that the garrison of Damascus promised 100,000 dinars of gold if he would help. Baldwin III supposedly received his 100,000 dinars for his part in moving the camp, but according

93. El- Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 258. Also Mayer, *Crusades*, 93, and Runciman, vol. 2, 249-63.
94. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 2, 184-7.
95. William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 2, 187-9.
96. Conrad III, "Letter to Wibald Abbot of Corvey, 1148", in *Letters of the Crusaders,* ed., Dana Carleton Munro, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1902), 17.
97. Conrad III, *Letter*, 17.
98. "The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* ed. A.S. Tritton and H.A.R. Gibb, (1933):69-101, 273-306., 299.

to the Syriac Chronicle found them to be made of brass.[99] Mayer claims that opinion of the time suggested the barons of Palestine to be behind the deceit, while William of Tyre points more to Raymond of Antioch.[100] But despite this, one thing spelled defeat for the crusaders, namely the arrival of Nur al-Din. Damascus had proven before that it was able to withstand a siege (1135 and 1139-40). Whether the news that Nur al-Din was on his way sent the crusaders running, as Ibn al-Qalanisi claims, or if he actually drove them off, the people of Damascus still had a city to call home because of the diplomatic action of Unur.[101]

Unur and Nur al-Din joined forces and made two attacks on the Franks in the following year.[102] But tragedy struck Damascus in 1149 when Unur died from illness.[103] Abaq, who had been the ruler in name, only while Unur was alive, began to exercise actual power over Damascus after Unur's death. Abaq was weak and inexperienced as a leader and Nur al-Din tried to capitalize on the situation. Nur al-Din asked for help against the crusaders and after being refused by Abaq, he himself besieged Damascus in 1150 only to be stopped by a rainstorm. Finally, in acknowledgement of Nur al-Din's power, Abaq gave him the power of sovereignty over the city, but did not allow him to enter the city. In 1151 Abaq decided to make one last plea to the crusaders to come and save him from Nur al-Din. Baldwin III arrived with an army near Damascus, but was afraid to attack due to the strength of Nur al-Din's force. Eventually Nur al-Din



The Seal of Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem, who succeeded Fulk in 1143. Baldwin's actions, both for and against Damascus, demonstrated the perils of the state's situation. Courtesy Martin Erbstossor, *The Crusades.*

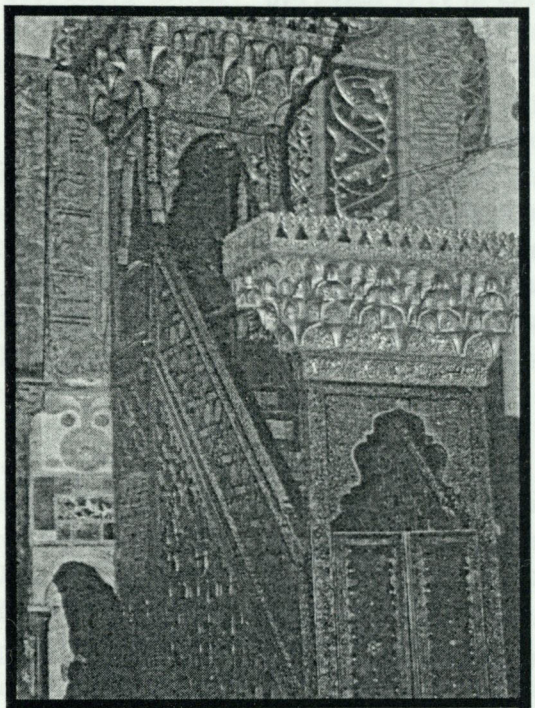
retreated to Baalbak, but Abaq and Baldwin III did not pursue him.[104] Shortly after the rift between the rulers of Damascus and the ordinary citizens of the city, it became apparent that Runciman's claims that the citizens saw Abaq and his government as 'traitors to the Faith' by selfishly continuing their friendship with the crusaders fearing what would become of them if Nur al-Din became their ruler.[105] Taking advantage of a food shortage in Damascus in 1153-1154, Nur al-Din began an economic blockade.[106] When Nur al-Din finally camped outside the city walls, the hungry citizens opened the gates for him in April 1154.[107] According to Mayer, Baldwin III was obligated and wanted to help keep Nur al-Din from gaining control of Damascus, but was unable to effectively do anything to stop it.[108] Ibn al-Qalanisi states, "owing to the bad management of the authorities and the fore

99. Gibb, *Syriac Chronicle*, 299. Also A.J. Forey, "The Failure of the Siege of Damascus in 1148", *Journal of Medieval History* (10, n. 1, 1984), 13-23.
100. Mayer, *Crusades*, 103-4.
William of Tyre, *History*, vol. 2, 190-5.
101. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 286-8.
102. El- Azhari, *Saljuqs,* 262-3.
103. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 295-6.
104. Runciman, vol. 2, 336.
105. Ibid., 340.
106. Ibid., 341.
107. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 289-322.
108. Mayer, *Crusades*, 113.

ordained (sic) decrees, there was not a breathing soul, either of troops or townsmen... whose resistance could be discounted."[109] He goes on to note that "Nur al-Din himself and his domestic officers entered the city, to the joy of all the people, troops and askaris, because of their sufferings from famine, the high cost of food, and fear of being besieged by the Frankish infidels."[110] This shows that the trust that Damascus had once had in their Frankish neighbors was now gone, most likely due to their attempt to take the city in 1148, and that when Abaq tried unsuccessfully to organize another Damascene-Crusader alliance the people lost faith in him.

Damascus was now a part of the united Syria. The city had lost its independence to negotiate and act freely from other Muslims, but they had gained a strong leader in Nur al-Din. The period of Damascus as an independent state, playing the surrounding states against each other, was at an end.

If it had not been for the betrayal of the Franks in 1147 and 1148, Unur would not have had to ask for the help of Nur al-Din, who began to be seen as a 'savior' by the citizens of Damascus. It seems that even though the rulers of Damascus lost their power due to their reliance on alliances and such, the people of the city still retained their independence in a way that allowed them to choose Nur al-Din as their new ruler. After Abaq's last stand, the citizens decided that they had lived on the edge of destruction long enough and opened the gates to Nur al-Din.



The Pulpit of Nur al-Din, the Muslim leader who entered Damascus in 1154, putting an end to its ability to act as an independent political entity.
Courtesy of Jonathan Phillips, *The Crusades 1095-1154.*

Conclusion

Twelfth-century Syria was a volatile place. For Damascus to survive independently it had to possess two things, a strong military and good leadership. Damascus was in possession of both of these in the first two decades of the 12th century, but found both traits lacking by the middle of the century. The military was destroyed in various defeats and, due to the offering of territory in order to increase the appeal of a truce to both the Crusaders and the Muslim forces of Zengi Damascus did not have a large enough area to recruit soldiers from. The crusaders and eventually Zengi and Nur al-Din did not encounter this problem as they were constantly expanding their realms and, in the case of the crusaders, boatloads of reinforcements continued to arrive from Europe.

Leadership was also an issue in Damascus. Weakened by the death of Tughtagin, the city faced several rulers in a short period of time. Fortunately for Damascus, these weak rulers benefited from external circumstances, which kept both Zengi and the Franks occupied for a while. This allowed Unur to finally step up and become the strong leader Damascus had longed for. After his death, though, the citizens were unable to accept the authority

109. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 319.
110. Ibid., 320.

of another weak ruler very long and saw promise in Nur al-Din.

Another problem the Damascenes faced with their reliance upon diplomacy was the fact that it was based on trust. In 1129 the rulers of Jerusalem began to destroy the trust that Baldwin I (d. 1118) had earned when he respected his truce with Damascus. This in turn destroyed the trust that the citizens of Damascus put into their own rulers. The friendship between the Franks and Damascus was betrayed by the Franks in 1147 and 1148 (Second Crusade), who forced the desperate rulers of Damascus to call upon their rival Nur al-Din for help. Consequently, the citizens of Damascus began to look favorably on Nur al-Din. It was because of this that the citizens opened the gates of the city to Nur al-Din in 1154. Ironically the reliance upon diplomatic action, which had left Damascus weak militarily but had helped the city to stay independent, eventually lead to the loss of power for the ruling family because of the untrustworthiness of their 'allies.'

What this proves is that no amount of diplomacy and alliances could ensure the survival of an independent city in 12th-century Syria. A strong military was needed in order to guarantee that diplomatic agreements remained in place. The Franks and Muslims in Syria at the time were constantly searching for an opportunity to expand their territories even if it meant violating a supposed friendship (e.g. during the Second Crusade).

Diplomacy is a tool to be used in conjunction with military might in order to ensure compliance, but as the city of Damascus found out it cannot be used alone. Damascus's diplomacy proved insufficient without being backed up by a sufficiently powerful military, and this led to the cities eventual fall. The experienc of the rulers of Damascus in the first half of the 12th century would make this warning plain to future generations.

Appendix A: Timeline

1104: Tughtagin becomes sole ruler of Damascus.

1105: Hugh of Saint Omer, lord of Tiberias, begins construction of the castle Al-Al on the Jaulan Heights.

1106: Tughtagin leads surprise attack on unfinished Al-Al. Results in a victory and the death of Hugh of Saint Omer.

1106: Standoff between armies of Baldwin I and Tughtagin outside of Tiberias. Both parties returned to their respective towns without a fight.

1108: Tughtagin again marches to Tiberias. This time he defeats Gervase of Basoches, the new lord of Tiberias.

1109: Truce between Baldwin I and Tughtkin. The conditions called for a period of 4 years without military action against each other's territories as well as the division of the lands of Sawad and Jabal Awf into thirds, with Tughtagin, Baldwin, and the local peasants each receiving a third. (Tiberias Treaty)

1109: After attempting to come to the aid of Tripoli, which was under siege by the Franks, Tughtagin suffered an embarrassing defeat to William of Jordan, the Frankish commander. Baldwin I reassures Tughtagin that he will uphold the truce in spite of this recent military action. Two months later, Tripoli fell to the crusaders.

1110: Bertram, lord of Tripoli, begins an inland campaign in the Biqa Valley. A truce is reached in which the revenues of the Valley are split to include Bertram. A number of castles, to be turned over to Bertram, were also included in the treaty.

1110: (April) Gumushtakin surrenders Baalbak to Tughtagin.

1110: (August) Baldwin arrives at the Biqa Valley with the intention to loot, but instead another treaty reaffirming the division of revenues in the Biqa Valley was agreed to. (Baalbak Treaty)

1110: (December) Sidon falls to the crusaders.

1111: Baldwin's shares in the Biqa Valley are increased.

1113: Tughtagin appeals to Mawdud of Mosul to help with his conflicts with the crusaders. After hearing of this army Baldwin I made an offer of peace to Tughtagin but he refused. After a victory both Mawdud and Tughtagin returned to their homes.

1114: Truce between Baldwin I and Tughtagin, which established peace in the countryside in order to return it to a productive state.

1115: Tughtkin formed a Damascene-Crusader pact in order to defeat the Sultanate army. The army was deterred and then eventually defeated by Roger of Antioch.

1116: Tughtagin attacks the Lord of Tripoli, Pons, who had been raiding the countryside. He is helped by Aq-Sunqar al-Bursuqi, lord of Mosul.

1118: King Baldwin I died. Baldwin II asks for a truce from Tughtagin, but Tughtagin adds conditions that Baldwin II cannot accept.

1119: Tughtagin allies Damascus with Aleppo, now being led by Il-Ghazi, and together slaughtered Roger of Antioch and his men, but did not take the chance to capture the city.

1124: Tyre falls to the Crusaders. Tughtagin makes arrangements for the citizens to flee to Damascus if they wish.

1126: Baldwin II is able to gain complete control of Hauran and Al-Sawad instead of sharing the revenues with Damascus.

1128: Tughtagin died. Buri, Tughtagin's son, succeeded him.

1129: Baldwin II and the crusaders where stopped in their attack upon Damascus, first by Buri and then by a rainstorm.

1129: Zengi tricked Buri into sending a force to help him fight the crusaders. He arrested those sent by Buri and captured the town of Hamah.

1131: Baldwin II died. He is replaced as King of Jerusalem by Fulk of Anjou,.

1132: Buri dies do to illness caused by assassination attempt. He son Ismail succeeded him.
1132: Ismail captured Banias.
1133: Ismail recaptures Hamah from Zengi.
1134: Ismail and Fulk agreed to a temporary truce in exchange for the release of Frankish prisoners that Ismail had taken at Banias.
1134: Ismail invited Zengi to take over Damascus after becoming insane due to an assassination attempt. He was assassinated and his brother Mahmud assumed rule.
1135: Zengi besieged Damascus but failed to capture the city, instead recaptures Hamah.
1136: Mahmud regains Hamah and gave control of it to Muin al-Din Unur.
1137: Rebellion is ended in Damascus.
1137: Zengi marries Zumurrud Khatun, the mother of Mahmud, and is given the city of Hims.
1139: Mahmud was assassinated by his servants. Muhammad, the brother of Mahmud, became the new ruler of Damascus and gave Unur all the power.
1139: Zengi captures Baalbak from the Damascenes. He then heads to besiege Damascus itself.
1140: Muhammad dies. His son Abaq is installed as ruler, but Unur has the power.
1140: Unur asks Fulk to help the besiged city against Zengi. Fulk agrees but does not have to do actually battle as Zengi retreats when he hears of the crusading force approaching.
1143: King Fulk dies. His wife Melisend and her son Baldwin III become joint rulers.
1146: Zengi is assassinated. His son Nur al-Din succeeded him in Aleppo. Abaq took advantage of Zengi's death to recapture Baalbak.
1147: Melisende supported a rebellious deputy from Damascus. Nur al-Din supported the Damascene and together forced the crusader army to retreat.
1148: The Second Crusades siege of Damascus fails.
1154: Damascus is captured by Nur al-Din.[111]

Rulers of Damascus

Tughtagin (1104-1128): Tughtagin was the strongest of all the Seljuk rulers of Damascus. His rule was marked by several military actions against the Franks, but perhaps more importantly, Tughtagin established a tradition of diplomacy with the Franks that his successors would follow.

Buri (1128-1132): Buri was the son of Tughtagin. His three sons, Ismail, Mahmud and Muhammad would succeed him in rule. During his rule Zengi became a problem for the Damascenes. Buri would die of an illness contracted during an assassination attempt.

Ismail (1132-1134): Ismail was the son of Buri. After capturing Banias and Hamah from Zengi, Ismail became mentally ill and attempted to give control of Damascus over to Zengi. When the citizens learned of his plan, they assassinated Ismail and replaced him with his brother Mahmud.

Mahmud (1134-1139): Mahmud was Ismail's brother. During his rule, Mahmud recaptured Hamah from Zengi and placed Unur as its governor. After his mother married Zengi (a political marriage that transferred the city of Hims to Zengi), Mahmud is assassinated by his servants.

Muhammad (1139-1140): Muhammad was Mahmud brother and became ruler after his death in 1139. His most notable accomplishment during his brief rule was to give all the governing power to Unur.

Unur (d. 1149): Although Unur was never actually royalty, he governed Damascus during the rules of Muhammad and Abaq from 1140-1149. He negotiated agreements with both the Franks and the Muslims, first in 1140 with Fulk against Zengi and secondly with Nur

111.

al-Din against the army of the Second Crusade.

Abaq (1140-1154): Abaq was the son of Muhammad. Unur ruled for him in his early years, but from 1149-1154 he was sole ruler of Damascus. The citizens saw him as weak and opened the city gates to Nur al-Din in 1154, effectively ending Abaq's rule.

Rulers of Jerusalem

Baldwin I (-1118) Baldwin I was a strong ruler who was able to expand his territories to include part of the Biqa Valley through diplomacy with Tughtagin. He upheld his part of the agreements even when faced with an opportunity to attack Damascus in 1109.

Baldwin II (1118-1131) During the rule of Baldwin II, the Franks captured the port city of Tyre. Baldwin II, taking advantage of Tughtagin's death launched an unsuccessful attempt at the city of Damascus.

Fulk (1131-1143) Fulk had to deal with internal troubles in the Frankish kingdom and did not interact much with Damascus until 1140 when Unur persuaded him to come to the city's aid when it was threatened by Zengi.

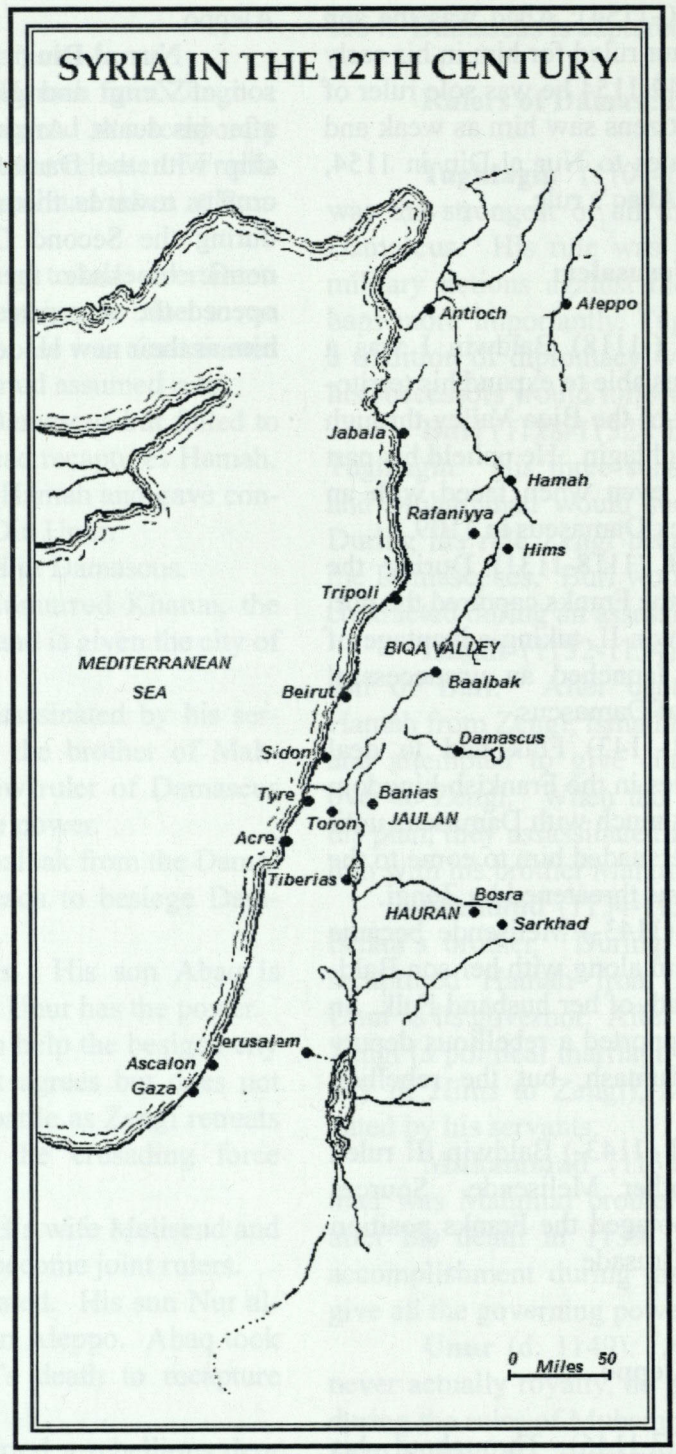
Melisende (1143-) Melisende became co-ruler of Jerusalem along with her son Baldwin III after the death of her husband Fulk. In 1147 Melisende supported a rebellious deputy of Damascus, al-Tuntash, but the rebellion failed.

Baldwin III (1143-) Baldwin III ruled along with his mother, Melisende. Sources suggest that he sabotaged the Franks position during the Second Crusade.

Rulers of Aleppo

Zengi (1127-1146) Throughout his career, Zengi terrorized all of Syria. The Franks and the Damascenes feared hi so much they were willing to join together in 1140 in order to drive him away from Damascus. Before his assassination in 1146, Zengi succeeded in building up the power base of Aleppo.

Nur al-Din (1146-) Nur al-Din was the son of Zengi and gained control of Aleppo after his death. Anxious to strike up a friendship with the Damascenes after his father's cruelty towards them, he rushed to their aid during the Second Crusade. After an economic blockade the citizens of Damascus opened the city gates to him and welcomed him as their new leader.



Map based upon *The Crusader States in the Early 12th Century.*

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Elizabethan England: A Study of Gender Roles in Conflict

By Lisa Lopez

Edited and Introduced by Charlene Riggins

In the past literature from the Elizabethan era was largely devoted to the interests and activities of men at the expense of neglecting women in society. During this time in history the accepted philosophy was that women were inferior to men and therefore importance was not placed on their roles in society. The woman's "subordinate status" was based on religious conceptions of hierarchy or chain of command; so as such, women were subjugated to their fathers or husbands in all matters. Elizabethan women were held to norms that dictated they be chaste, silent, modest, and obedient. They were unable to vote, had few legal rights, and extremely restricted chances of being educated. Author, Lisa Lopez, demonstrates in this essay that although Queen Elizabeth proved to be a competent and an exceptional monarch, her reign was not known to improve the gender role of women.

In September 1533 England held its breath as Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn anxiously awaited the birth of their child. The king had literally risked his soul to ensure a male heir. Astrologers were consulted and assured the royal pair that a great king would be born. However, the infant's birth was greeted with great disappointment. The child was a girl.[1]

Anne Boylen was the second wife of Henry VII. In due course, she gave birth to Henry's second daughter, Elizabeth. Both parents were devastated that the child was not a boy. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Elizabeth I of England and the women who lived during her reign were bound by the same social constraints. These women lived in a misogynistic era that tolerated females because the survival of mankind depended on their physical ability to reproduce. Despite the fact that she was a woman, Elizabeth's subjects hailed her as a strong and competent monarch. She was accepted as a feminine ruler because her contemporaries believed she possessed many male qualities and was therefore considered exceptional to other women. Unfortunately, despite Elizabeth's accomplishments, the inferior standing and negative perceptions of women within Elizabethan society remained unchanged.

Elizabeth was by no means a feminist in the modern sense of the word. As Queen constantly negotiated her role with her subjects and did not intend to alter the status of her fellow women. In some instances there was a retreat from progressive advancements made prior to Elizabeth's reign. This was particularly true in education. This paper will focus on women in Elizabethan England, some of their key social interactions, and how they were perceived. The topics considered are the impact of Elizabeth as monarch; the perception of Elizabeth as woman; female education; religion, religious writing and women; and gender role deviation. I intend to show that although there was a female monarch the patriarchal and misogynistic tendencies of the English were too strong for women to subvert and these limitations extended to Elizabeth herself.

This work is the product of various secondary sources predominantly based on feminist scholarship and literary theory. In addition, I have analyzed portions of John Stubbs' 1579 publication The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf. By utilizing these sources we can ascertain why the status of women during the late Tudor period remained static.

Tudor England

In order to understand the feminine role within Elizabethan society, one must first understand the basic beliefs held by society regarding women. These beliefs must then be placed within the context of historical events leading to Elizabeth's ascension to the throne. Elizabeth was born into a world that believed men were superior to women in the mental, physical and spiritual realms.[2] The prescrip-

1. Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 6.

tive norms of the day dictated that women be chaste, which entailed being silent, modest, and obedient.[3] While a man's word was his honor, sexuality defined a woman's honor. This honor was never hers entirely, but instead belonged to her husband, or father.[4] This focus on sexuality resulted from the predominant belief that women were more sensuous and less sexually disciplined than men. One motive for regulating women's sexuality was to ensure the proper lineage of the family. This was a masculine world where rules of society were set up along the patriarchal mode. Anything that was of value to a family was, for the most part, entitled through male lineage. The patriarchal system focused on the father figure, whether it was the man of the house, the master artisan, or the king himself, and this father figure was looked upon as the legitimate authority; all power rested with him. It was this stress on male patriarchy and lineage that caused Henry VIII to send his nation into religious upheaval in the name of a son.

Henry VIII was in need of a male heir in order to secure the throne for the Tudor line. In the previous century England had suffered upheaval due to the civil wars fought over succession and Henry wanted to avert this type of catastrophe from occurring again.[5] His first marriage to Catherine of Aragon, which lasted close to twenty years, failed to produce a male offspring. In order to gain his desired heir, Henry sought to divorce his wife. Catholic canon law forbade divorce and the Pope ultimately declined his request. The end result was Henry severing ties with Rome and establishing the Church of England, which was headed by Henry himself. This move towards Protestantism seriously divided the country as well as Henry's heirs. It did, however, give him the ability to remarry in order to gain the much needed son who would reign upon his death. Henry thus began a string of marriages that netted him only two more children, a daughter, Elizabeth, and a son Edward. The permanence Henry strove for through the birth of a male heir had been achieved.[6]

Edward, Henry's long sought after heir, successfully ascended the throne upon Henry's death in 1547, but the teenaged Edward died within a few years – childless. England ultimately dealt with the very succession issues that Henry had tried so hard to avoid. There was conflict over who would assume the throne; however this conflict was not akin to the protracted warfare that took place during the War of the Roses. After a brief, unsuccessful reign by Jane Grey, Mary Tudor became England's first Queen. Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, was a devout Catholic who reinstated Catholicism throughout England. This religious conversion proved to be an unpopular move in a country with a large and powerful Protestant majority. Mary also married a foreigner, Phillip II of Spain and this marriage was highly contentious among her subjects. Since Mary was a woman, there was immense concern among the population that the crown would fall into the hands of her foreign husband and England would lose its sovereignty. This fear never came to fruition since upon Mary's death Elizabeth assumed the crown.[7]

2. Helen Wilcox, "Private Writing and Public Function: Autobiographical Texts by Renaissance Englishwomen," In *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*, ed. S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 106.
3. Sandra Ann Logan, *Kings Heart and Virgin Knot: Gender Covalence and the Subversion of the Social Order* (Master's Thesis, San Diego State University, 1995), 2.
4. Wilcox, "Private Writing and Public Function," 51; S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies, ed., *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 171-172.
5. Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 5.
6. Ibid., 5-7.

Henry's public quest for a son seemed natural for a society that operated under the laws of primogeniture. Society's cynical view of women was solidified by Henry's actions. WWhen the King is seen as the ultimate father and authority figure, then his unwillingness to have a woman assume the throne provided a powerful cue for his subjects. Furthermore, Henry's string of wives demonstrated his belief that women were disposable if they were unable to provide for their husbands. This attitude further bolstered the idea that women had little or no value within society. There is little wonder that England was in such turmoil over the thought of another woman ruling the country.

Elizabeth as Monarch

The England Elizabeth inherited was torn by religious conflict and in turmoil over the prospect of another woman assuming the crown. Mary's reign had not been a particularly positive experience for the English people, and the result was considerable hesitation at the thought of further female rule in England. Although Elizabeth I held a privileged position as the queen of England, this did not necessarily make life as a monarch easy. Elizabeth's subjects initially had a difficult time resolving their view of a chaste woman as a strong-willed ruler.[8] However, Elizabeth eventually changed English perceptions regarding a female monarch. In order to understand this evolution, one must first understand Elizabeth's own conceptions of feminine rule.

Elizabeth had few role models to rely upon as queen. Throughout her childhood she had been exposed to Henry's multiple wives

Born to Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour, Edward was the only male Tudor heir of his generation. He became king at the age of ten but died at age 15, his potential never being realized. Courtesy of A. C.Cooper. Lacey, Baldwin, Smith, "Henry VII", 178-79.

but, with the exception of Katherine Parr, she did not form particularly close bonds with these women. Elizabeth did, however, witness their tumultuous relationships with Henry VIII and many of their demises. Coupled with the knowledge of her own mother's dishonor and execution, this was bound to affect her personal views of marriage, as well as her interpretations of women within society. Elizabeth's preconceived views further intensified when she was interrogated regarding her suspected affair and collusion with Thomas Seymour and her imprisonment for her alleged involvement with Thomas Wyatt's thwarted insurgence. The world, Elizabeth realized, was a dangerous place for females and she had to learn how to negotiate her way through this male dominated environment.[9]

7. Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 8.
8. Deborah S.Greenhut, "Persuade Yourselves: Women, Speech, and Sexual Politics in Tudor Society," *Proteus* 3, no. 2 (1986): 43.

There were few public women in Elizabeth's recent past to which she could compare herself. Her mother, Anne Boleyn, had been an unpopular figure both at court and among the people therefore, was not a fitting example. However, Catherine of Aragon was still firmly entrenched in the English collective memory and Elizabeth could at least consider the influence that Henry's first wife had at one time commanded. Catherine had played a prominent, although limited, role in Henry's early reign. The daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Catherine inherited her mother's strong will. She was an intelligent woman who instinctively understood international affairs. When Henry left to fight the French, he placed his Queen in charge. The Scots, who had waited for the perfect opportunity, attacked England's borders, but Catherine successfully put them down. Catherine performed remarkably well in Henry's absence.[10] Despite her achievements, Henry eventually divorced Catherine when she was unable to produce a male heir. Although Catherine fell from royal grace, she defiantly continued to consider herself the Queen and remained a popular force within England until her death. While it is purely speculative that Catherine extended any type of residual influence on Elizabeth I, it is not inconceivable to suppose that a personality such as Catherine's would have affected Elizabeth's perceptions regarding the internal strength and potential of women.

Catherine was very much an ideal queen. She was supportive of her husband and like him, she enjoyed music and dance. As queen, Catherine managed the royal household and often supervised in royal business. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

While Catherine's influence is speculative at best, her daughter's, Mary I, was more explicit. Mary reigned for five years before Elizabeth's ascension and the people recalled her reign as a relentless drive to reinstate the Catholic religion. Although Elizabeth was a devout Protestant, Mary demanded Elizabeth's participation in the Catholic mass. Elizabeth never fully acquiesced to Mary's wishes. A deep animosity developed between the two sisters that came to a head during Elizabeth's imprisonment for conspiracy with Thomas Wyatt and his insurrectionary campaign. This period was a pivotal learning experience for Elizabeth. As a result of her imprisonment in London Tower she learned to marshal her own strength during a crisis.[11] It is likely that Elizabeth's observations of Mary's reign allowed her insight into the approaches a monarch might utilize to gain popular support. It could be surmised that Elizabeth did learn one thing from Mary; do not embark on policies that alienate your subjects. Elizabeth did not repeat Mary's heavy-handed approach to religious conversion nor did she compromise England with an unpopular marriage.

9. Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 6-8.
10. Alison Plowden, *Tudor Women: Queens and Commoners* (New York: Atheneum, 1979), 30-32.
11. Ibid., 141-145.

Elizabeth, therefore, created her own royal template. While it is likely that she drew from the lessons mentioned above, she also acutely understood the psychological needs of her subjects.[12] English society strongly distrusted the feminine sexuality Elizabeth embodied. It was widely believed that women were easily swayed because of their inherent weakness and lustful nature. The nation expected Elizabeth to marry, but even proposed marriages would cause apprehensions. The English feared losing the crown to foreign interests. This fear will be further analyzed in the following section. Another important factor was the dynamic between Elizabeth as female monarch and her male dominated court. Within the patriarchal hierarchy, subordinated men were emasculated in the sense that they were relegated to the same level as women. In essence they were held accountable to a father figure. This was true whether it was a father/son relationship, a master/apprentice relationship, or a king/subject relationship. The fact that Elizabeth's court was subordinated to a woman played upon male fears that focused on a perceived loss of manhood. Elizabeth treaded very carefully so as not to alienate these men.[13]

Elizabeth successfully portrayed both a strong, masculine persona as well as a traditional, weaker feminine one to her people. This was best exemplified by the following excerpt from Elizabeth's Tilbury speech in 1588, "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which, rather than dishonor should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field."[14] While Elizabeth openly admitted her limitations as a female, she also drew upon her role as the strong monarch to give confidence to her troops. By encompassing both aspects of femininity and masculine dominance, she created an acceptable method of leadership.[15] The English appeared to openly accept Elizabeth's dualistic style of rule that simultaneously challenged established notions of femininity and embraced them at the proper time. By leading in this manner, Elizabeth instilled a comfort level throughout all levels of society. As with all women who lived during the era, Elizabeth constantly renegotiated an acceptable public space with her court and the community at large.[16]

Elizabeth was ultimately able to assume a dualistic role of woman and monarch. Although it challenged established conventions, this challenge was accepted because of Elizabeth's station in life. However, even she was mindful of the precariousness of her own position as a female, and this prohibited her, had she felt so inclined, from expanding her privileges to ordinary women. Over time Elizabeth's accomplishments were attributed to her exceptional personality. Often times she was seen as having more in common with a man than with a woman. As Robert Cecil stated, she "was more than a man and, in troth, sometimes less than a woman."[17] However, it was this belief that Elizabeth was somehow different from other women that further subordinated the average female during the Elizabethan age. Elizabeth's abilities exceeded those of even capable men, consequently how could the average woman hope to compete? Since it

12. Greenhut, "Persuade Yourselves," 43.
13. Logan, "Kings Heart and Virgin Knot," 80.
14. George P. Rice Jr., *The Public Speaking of Queen Elizabeth: Selections from Her Official Addresses* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966), 96.
15. Greenhut, "Persuade Yourselves," 42.
16. Logan, "Kings Heart and Virgin Knot," 3.
17. Plowden, *Tudor Women,* 163.

was deemed impossible, women continued to be perceived as weak and incapable of anything other than childbirth.

Elizabeth as Woman

Most English subjects believed that Elizabeth was considerably more intelligent and rational than other women and most men. Yet, despite this belief, there remained a level of uneasiness among the English people. The long held belief that a female monarch could not rule as effectively as a King was still present, as was the belief that if Elizabeth should marry she would be governed by her husband. While these deep-seated anxieties lurked throughout Elizabeth's reign, they culminated during her marriage negotiations with the Duke of Alencon in 1579.

The match with Alencon was proposed late in Elizabeth's reign. At forty-six, Elizabeth was past her child-bearing years and Alencon was considerably younger than herself. Apart from their common religious background, Alencon was sympathetic towards Protestantism; the pair did not appear to be compatible. This incompatibility, coupled with the perceived French threat to English sovereignty, disturbed many people. It was during this period that John Stubbs published The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf, which outwardly stated many of these apprehensions. English anxiety was due, in part, to the belief that women were ultimately subservient to their husbands. While Stubbs did not blatantly state either misogynistic or seditious sentiments within the text, this theme could be deduced and he was ultimately punished for his transgression.[18] The following excerpts from The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf illustrate English fears that resulted from having a female monarch.

> The Lord endure you with wisdom according to that you have need at this special time,[19]

While it is assumed that the choosing of a royal mate can have an impact on state affairs, Elizabeth's marriage deliberations are considered "special" because she is a female monarch. Consequently, she needed a higher male power to guide her, which in this particular instance was "the Lord".

> ... and considering the state of the princes is in this one point more unhappy than the poor man's degree, that they have none enemies that dare tell truth, and commonly such has been their chief favorites, yea, too many churchmen, which have particular privilege to speak truth (a cruel and impious betraying of as sacred prince), study rather for smooth delicate words than for plain, rough truth,[20]

Stubbs warned Elizabeth of many sycophants within her court that could counsel her to make the wrong decision. Implied within this statement was the belief that Elizabeth, as a woman, was not rational enough to differentiate between good and bad advice.

> ...so much the more I beseech the Lord of his mercy to supply their want of duty with such extraordinary store of counsel in your own breast, and grant you such a principal spirit to discern spirits and to sift counsels that you may smell a flatterer from a loyal counselor, prove all and approve the best.[21]

Stubbs again "beseeches the Lord" to aid Elizabeth in making a final decision. Women below Elizabeth's station relied on a male, patriarchal figure to provide direction

18. Lloyd E. Berry, introduction to *Gaping Gulf* by John Stubbs (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), ix-x; Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 60-63.

19. John Stubbs, *Gaping Gulf*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), 30.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

when important decisions were to be made. Since Elizabeth had no peers who could take on this role, the people had to trust that God would provide this guidance for her. God was considered the supreme patriarchal figure during the Renaissance.

> And seeing the very place of a prince doth bring him some disadvantage through our old Adam, who when he is lift up will hardly yield to the good poor advice of them that speak truth in a bare simplicity, the same Lord fill your royal heart with such tractable and easy sweetness of a yielding nature that you readily and humbly may hearken to all good counsels sent you from God and such as fear God and love your majesty.[22]

Stubbs again states there were people who would gain Elizabeth's attention through flattery and this in turn highlighted the belief that women were more susceptible to this obsequiousness. While Stubbs alluded to the familiar theme of God as patriarchal father, he also went one step further by utilizing the language of traditional feminine virtues. He implored Elizabeth to demonstrate "such retractable and easy sweetness of a yielding nature". These were the characteristics of a virtuous, chaste and obedient woman. Stubbs thus placed Elizabeth on the same level as all other women. She might be queen, but she was expected to exemplify the same attributes as a common woman.

> And can it be safe that a stranger and Frenchman, should as owner possess our Queen, the chief officer in England, our most precious rich treasure, our Elizabeth, Jonah, and ship of good speed, the royal ship of our aid, the highest tower, the strongest hold and castle in the land?[23]

Renaissance women were often viewed as possessions, and as such they were owned by their husbands. In this case, Elizabeth I would be the Duke of Alencon's possession. From there it was surmised that England, by default, would be his as well.

> For if he marry her with that good love on both parts which I wish with all my poor heart between Her Majesty and her godly husband whensoever and whomsoever she shall marry, yet shall he bear a great sway with her who bears all the sway with us, and if he do not love her (the Lord keep her from proving) then must she fear him so as for fear or love, he will rule her and the whole land for her sake.[24]

Although Elizabeth was Queen, it was assumed that she would assume the traditional female role once married. This placed her in a

The youngest son of King Henry II of France and much younger than Elizabeth I, the Duke of Alencon was considered a possible husband for the Queen. Courtesy of www.tudorplace.com

subservient position to her husband. This patriarchal concept, together with the concept of wife as possession discussed above, greatly concerned the English. In both cases, Elizabeth no longer played a dominant role in the affairs of England. Instead, her husband assumed this position. Stubbs then continued by implying that Elizabeth would be, as any

22. Ibid., 30-31.
23. Ibid., 37.
24. Ibid., 37-38.

woman, ruled by her heart. Her actions might be out of love, or fear, but they would be emotive nonetheless. Women were naturally swayed by their emotions. Their rational minds were not strong enough to overcome the passionate feminine nature. Elizabeth was no exception.

> So as, if Henry the Third, now King, should die the morrow after our marriage, and Monsieur repair home, as we may be sure he would, into his native country, a larger and better kingdom, then, by all likelihood, either must our Elizabeth go with him out of her own native country and sweet soil of England, where she is Queen as possessor and inheritor of this imperial crown with all regal rights, dignities, prerogatives, pre-eminences, privileges, authorities, and jurisdictions of the kingly office and having the kingrich in her own person,[25]

Stubbs again referred to the Renaissance conception of marriage. A wife is bound to her husband, and if married, Elizabeth would be bound as well. Since the Duke of Alencon was next in line to the French throne, there was the possibility that he might someday assume the throne. Stubbs pointed out that if this event did occur, there was a strong likelihood that Elizabeth, as his wife, would leave England and accompany him to France. After all, a King's position was superior to that of a Queen's.

> ...into a foreign kingdom where her writ doth not run and shall be but in a borrowed majesty as the moon to the sun, shining by night as other kings' wives, and so she that hath ruled all this while here shall be overruled in a strange land by some beldame, not without awe perhaps of a sister-in-law, and we her poor subjects that have been governed hitherto by a natural mother shall be overlooked at home by some cruel and proud governor,[26]

In the above section, Stubbs again employed traditional language by associating Elizabeth with the moon and her future husband with the sun. Through the use of such language, Stubbs was able to relegate Elizabeth to the same level as other women. Furthermore, he stressed that once Elizabeth was in France, she would be no different than "other kings' wives". As a lesser woman, Elizabeth would no longer have authority and England would no longer have a Queen but instead some "cruel and proud governor".

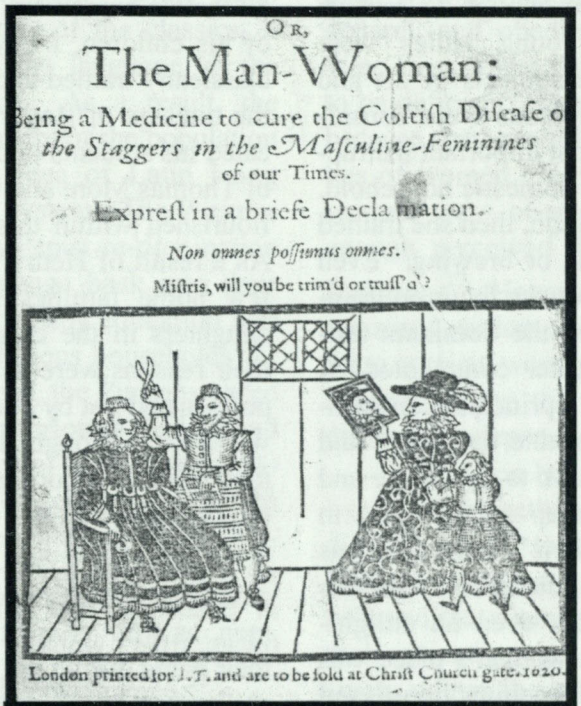
> ... or else must she tarry here without comfort of her husband, seeing herself despised or not wifelike esteemed an as an eclipsed sun diminished in sovereignty, having such perhaps appointed to serve her and be at her commandment, after the French phrase, which in plain English will govern her and her state.[27]

This last section presupposed that if Elizabeth's choice was to remain in England, she would be considered a failure as a wife. Here Stubbs openly stated that Elizabeth and England would lose sovereignty and France would have full control over England. The reality was, according to Stubbs, that Elizabeth would lose control of her county regardless of what she did. She could be the obedient wife or she could be the failed wife, but ultimately England would be lost because she was a woman. If there had been a male monarch on the English throne, this debate would have been mute. It is no small wonder that Elizabeth was enraged by John Stubbs' The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf. There was a substantial anti-feminine monarch theme that threaded throughout the work and pointed directly to Elizabeth as the subject. As a result of his publication, John Stubbs lost his right hand and the publisher his life.

Although Elizabeth was Queen, she was not immune to the patriarchal and misogy-

25. Ibid., 48-49.
26. Ibid., 49.
27. Ibid.

nistic beliefs that prevailed throughout England at the time. The work of John Stubbs, was not innovative, it was the standard view towards women within society. His notoriety occurred when he projected these patriarchal beliefs onto his sovereign. However, his work proved that even an exceptional woman such as Elizabeth was viewed through the same lens as an ordinary woman. It took all of Elizabeth's inner strength and shrewdness to rise above these beliefs. As a result, this same task for lesser women was seemingly insurmountable. The misogynistic beliefs regarding the female sex were far too engrained in men, and more importantly women, to depose them.



Elizabethan society was rife with strange and repressed Sexuality. Women were banned from the theatrical stage so all female roles were played by boys and men. Also, some women dressed in masculine fashion thus causing a worrying social disorder. Courtesy of Hic Mulier or The Man-Woman from *Shakespear's England,* R. E. Pritchard.

Education

Education was traditionally believed to be a man's realm since men lived their lives in the public sphere and therefore needed to have the proper knowledge to carry out their business. Women, by contrast, learned only what was needed to maintain the household and, if necessary, to assist their husband in his occupation. However, beginning in the sixteenth-century, there began a crucial movement that challenged not only the existing educational structure, but the role that women could potentially play in it as well. Humanists believed that by studying Greek and Roman classical literature one could learn and apply rational knowledge. Consequently, many humanists focused on a renovation of the existing educational system in order to demonstrate their belief.[28]

One of England's chief humanist philosophers was Sir Thomas More. He took this basic principle and expanded upon it by claiming that humanistic education could also be introduced to women. While More did not advocate equality of the sexes, he believed that women could compensate for their inferiority by becoming more studious. Through classical education, women were adequately prepared to guide the education of their children, become suitable companions for their husbands, and ultimately better Christians.[29] More's beliefs led him to take charge of the education of his two daughters and one son. His star pupil, ironically enough, was his daughter Margaret. Margaret developed such superior Latin fluency that her translation of Erasmus' Pater Noster was acclaimed and published for a wider audience. This accomplishment was highly commendable for a woman. Up to that point, only one other English woman had been published within the sixteenth-century. Margaret thus epitomized the model female humanist. She was a "devoted daughter, virtu-

28. Retha M. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983), 17.
29. Ibid., 23-24.

ous wife, educator of children, and esteemed scholar." As a result, she was considered to have pushed the given boundaries of appropriate behavior to its natural limit.[30]

Despite this innovative approach to women's education, traditional attitudes continued to dominate female instruction. Schooling prepared a woman for marriage. While some girls were fortunate enough to receive academic training, all young ladies were schooled in the feminine subjects of art and music. But even these lessons were considered secondary and the most important instruction focused on running a domestic household. If a girl was of a lower station, then she trained in a craft such as spinning or brewing. Even within humanist households the focus on training for marriage remained the dominant attitude. As Richard Mulcaster commented, "I think it and know it to be a principal commendation in a woman: to be able to govern and direct her household, to look to her house and family, to provide and keep necessaries...to know the force of her kitchen." Mulcaster was an advocate for female education. Yet his statement exemplified how even an enlightened man believed that a woman's place was in the home. The art of keeping house and family was her most important function.[31]

Humanist ideals were slow to take off within England. Much of this had to do with More's inability to convince the aristocracy that they needed to adopt this reform. As a result, there was not much replication of the educational milieu which More had created for his children. However, as these reforms took root, modifications to the pedagogical system proved to be relatively easy, at least for men. There was in place at the time a formalized educational structure in which young boys participated. Since the structure already existed, it was only the content that needed to be replaced. Boys studied works in the classical Latin and Greek when humanism was incorporated within the scholastic regimen. However the issues at stake for women were completely different. Feminine instruction was not a matter of simple changes, but instead a need to convince people that women should be educated at all.[32]

Elizabeth I was the most celebrated of all female humanists. Henry VIII had all three of his children, Mary, Elizabeth and Edward classically trained and Elizabeth studied under the tutelage of Roger Ascham. Ascham educated his students under the guiding principles of Thomas More and the humanists. Elizabeth flourished within this academic environment. As a result of Henry's educational decision, a few noble families started to educate their daughters in the classics as well. However, their reasons were usually motivated by court politics and not by concern for their daughters' welfare. Although there was some advancement within schooling for girls, it should be remembered that the number of female pupils was exceedingly low and not indicative of an educational naissance for women.[33] Many men, as well as most women, could not spell their name during the Elizabethan period. The ability to sign one's name is used as an indicator of a society's most basic literacy rate. [34]Ironically, the humanist approach lost much of its support because of the perception of Elizabeth. As she became known as an "exceptional" woman, her talents and education were thought to be an extension of her extraordinary character, and therefore not representative of the ordinary female's abilities.[35]

Another major force in the decline of classical education for women during the Elizabethan period was Elizabeth herself. Society's elite took their cues for childrearing

30. Ibid., 25.
31. Plowden, *Tudor Women*, 37-38.
32. Warnicke, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 40-41.
33. Ibid., 4, 95.
34. Ibid., 154.
35. Ibid., 109.

directly from the Royal family. Since Elizabeth did not marry there were no royal children in the household to emulate. Because Elizabeth, the paragon of classical education, did not produce any children, there were no tiny role models for the humanist educational approach.

Religion also played a large part in the decline of classical education. While Latin was the language of many of the classics, it was, more importantly, the language of the Roman Catholic Church. As a result, the growing evangelical segment of the population did not agree with the idea of Latin being taught within the school system. The Puritans were afraid of incurring Papist re-domination if they allowed the language back into their homes. As a result, humanistic education was not accepted in these religious households for either boys or girls. Instead, the Puritans based their educational style on scripture reading and discussion. This new type of Protestant education was beneficial for common women because it increased their literacy in the vernacular. This newfound reading ability, in turn, fueled feminine literary expression in which some women publicly participated towards the end of the Elizabethan age.[36]

Religion, Religious Writings and Women

Religion was a dominant force within sixteenth-century England. Catholicism, the Church of England and Puritanism vied for superiority throughout the Tudor period. While the influence of Catholicism waned during Elizabeth's reign, Puritanism and Anglicanism competed for the hearts and minds of the English people. Feminine conduct was just one of the many facets of life that church leaders attempted to control. During the Elizabethan period, a number of homilies were specifically directed towards women's behavior. While women generally remained faithful to the chaste ideal, there were some instances of bold and assertive conduct. It manifested itself through activities such as wearing masculine apparel or public preaching of Puritan doctrine. The resulting sermons intended to guide women back to proper activities and typified English prescriptive norms. Sermons dealt with themes such as women's sexuality, apparel, and obedience to husbands. These were areas where women were judged by men to be deficient. These sermons were valuable because they provided insight into the activities of women. While it is known that most women were obedient, there obviously was enough perceived digression to warrant this lecturing.[37] However, most deviant incidents remained random and sporadic. Consequently, these atypical women did not inspire a feminist identity among the female population or the desire for independence.

Religion had a powerful impact on the lives of Elizabethan women. Puritan leaders did not intend to alter the social dynamics between men and women. These men believed that women were inferior to men and their objective was to place women exclusively within the private sphere of the home. However women were taught to read in order to tend to the spiritual education of their children. While women's interactions within the public realm were curtailed, literacy was the means by which they gained a form of agency. It paved the way for public self-expression.[38]

The concept of spiritual equality drew many women to the Puritan faith. While the Puritan fathers subscribed to the belief that women were subservient in the physical world, they preached that in heaven men and women would be equal in God's eyes. This was extremely appealing to women who were cur-

36. Ibid., 194-195.

37. Carole Levin, "Advice on Women's Behavior in Three Tudor Homilies," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 6, no. 2 (1983): 176-179.

rently subjected to mass inequality. Also appealing to women was the call by church leaders for increased involvement within the faith. Women were encouraged to participate in the scriptural group discussions since, as tutors of their family, it was important they understood the meanings of scripture.

Education that resulted from religious initiative provided the largest contribution to the women's movement. Men supported women's literacy in the vernacular. As a result, reading became more commonplace for women at all levels. The combined impact of education and open religious participation allowed women to feel comfortable within the public sphere. During Elizabeth's reign female preachers remained relatively rare; however, during the subsequent Jacobean period they became more commonplace. While women's lives remained restrictive during the Elizabethan era, Puritanism gave birth to a feminist trend that manifested itself in later generations.[39]

A new feminine literary style developed during this era with religion as the driver of this approach. While original writings by women were virtually non-existent, female translations of religious works became more widespread. It was the one area where women could interact within the public sphere. The humanists had always considered translation an acceptable pursuit for women. Elizabeth published translated classical literature into the vernacular as had Sir Thomas More's daughter, Margaret Roper. While the humanist tradition dealt with the classics, Puritan translations, and their subsequent expositions, dealt with scripture and religious sermons. Most of these translations were meant for private use; however, some were published and have subsequently survived. These remaining works have contributed to today's understanding of feminine writing during the Elizabethan period.[40]

One of the earliest Puritan women to translate for religious reasons was Anne Lock. She employed a combination of strict translation and poetic license within her work. While many of Lock's works were strict translations, she also took scriptural passages and expanded upon them with her own unique feminine interpretations. Anne Lock's most well known work was her translations of Calvin's sermons on Isaiah 38. Accompanying this work was her own Meditation of a Penitent Sinner, an exposition of Psalm 51. The Protestant leader John Knox encouraged Lock to continue with her religious writing in order to inspire spirituality among the people.[41] However, it should be noted that it was not Lock's intention to become a female poet, but rather a religious translator. Lock was attempting to assist people with their spiritual journey and her works displayed the puritan ethic of salvation through faith alone. [42] Because Lock's goal was to strengthen the Protestant movement and not

38. Akiko Kusonoki, "'Their Testament at their Apron Strings': The Representations of Puritan Women in Early-Seventeenth-Century England," In *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*, ed. S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 201; Warnicke, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 156.
39. Warnicke, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 156-158, 607; Kusonoki, "Representations of Puritan Women," 202-206.
40. Mary Ellen Lamb, "The Cooke Sisters: Attitudes toward Learned Women in the Renaissance." In *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret Patterson Hannay (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1985), 4-9.
41. Roland Greene, "Anne Lock's *Meditation*: Invention Versus Dilation and the Founding of Puritan Poetics." In *Form and Reform in Renaissance England: Essays in Honor of Barbara Kiefer Lewalski*, ed. Amy Boesky and Mary Thomas Crane (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 155-157.

the role of women within the church, she is not an indicator of female consciousness among England's women.

Women did not contribute to the public body of knowledge because scholarly ability was considered unchaste. Since women had internalized the prescriptive norms of society they, in essence, agreed with these values. Women within the religious sphere made small gains because it was acceptable for them to take some initiative with translations and expositions. This was allowed only if it furthered the cause of Puritanism but it did allow women to exert some agency.[43] However, the existing concepts of womanhood remained firmly intact during the Elizabethan era and women did not develop an innovative sense of identity. Therefore, female religious participants and religious writers cannot be considered a feminine success story. Their progeny would take this task on.

Gender Role Deviation

Some historians point to the cross-dressing women of the late Elizabethan era as the first feminist movement within England, as women, "cast off there traditional feminine submissiveness, along with their dresses, in sufficient numbers to provoke a masculine protest".[44] Although modern women might view their cross-dressing counterparts in a feminist light, contemporary men simply believe these women wanted to be men. Modern explanations do not focus on this belief and instead try to discover the motivators for this behavior.

As had been discussed above, the Elizabethan population had to adjust to a feminine monarch who ruled using a dualistic approach. Elizabeth actively incorporated both male and female personas within her public image, and, most likely, this led to some questioning of the old, established gender norms under which the rest of society operated.[45] The percentage of women who actively engaged in this type of behavior was relatively small. The rationalization for this is possibly these women were consciously attempting to assert their own independence from standard conventions, or simply being deviant, in the same manner as women who preferred female sex partners. A logical argument could be constructed on the basis that some women wanted to directly challenge the male patriarchy of the day. After all, Elizabeth had effectively shown that a woman could navigate within a man's world, and could do so with great success. Young women may have looked at her example and attempted to find new ways to emulate this behavior. However, it seems doubtful that Elizabeth would have condoned such behavior, since it was in her best interest to reinforce the patriarchal system to keep order within the kingdom.[46]

What appeared to have been more prevalent were instances of cross-dressing men. The general argument put forth by literary scholars is that due to having a female

42. Susanne Woods, "Anne Lock and Aemilia Lanyer: A Tradition of Protestant Women Speaking," In *Form and Reform in Renaissance England: Essays in Honor of Barbara Kiefer Lewalski*, ed. Amy Boesky and Mary Thomas Crane (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 175.
43. Margaret Patterson Hannay, ed. *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators and Writers of Religious Works* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1985), 2; Lamb, "The Cooke Sisters," 115; Greene, "Anne Lock's *Meditation*," 155.
44. Susan C. Shapiro, "Feminists in Elizabethan England," *History Today* 27, no. 11 (1977): 703.
45. David Cressy, "Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies* 35, no. 4 (Oct., 1996): 438, quoting Jean Howard, "Crossdressing, the Theater, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39 (1988): 418-419.
46. Logan, "*Kings Heart and Virgin Knot*," 80.

monarch, there was substantial tension and confusion imbedded within society regarding sexual identity. These tensions manifested themselves through cross-dressing. However this argument is based on analysis of written material specifically plays of the period, resulting in mostly theater related instances of cross-dressing. Due to this factor, these examples might not accurately reflect the true nature of ordinary occurrences.

However, some historians contend that this phenomenon went beyond the theatrical realm. While some cases of cross-dressing evolved from a theatrical cult, which had young boys and men playing the part of women, the movement itself went beyond the thespian core. These non-theatrical cross-dressers were considered monsters by male society. Contemporaries believed that since these men wanted to be like women, they should occupy the lowest levels of society. Hostility toward male cross-dressers stemmed from the perceived notion that emasculation challenged male identity. Furthermore, this behavior was believed to go against God's order.[47]

Historian David Cressy, contends that because people participated in this type of activity it can be assumed that people were comfortable with Elizabethan sexuality and gender identity. Elizabeth, as Queen, did not upset gender roles.[48] I would tend to disagree with this. Many men and women continued to have ambivalent feelings regarding a female sovereign. Although the people loved Elizabeth, they harbored concerns relating to the risks of female rule. An example of this concern was the apprehension which accompanied any perspective marriage. This concern was demonstrated in the above analysis of The Gaping Gulf. While cross-dressing was not a common occurrence, its manifestation reflected a certain uneasiness that people had, at least on a subconscious level. Elizabeth successfully subverted gender norms but only she was truly allowed to do so. All other attempts were seen as heretical.

47. Cressy, "Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing," 439.
48. Ibid., 464.

Conclusion

I began this paper with the birth of Elizabeth Tudor to illustrate society's negative perceptions regarding females. Ultimately, the status of women remained static during the Elizabethan era. Patriarchal attitudes, which Henry VIII embodied, were firmly entrenched within society. While Elizabeth was a popular monarch, she fought to gain acceptance and credibility with her subjects. Even when she had gained that trust, Elizabeth still encountered these embedded patriarchal beliefs. This was vividly demonstrated in John Stubbs' Gaping Gulf. Elizabeth was, after all, a woman and men had an underlying anxiety because of this fact. While small gains had been made in the venues of education or religious writing, true feminine identification did not manifest itself until later generations.

Why was it that a society that produced a successful feminine monarch could not comprehend that other women were also capable of accomplishment? The answer to this is twofold. The concept of a ruling Queen only worked because Elizabeth was so radically different than her common counterparts. As a result, society believed no other woman could equal her. Furthermore, women themselves internalized these misogynistic attitudes and thus wound up supporting them. They were told their place was in the home and therefore women lived up to this belief. Margaret Roper exceeded male expectations but did not exceed her role as daughter, wife and mother. Anne Lock brought women's writing deeper within the public sphere but did not seek to challenge her feminine role. These women were content to play out the prescribed functions which society dictated to them. Even women who

overtly challenged gender roles, such as the cross-dressers, were unable to unite women behind the larger cause of feminine emancipation. That concept did not yet exist for them. In the end the patriarchal and misogynistic tendencies of early modern England were too strong for women to subvert. Despite Elizabeth's accomplishments, the inferior standing and negative perceptions of women within Elizabethan society remained unchanged.

Author's Biography

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I graduated from CSUF in June 1995 with a B.A. in political science and a minor in history. I then worked in restaurant management and educational management-administration before deciding to resume my studies. I entered the graduate program in history at CUSF in the fall of 2001. My area of emphasis is modern German history and I am hoping to write my thesis on the everyday German experience (Alltagsgeschichte) during the Third Reich. I am currently attending school full-time and substitute teaching for the Walnut Unified district.

From Commodity to Brother: The Popular Movement to Abolish the Slave Trade

By Charles Gray

Edited and Introduced by Michael G. Woods

Few institutions have spurred so much controversy over time to the extent of slavery and the slave trade. Political debate, public upheaval, and even war resulted from the arguments to abolish this human injustice. In this essay Charles Gray examines the impetus for the western worlds first successful abolitionist movement in England from 1788-1792. The author draws on the wide spread movement in terms of economic, pragmatic factors, national pride, and humanitarian feelings to result in its success. To do this Gray examines the thoughts of religious and philosophical as well as art, diagrams, and poetry of the period.

The interpretation of the abolition of the British slave trade often hinges on two points. First, did economic and pragmatic factors drive the abolition of the slave trade as Seymour Drescher claims, or was the Reverend Thomas Clarkson correct in his assertion that non-quantifiable factors such as national pride and humanitarian feelings moved men towards abolition?[1] Foremost in this debate was the role of the public in the battle against the slave trade. Did the debate reflect or influence British popular thought? Was it a true reflection of popular feeling or the manipulation of the public by a small minority?

This paper will focus on the period of 1788-1792, and the public activity taken against the slave trade during that time. It considers physical, printed, and participatory (plays and meetings) forms of propaganda especially with an eye towards what form proved most effective. In addition, it will try to answer the question of how enduring was the movement, with reference to the final abolition of the British slave trade in 1806-7. The paper avoids the question of parliamentary and imperial debate over the trade, except insofar as it can be related to the public debate over the trade.

The Beginnings of the Public Move Against the Slave Trade

The abolitionist movement did not have an auspicious start. Initially, it was primarily a Quaker movement. The Quakers had always been uneasy with slavery, and by 1774, their religion forbade members to own or traffic in slaves, on pain of expulsion from the Quaker Church.[2] A Quaker petition, submitted to Parliament in 1783, did nothing more than garner a mild comment on the petition's humanity. There was neither follow-up on the part of the Quakers, nor a response on the part of the slave trading lobbies.

More importantly, this early period of anti-slavery marshaled nearly every argument that would later be used to such massive effect. Two books published, both authored by Granville Sharpe, were An essay on slavery, proving from Scripture its inconsistency with humanity and religion; in answer to a late publication, entitled, "The African trade for Negro slaves shewn to be consistent with principles of humanity, and with the laws of revealed religion." Also: The law of retribution, or, A serious warning to Great Britain and her colonies, founded on the unquestionable examples of God's temporal vengeance against tyrants, slave-holders, and oppressors. [3]

Another publication indicated that the early abolitionists were able to fund their efforts, with over 11,000 issues of The Case of Our Fellow Creatures, the Oppressed Africans, printed, copied, and distributed to both Parliament and the royal family.[4] Again, there appeared to be little response, and there is no evidence that there was any concerted effort to distribute the latter book beyond Parliament and the royal family. These early abolitionists

1. Seymour Drescher. *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition.* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977). and Thomas Clarkson *History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament.* (London: John W. Parker, 1839).
2. David Brion Davis, *The problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution,* (Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell University Press, 1975) 215
3. In addition to being one of the founding members of the London Abolition Committee, Grenvile Sharp had been active in the abolitionist movement from its beginning. He was the individual who had brought the *Somerset* case (1772), which had led to slavery *in England* being declared unenforceable in absence of specific acts of Parliament to the contrary. After this decision, he was also active in preventing blacks from being returned to the West Indies against their will. Betty Fladeland *Abolitionists and Working-Class Problems in the Age of Industrialization* (Baton Rouge : Louisiana State University Press, 1984) 1-16.
4. Judith Jennings, *The Business of Abolishing the Slave Trade,* . (Frank Cass &Co. Ltd: 1997) . 25-26.

focused their efforts on winning over the sources of imperial power - Parliament and the crown – directly, not influencing them using public pressure.

These achievements were insignificant, and they had no impact on the trade or the British government's position on it. However, their pamphlets set forth the arguments that would remain the core of the abolitionist message. While the later abolitionist offensive would build on them, there was no major break with these arguments. The failure of early abolitionism cannot be attributed to the content of its message. A second fact was that it was impossible to change the status of the slave trade in the British Empire without drastically increasing the reach and volume of the abolitionist message. To force Parliament to take action on the trade would not simply require arguments; it would require that those arguments become part of the British national consciousness. The successors to the early abolitionists set out to do just that.

However, the Quakers would continue to play a vital role in the movement, both through their commitment and their business acumen. The Quakers provided the initial impetus behind antislavery, and continued to support it even as it expanded into the general body of British Society. Without their aid, Clarkson and Wilberforce's efforts would have been in vain. The Quakers were not simply members of a religious sect; they were also the proponents and active innovators of the new economy that was beginning to sweep England.[5] James Phillips, for example, was not only a publisher of abolitionist tracts; he also ran a national and international bookselling business as early as the end of the American Revolution.[6] Thus, Phillips was able to bring the aid of an already established and profitable production and distribution outlet to the abolitionist cause.

Abolitionist William Blake's engraving, c. 1796 illustrates that although the three containments are bound by commerce a unity exists as evidenced by Europe's hand shake. Courtesy of Seymour Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery.*

Joseph Wedgwood was another case of a Quaker who did well by doing good. In his case, he not only helped create the first antislavery medal, but did so as a part of a process of creating other medals and pieces of personal adornment that were made popular among the British public.[7] In this case, the propaganda against the slave trade was also turned into a profitable business, making it a source of revenue and thus a self-sustaining activity.

David Brion Davis makes the statement that "It would be difficult to exaggerate the central role Quakers played in initiating and sustaining the first antislavery movements."[8] Not only were they among the first

5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. 8
7. J. R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery* (Manchester: Manchester University Press.1995), 156-157.
8. Davis, 215.

active abolitionists; Quakers remained active, supporting both the London Abolition Committee and many of the local committees, of which they took a leading role in organizing as well as sustaining.[9]

Quaker efforts to aid in the ending of the slave trade, backed up by the immense wealth of the Quaker entrepreneurs (among them the founders of Lloyd's of London), provided the abolitionist movement with the organization and resources to take a local movement and transform it into a national movement. This is not to take away from the achievements of the non-Quakers (Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Sharp, among others), but the truth is that the core organization and the lion's share of the propaganda efforts were undertaken and managed by the Quaker members of the movement. Without their efforts, abolitionism would have never been able to make the leap to a truly national movement.[10]

The First Moves

By 1784, James Phillips, James Ramsey, William Wilberforce, and Thomas Clarkson had joined the informal group of opponents of the slave trade. One of these men, James Phillips, would prove very important to the later progress of the abolition movement, being one of its primary publishers.[11] The fact that two Anglicans in the group, Clarkson and Wilberforce, would later have such a tremendous impact on the movement highlighted the expansion of the group beyond the Quakers. Clarkson's Cambridge paper on the slave trade, An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African had been honored by the university.[12] Wilberforce, a Member of Parliament, had considered opposing the slave trade from 1785. A third Anglican, Granville Sharp, had also formed a society for the relief of poor blacks, and had been involved in the lawsuit against the owners of the Zong, a slave ship that had thrown ill slaves overboard rather than bring them to shore, where the insurance would no longer have covered them.[13] The coming together of Anglican and dissenter groups gave the movement the impetus that it had lacked in its initial stages, the ability to move from being a simple organization of Quakers, to a truly national movement embracing both establishment and dissenting members. The nucleus of what would become the abolitionist movement could now seriously think of moving beyond its roots, and focusing on the entire mass of English subjects.

The Formation of the London Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade

On 22 May 1787, the 12 founding members of the London Committee met for the first time as an official body. In addition to the three Anglicans, the entire original memberships of the informal Quaker association were present. The Committee resolved to procure information, and distribute publications for the purpose of the abolition of the slave trade, as well as using any funds the Committee might obtain or already possessed to achieve that goal.[14] The membership of the Committee was well suited to that goal. James Phillips owned a print shop, which soon became the

9. Ibid. 221.
10. As with the question of the primacy of the London Committee in the abolitionist movement, some researchers believe that the place of the Quakers has been ignored. Jennings claims that historians such as Seymour Drescher and David Turley have failed to recognize the full contribution of the Quaker sect to the abolitionist movement. Jennings, 43.
11. Phillips not only published material for the British anti-slavery movement, but eventually took a lead in translating material for distribution to foreign nations. Jennings, 46-47.
12. Jennings, 34.
13. Davis, 405-406.
14. Ibid.

core of the Committee's publicity efforts and did not simply print the writings of the Committee members, but purchased the copyrights of other abolitionist writers and printed them as Committee tracts.[15] Clarkson had already proven his dedication towards the ending of the slave trade, and soon became the single "full time" employee of the Committee, traveling to Liverpool and other regions of England to gather information for his report on the trade.[16]

The Decision - The Slave Trade or Slavery

The first question the Committee had to ask was whether it should press for abolition of the trade, or of slavery in general. The decision was made that the trade would be attacked, while the existence of slavery would be respected. In fact, during later periods, the Committee attempted to keep more radical anti-slavery advocates from linking the Committee with a movement for the general abolition of slavery.[17]

The reasons were manifold. First of all, while the Parliament and Royal government of England had the right to restrict and regulate trade both between the colonies and with other governments, it did not possess the right to abolish a form of property. Those involved in the trade could demand that they be compensated for any losses caused by the government.[18] Members of the Committee also thought that abolition of the trade would eventually either effectively destroy slavery, if the owners did not improve the conditions of their slaves, or if they did, have the effect of ending its inhumanity. In addition to being achievable, the ending of the slave trade would also force improvements in treatment of slaves even in areas beyond the direct reach of the abolitionist cause. There appears to have been some dissention among the Committee members themselves on the question. Some considered the idea of leaving slavery intact to be a monstrous decision, while others, most specifically Samuel Hoare, felt that emancipation was both impracticable and unfair to slave owners, and so did not support the general abolition of slavery.[19]

Thus, from the very beginning of the Committee's existence the members set forth as their strategic goal the end of the slave trade, which then allowed them to direct their resources towards the most effective method of abolishing the trade, rather than wasting them on widespread and unachievable goals. This goal reflected the Committee's understanding of the limits of the achievable. For a group of philanthropists, the abolitionists were extremely practical.

The Organization of Abolition

Once both the Committee and its goals were established, the next step was to begin to implement measures to achieve those goals. For the London Committee, the initial methods used were aimed at raising public consciousness about the nature of the trade and counteracting any West Indian or Liverpoolian counterattacks based on the slave trade's alleged benefit to English commerce or merchant activity.

The first step was to create a network to permit distribution of written materials, as well as to insure that locally the impact made by those materials was followed up. All members of the Committee, most notably by James Phillips, supplied lists of correspondents. In the end, this initial list provided over 132 potential correspondents to aid the Committee in its work of publicizing the evils of the trade.[20] These steps permitted the Committee

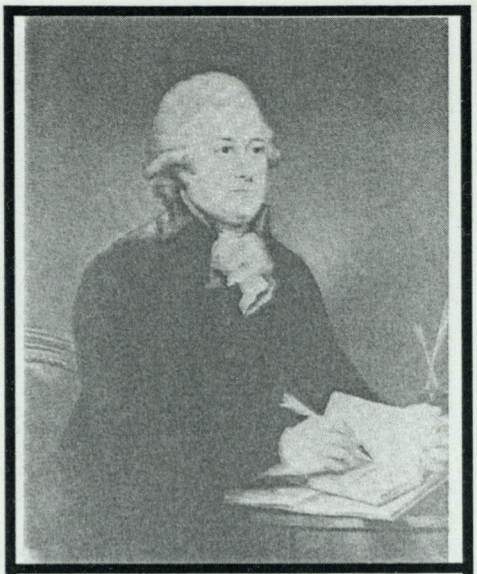
15. Jennings, 53, 56.
16. Jennings, 34
17. Oldfield. 60.
18. As happened when the slave trade was abolished.
19. Jennings, 36.

to influence affairs beyond London, thus taking on a truly national, rather than local, cast. The London Committee, because of this initial list of correspondents, gained access to over thirty towns in England for distribution of abolitionist material and the receipt of contributions and aid.[21]

The subscriber lists not only permitted the Committee to send out material to potential supporters, they permitted the supporters to aid the Committee materially in its actions. A letter circulated in Manchester reporting the resolution of a General Meeting of the Manchester abolition committee gave information on contacting the London Committee and read in part:

> The Society inftituted in London in 1787, for the Purpofe of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, will Thankfully receive any Communication on that subject, addreffed to Granville Sharp, Efq; the Chairman of the Committee, at their office, No. 18 in the Old Jewry, and as Bufinefs has already been attended with a confiderable Expence, and cannot be effected without much more, the Subfcriptions of thofe who are difpofed to contribute towards the Accomplifhment of the above defirable Object, will be received by Samuel Hoare, Junior, Efq; Treafurer to the Society in Lombard-ftreet, London[22].

The amount of contributions flowing into the Committee was significant. The Committee received sufficient monies to register over £400 in subscriptions in November 1787, rising to £1,367 in January 1788.[23] Of this amount, 100 guineas were sent from the committee formed in Manchester, equaled by the contribution of the Birmingham committee.[24]



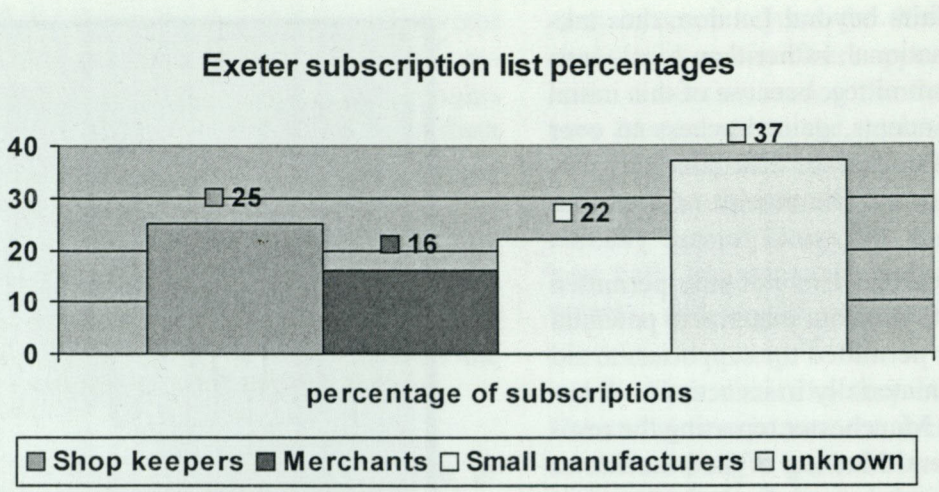
Von Breda's painting depicts a sanctimonious Thomas Clarkson at his desk with quill in hand. Courtesy of Terence Brady and Evan Jones, *The Fight Against Slavery.*

Although the London Committee at times desired to avoid an appearance of being the dominant force behind the organization of abolition, the truth was that the Committee did have a major influence on all the local committees, at least in strategic planning. Clarkson in his correspondence referred to this when writing of the actions of the committee at Bridgewater:

> ...and it was agreed, that, if it should be thought a proper measure (of which I would inform them when I had consulted the committee,), a second petition should be sent to Parliament from the inhabitants, praying for the abolition of the Slave-trade.[25]

While some historians discount the role of the London Committee in the direction of abolition activities, it is apparent that, while

20. Oldfield 43
21. Oldfield, Ibid.
22. Notes of a meeting by the Manchester abolitionist Committee held at Exchange Tavern, December 29th, 1787.
23. Jennings. 40.
24. Ibid.
25. Clarkson, 194.



the London Committee may not have micro-managed every aspect of abolitionist political activity, the various committees looked towards London for guidance.[26]

Equally importantly, this was a two way street - the London Committee provided access to Parliament (through Wilberforce), while the local committees kept up local interest and activity, provided outlets for distribution of abolitionist literature, and also served as conduits providing money to the London Committee that permitted it to continue its distribution of literature and maintaining connections with local committees. Without each other, they could have never had the impact they did. It was the London Committee and its members that directed the general course of the abolitionist movement, but without local committees, the Committee would never have been able to accumulate the resources, both in popular support and money, to continue the fight and have the impact on Parliament that it eventually did.

The membership of the local committees was also telling. Among them was a heavy percentage of the new rising classes of artisans and "middling class," that was becoming a factor in British politics of the time. The Exeter subscription list of 1788, with over 250 names, included over 25 percent from the shop keeping classes, 16 percent merchants and 22 percent from small manufacturers.[27]

Thus, despite the accusations of the pro-trade lobby, the local committees appear to have taken much of their strength from the professional and middle classes, which provided both monetary and intellectual support to the actions of the Committee back in London.

The Structure of the Propaganda

The abolition movement used a variety of forms of anti-slave trade propaganda. These were, respectively, factual reports, opinion pieces, and fiction. In addition, the creation of physical symbols against the slave trade showcasing its inhumanity were used by the abolitionists both as anti-slavery propaganda and an easy way for sympathizers to show their alliance with the cause of abolition.

Factual Reports

Factual reports were attempts to marshal facts against the continuation of the slave trade. Ranging from scriptural researches

26. A conflict in the field of Abolition history is the place of the Manchester Committee. The question is whether or not the Manchester Committee actually sparked large scale petitioning, or simply followed the lead of the London Committee is still ongoing, although most evidence seems to suggest the latter situation.

27. Oldfield, 130. The Exeter subscription list was taken from *Sherebourne Mercury*, November 24th, 1788.

demonstrating the immoral nature of the slave trade to works chronicling the dangers the slave trade posed to the British seaman, they claimed that any examination of the slave trade would demonstrate its inhumanity and danger to England's morality, economy, and position in the world. A subset tried to prove that the slave trade was also inefficient; claiming that trade with a free Africa would provide far more monetary gain than the slave trade.

Of the numerous anti-slavery publications, three stand out. Clarkson's Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade, James Ramsey's Objections to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, With Answers, and William Roscoe's A Scriptural Refutation, were aimed at the justifications for the trade found in such publications as the pro-trade pamphlet by Rev. Raymond Harris, who was attempting to justify slavery on religious grounds. The first, as one of the earliest anti-slavery publications by a member of the London Committee, and the one that originally brought Clarkson to the attention of other abolitionists, is an example of the initial position of the abolitionist cause. It was an attempt to answer the slave-trade arguments on the level of pure pragmatism. Not only was the slave trade offensive morally, it was also a form of trade that degraded British seamen and officers, led to the wholesale death of those selfsame seamen, and ignored the possibilities of a more balanced trade with Africa.[28]

Clarkson even extended his attention to the West Indies. He calculated that Jamaica alone possessed 2,350,000 acres of cultivatable land. Clarkson claimed that the natural increase of resident slaves and Creoles would eventually bring all the land under cultivation to the great monetary benefit of the British Empire, once the slave trade was abolished.[29] To demonstrate the damage the slave trade did to British sailors, Clarkson claimed that the slave trade cost more lives in one year than every other British industry did in two, following up with a listing of the loss of seamen from all slave ships that returned to Liverpool in September 1787. The total was a stunning 631 sailors out of 3082 sailors employed.[30] Thus, Clarkson's essay was an attempt to take the business sense of the slave traders and turn it against them. - The decision to abolish the slave trade and replace it with a more profitable commerce was a simple matter of economic common sense. The second abolitionist

Sir Thomas Lawrence's etching of William Wilberforce, a man known for his laborious labor in the name of the abolition's efforts. Courtesy of Terence Brady and Evan Jones, *The Fight Against Slavery.*

28. Thomas Clarkson, *An Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade* (London: John Phillips, 1788) Reprinted by (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971). Preface: III, IV.

29. Ibid. 109-111.

30. Ibid. 51-53.

publication, Ramsey's Objections to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, with Answers, directly attacked the slave trade lobby. Ramsey set it up as a question and answer session, providing questions (most often the anti-abolitionist arguments of the pro-trade lobby), and then demolishing them with his answers. This work, while still attacking the slave trade on its impolicy, also starts to take the more absolutist view- the slave trade should be abolished not simply because it is impolitic, but because it is wrong. Two sections in particular make this plain:

> Object 17: Negroes are an inferior race of beings.
>
> Anfw. 17: This is boldly affirmed by Mr. Eftwick; but every man of candour acquainted with them will deny it. But fuppofe it, will thofe who plead for laws in favour of horfes, maintain that Negroes are to be trepanned, murdered by thoufands, and enflaved for the indulgence of our avarice?[31]
>
> Object 91. The trade should be regulated, not abolifhsed.
>
> Anfw. 91. Regulate murder as you pleafe, it ftill remains murder.[32]

In other words, Objections, while still including some objections based on practical issues, started to move towards the idea of the slave trade as a positive evil that could not be excused by economic profit or national self interest.

This form of argument, seeking to delegitimize slavery on moral issues, was one that the anti-abolitionist forces were ill prepared to meet. Quite simply, the Liverpool slaving interests and their allies in the West Indies saw slavery as a matter of economic activity and property rights. The question of right or wrong did not apply, and many of their arguments demonstrate this. The question of whether or not the slave trade was beneficial or harmful to British commerce, sea power or colonial interests were pragmatic questions. On that basis, the danger of abolishing the slave trade quite outweighed the benefits. This argument did carry weight in both the Commons and the Lords, especially after the beginning of the Anglo-French war and the breakdown of order in St. Domingo.

Nevertheless, in the eyes of the local abolitionist committees and their supporters, the moral dimension was the entire question. Albeit from a later time, the comment on the question of the early end to apprenticeship in the West Indies was a telling statement on the strength of abolition at all times. The writer pointed out that in an atmosphere of apathy towards issues that would have a direct impact on the British public, the question of apprenticeship dominated the political conversations of the day.[33] The final selected essay moves towards a completely moralistic point of view, as it attacks the Reverend Raymond Harris's work, Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade. The essay, by William Roscoe, was entitled A Scriptural Refutation of Harris's tract.[34] Meeting Harris head on, Roscoe agreed with his statement that the Isrealites had been granted the dispensation of holding slaves, and then proceeded to demol-

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31. James Ramsey, *Objections to the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, with Answers.* (London: John Phillips, 1788) Reprinted by (Florida: Mnemosyune Publishing Co., Inc, 1969). 36

32. Ibid. 79.

33. Davis. 346. Quote taken from "Sources of English Zeal for the Blacks," *The Spectator,* No. 509. (March 31, 1838) 301. (cite taken from Davis. I do not have a copy of the relevant article). The question of apprenticeship rose from the arrangement pressed by the West Indies planters, where slavery would not be immediately ended, rather there would be a period of "apprenticeship" supposedly to prepare the slaves for their freedom. Anti-slavery societies pressed for an early end to this system, in favor of a full emancipation.

34. I have a copy in my possession, from Microfilm, but unfortunately, have yet to be able to obtain publication information.

ish that fact's relevance to modern slavery and slave trading, by pointing out that that dispensation had been for the Israelite people only, and did not apply to the British.[35] Furthermore, he made the claim that, according to Protestant doctrine, the coming of Christ had annulled any portions of the old Mosaic Law that contradicted the more benevolent portions of the New Testament. Thus, Harris's researches in the Old Testament were irrelevant - those parts of the law no longer applied.[36] Roscoe's conclusion is harsh, but in line with his earlier reasoning. If the Bible does approve of slavery and the slave trade in the present day, then every other practice of the Old Testament is, including stoning and other barbaric punishments is also lawful. More importantly, Judaic law and the pronouncements of God regulated slavery among the Jews. To permit it to exist without such restrictions would, in Roscoe's view, only lead to the end of any form of moral law:

> Thus when this univerfal permiffion or licitnefs of flavery, contended for by the author of the pamphlet, terminates in a vindication of universal oppreffion,-- in an affertaion of the right of the ftronger, at all times to injure and opprefs the weaker. In fhort, in a general annihilation of all thofe reftraints, which law, reafon, religion, and common senfe, have hitherto impofed upon mankind.[37]

This was another case where the abolitionists attempted to move the debate from a question of legalism to the higher - and more favorable to their cause - plane of moral feelings. In this case, the victory was perhaps only won through such actions. The stark truth of the matter was that the Biblical stance on slavery, be it Old or New Testament, could be regarded as neutral at best, and favorable to slavery at worst. Nowhere in the Bible was slavery prohibited, nor was the slave trade prohibited. However, it did not matter - the abolitionists easily countered the use of the Bible to justify the trade in human beings, not so much by logical arguments as by appeals to the moral sensibilities of the British public.

More importantly, the abolitionists were able to bring up the point that the Bible also condoned stoning, among other barbaric acts. This threw the ball back into the court of the slave trading interests, and was a difficult challenge for them to answer. If all of the Old Testament was still operative, then not just slavery but a host of ancient customs could be justified and if those customs were no longer in force, than the awkward question arose of why slavery and the slave trade stood alone as survivors into the modern era.

For that reason, attempting to enlist the Bible in their cause became a futile move on the part of slave traders. The numbers of tracts printing sermons and researches claiming to demonstrate the illegality of the slave trade under Biblical law and Christian custom far outnumbered Rev. Harris' single work, and the slave trading interests largely preferred to phrase their arguments along pragmatic, not moral lines.

Physical items

The final category of abolitionist works was physical items, such as paintings, medals, and jewelry. As with fictional stories, the objective was not to convince through argument but to create a symbol that would appeal to the emotions of the population. Unlike fictional stories, physical items often had the strength of fact behind them. The two main examples of this form of propaganda were Wedgewood's medallion and the diagram of the slave quarters on a ship engaged in the slave trade.

35. Roscoe, 48-49.
36. Ibid. 59.
37. Ibid. 84-85.

Josiah Wedgwood created the first at the request of the London Committee. The medal showed a kneeling African, hands chained, surrounded by the legend "Am I Not a Man and A Brother?"[38] The item was a very effective piece of propaganda. It presented the African as a supplicating victim of British actions. In addition to arousing sympathy, it also was not a threatening item. The African was not demanding - he was begging England for succor. According to Jennings, Wedgwood then did well by doing good, and offered the medal for sale in a variety of settings, after which it became popular, being used not only as personal jewelry, but as components in lids and covers.[39] At least one anti-slavery pamphlet by James Dore, used the design on its title page.[40]

The second item was a plan of a slave ship's slave quarters, produced from an actual slave ship, the Brooks. The larger movement under the direction of the London Committee appropriated this plan, originally made by the Plymouth committee. The packed conditions of the slaves made for a savage visual argument, and was widely reproduced and shown.[41] Clarkson remarked that the plan was one of the few decorative paintings he had seen in Quaker homes.[42]

These items had the power of visual media - they presented an argument that was nearly unanswerable by purely logical methods. The plan of a ship where slaves were jammed in so tightly as to be unable to move was an argument that no amount of discussion of the financial needs or rights of the Liverpool traders could answer. The kneeling slave, hands raised in supplication, demanded action that only abolition, not regulation, of the slave trade could appease. In the arena of material propaganda, far more than any other setting, the abolitionists dominated the debate from the first. In fact, there had been, no equivalent on the part of the pro-trade lobby.[43]

The Pro-slavery Response

The pro-slave trade response came from two directions. The first group was the Liverpool slave traders. By 1788 the dominant force in the slave trade, Liverpool could be economically devastated by any reduction in the trade. The second group was the West Indian planters, and their representatives. Like Liverpool, any threat to the slave trade posed a threat to their well being, as the British West Indies had been unable to maintain a positive index of growth in the slave population. This kept them dependent on a continued influx of healthy slaves from Africa.[44]

There was no ideological backing to their position, and they seldom attempted to appropriate one over the course of the political conflict. The Rev. Harris' attempt to defend the slave trade on scriptural grounds was one of the only attempts of this nature, standing out more due to its rarity than for any major impact on the debate.[45] In addition, there was no attempt to organize a grass roots organization in the way that the abolitionists did. In fact, such an organization was suspect to the

38. Jennings, 39.
39. Jennings, 39-40. See also Oldfield, 156-159.
40. The design is reprinted here. It was from the title page of *A Sermon on the African Slave Trade, preached at Maze-pond, Southwark*, by James Dore. (London: James Phillips, 1788), title page.
41. Original appearance by the Plymouth Committee. Note also the juxtaposition of Wedgwood medal. Oldfield, 165. See also included illustration.
42. Oldfield 166.
43. It should, however, be noted that their own political and social feelings would militate against such an appeal to popular pressure. However, had such an avenue appeared potentially fruitful, it might be expected that there would have been some movement on this front.
44. Porter, 10.
45. That is to say, I have been able to find no such material, either in the primary sources or the secondary sources.

enemies of abolition. They wished to maintain the tradition, which was that only those directly affected should petition Parliament. The mass petitioning carried on by the abolitionists deeply distrusted by them - and they brought this up both in Parliament and in their own propaganda.[46] This had its advantages, especially in the period between 1792 and 1805, during which time the abolition movement was in near total eclipse - in large part due to the unwise association many abolitionists had maintained with French correspondents.

In the end, the anti-abolitionists depended more on external events for their success than their own efforts. Although the Liverpool slave traders and West Indies lobby were able to turn the growing tensions between England and France, as well as the revolt on St. Domingo, to their own purposes, they were never able to create the same public pressure in favor of the slave trade that the abolitionists were able to produce against it. This in part was due to the anti-abolitionists' own basic motivations, of course. The slave traders were businesspersons, and did not wish to become involved in any attempt to transform British consciousness. They were defending their lawful means of making money, and felt that they had no need to attempt to stake out a defense on political grounds. Rather, they cast their defense in negative terms, claiming that an abolition of the slave trade would destroy the British economy, end its domination of ocean trade, or lead to chaos and insurrection in the British colonial possessions.

Equally important, absent any direct challenge by abolitionists, anti-abolitionists took little action themselves. When the abolitionist movement was in its deepest eclipse, 1792-1804, the slave trading interests did not attempt to build on the misfortune of their opponents - in fact, they also went into virtual hibernation.[47] The slave traders and West Indian planters only responded when they perceived a direct threat to their business.

The nature of their response also demonstrated this. The West Indies and Liverpool lobbies never (perhaps wisely) tried their hand at poetry or plays - their anti-abolitionist works were all billed as common sense rebuttals to a group that was intruding into affairs that were none of its concern, and stirring up the people of England with half truths and outright lies.[48]

The anti-abolitionist did have an advantage from the position of being able to enlist far more authors with actual experience in the trade, and within Africa and the colonies, than the abolitionists were able to enlist. However, in the court of public opinion, that advantage was more illusory than real. Their very involvement in the trade rendered their defense suspect in the eyes of many citizens, and provided easy targets for abolitionist attacks.

The general thrust of pro-slave trade defenses focused on three issues: the danger to British trade, the danger to the colonies from a change in the trade, and the lawfulness of the trade. In addition, the anti-abolitionists attempted to use the danger of foreign competition as a weapon against abolition. According to Gilbert Francklyn, a slave trader and pamphlet writer, the ending of the British trade would simply lead to French and American ships taking up the slack. The slaves would be no better off, while England would suffer as other nations continued the importation of slaves.[49]

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46. For example, anti-abolitionists attempted to claim that petitions had been signed by children or other illegitimate members of society. Drescher, 81-82.

47. Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean*, 1763-1833, (New York: Octagon Books, Inc. 1963). 271

48. Again, this is as far as I have been able to ascertain.

49. Gilbert Francklyn *An Answer to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson's Essay, &.* First printing 1788. Reprinted Edition by (Mnemosyne Publishing Co. Miami: Florida. 1969). 242.

This matter of trade was very important to Francklyn, and in another pamphlet, he attempted to quantify it. His calculations, taking into account the value of the slaves, the land, and the commerce created by West Indian produce, but not taking into account the value of the ships of the slave fleet, nor the trade of those ships, led to a value in the amount of seventy million pounds.[50] If such a sum were correct and if, as Francklyn claimed, such a loss were accompanied by the collapse of the colonial economy, which would follow abolition, this would be a tremendous blow to the British economy.[51]

This led to the other defense of the anti-abolitionists: that the British government could not end the slave trade because doing so would end the trade on which the colonies were dependent, and that such an act would constitute a betrayal of the colonists. They had settled and established their businesses in good faith. For England to then ban the trade was not only unfair; it was an action that betrayed that faith.[52] Thus, the attack on the slave trade was nothing less than an attack on property.

In addition, the abolition of the slave trade would harm the British trading fleet. The pro-trade lobby claimed that the trade was the nursery of the British seaman, while the enemies of the trade characterized it as the graveyard of the British seaman.[53] To the pro-trade lobby, the destruction of the slave trade would lead to the end of the British trading fleet, since no other market would be able to absorb the ships and men used in the slave trade. Finally, while only a few defenders of the trade focused primarily on the religious sanction of slavery, nearly every pamphlet published at least mentioned its lawful nature. That the trade was legal in England and the Colonies for centuries was undeniable. The pro-trade lobby also stated that the slave trade was legal according to African customs.[54] In some cases, the statement was actually made that the slaves were enslaved as an alternative to death - either due to capture in war or accusations of witchcraft - and in both cases, their transport to the West Indies was a positive mercy.[55]

The simple fact that anti-abolitionist arguments all boiled down to a purely self-interested, economic defense of slavery and the slave trade handicapped those defenses of the trade. While such arguments were powerful in Parliament, they made little headway against the vast majority of British citizens. The claim that the process of branding was neither overly painful nor unnecessary, or that only "one out of twenty" slaves chose to starve themselves to death or commit suicide rather than endure the passage, missed the point. Gilbert Francklyn's claim that West Indies slaves were materially as well or better off than British farmers also missed the point.[56] The abolitionists were launching their attack on an entirely different plane, and in many respects, the defenses of the pro-trade lobby, however

50. Gilbert Francklyn: *Some Observations, occasioned by the attempts made in England to affect the abolition of the slave trade;* (Kingston: Jamaica, also A. Smith's Navigation Shop, Liverpool: England, 1788), 75.
51. Ibid, 76.
52. As noted in the Declaration of the Planters, Merchants, and others, Interested in the West Indies. The meeting was held May 19th, 1789, and the declaration printed in the *London Times*, May 21st, 1789.
53. James Ramsay. *Objections to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, with Answers*. (Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing Co. Inc. reprinted 1969), 60. (The reprinted edition does not include the original title page, obliterating all original publishing information.)
54. In fact, every pro-trade primary source I have found has at least touched on the lawfulness of the trade.
55. Francklyn *Answer to Clarkson's Essay*, 154-5. Even more impressively, Francklyn credited the slave trade with sparing the African's from death, as the value of slaves made it foolish to kill prisoners out of hand.
56. Ibid, 39-40.

truthful or pragmatic, simply played into their hands.

The Signs of Success - the First Petition Drive, 1787-1789.

From 1787 to 1789, during the first drive on Parliament to abolish the trade, the abolitionist attempt to increase popular agitation against the slave trade succeeded dramatically . By using the subscription lists and local committees, they were able to encourage local counties to contribute their own abolitionist petitions, sending them to Parliament as a sign of the national feelings on the slave trade. The local committees, both in terms of sending in their own petitions, and encouraging other groups to send in their own petitions handled this first drive on Parliament. The Manchester abolition committee sent out a circular letter that read, in part:

> It is the opinion not only of the Mancefter Subscribers, but of the London Committee, who ftsand firft in this Caufe, that Applications to Parliament, from different parts of the Kingdom, reprefenting the Nature of the Grievance, and praying Redrefs, will prove moft effectual in tending to remove the Caufes of Offence. . . .
>
> We are also defirous that the Petitions to Parliament fhould be accompanied with Infstructions to the Members, individually; and in this Particular, likewife, we requeft the Affiftance of your County.[57]

Most details were left to the local committees, while the London Committee provided overall coordination, requesting that petitions be held until the question of the slave trade was actually before Parliament.

In terms of success, the first petition campaign produced over 80 petitions directed at Parliament. In addition, the total number of abolitionist petitions comprised 58 percent of all petitions received by Parliament between 1785 and 1789.[58] Not only did these petitions attack the institution of the slave trade on moral grounds: in some cases, they directly answered the threats by slave traders that abolition would harm England's economic order. A 1788 petition from Birmingham had the following to say about the economic interests of England:

> That, as inhabitants of a manufacturing town and neighborhood, your Petitioners have the commercial interests of this kingdom very deeply at heart, but cannot conceal their detestation of any commerce which always originates in violence and too often terminates in cruelty.[59]

While the first petition drive did not result in any concrete achievement towards the abolition of the slave trade, it demonstrated the strength of the abolitionist movement. Could the effort be maintained and expanded or had it been a fluke occurrence? In 1791, the abolitionists set out to do just that.

The first abolition drive did not succeed in committing Parliament to even a gradual abolition of the slave trade. The main achievement, and one that many abolitionists felt was a positive failure, was the passage of Sir William Dolben's bill in 1788 for the regulation of the slave trade, establishing certain minimum standards for the transport of slaves. The bill's provisions limited the maximum number of slaves transported on a ship based on the tonnage of the ship, and the requirement that slave quarters are of a certain size. However, the abolitionists did not want regulation

57. Circular letter from the Manchester Committee, by Thomas Walker, January 1st, 1788.

58. Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery,* 59

59. *Birmingham Aries Gazzette* Feb 11, 1788.

of the trade; they wanted total abolition of it. The 1788 petition drive had shown their ability to drum up support, but obviously, it would be necessary to repeat the feat, and expand on it, if possible, in order to bring about the goal of abolition.

The Second Petition Campaign: 1791-1792,

The second petition drive, launched in the aftermath of the failure to pass any law other than Dolben's bill to ameliorate, not abolish, the slave trade, was both more centrally directed and more narrowly cast than the first petition drive. The London Committee carefully worked to insure that this petition drive targeted only the slave trade. In numerical terms, it was an unqualified success. Abolitionist presented over 500 petitions to Parliament on the subject of the slave trade, while the anti-abolitionists were unable to marshal any support outside of their traditional regions of support - primarily Liverpool. Even cities such as Birmingham, which possessed industries that were dependent to one degree or another on the trade, presented petitions against the slave trade. In Birmingham's case, some of the petitions explicitly set aside the economic dangers that might arise from an abolition of the slave trade.[60]

The makeup of the petitions was also impressive. While most traditional petitions came from individuals or organizations directly concerned with the matter, a second wave of petitions exceeded even the first in the number of "concerned citizens" that were involved in it. The London Committee exerted more control over the 1791 drive than they had over earlier drives. Instead of leaving the type of petition completely to the local committees, the London Committee sent out an example of the type of petition they desired to send to Parliament. The petitions would be restricted to urging the abolition of the slave trade, making no reference to either the West Indies or the emancipation of the slaves - although some groups failed to conform to these rules. In this way, the petition campaign would focus on a single, very specific goal. It had the advantage that, at least in the Commons, failure by members to adhere to that goal could potentially have serious consequences for the next election. Especially important was to avoid any hint that the abolitionists' ultimate goal was the emancipation of slaves. Some petitions and claims to that effect had been made, leading to concern among the abolitionist leaders that they would be used against them. Claims that the abolitionists were actually seeking emancipation would turn many of the moderate members of Parliament against them.[61]

The timing and extent of the petition drive would be designed for the greatest impact on Parliament. In order to give the impression that the bill of the 1792 session was in response to the petition drive, and not the other way around, it was eventually decided that the petitions would be presented before debate on the bill.[62] Whereas the first petition campaign was largely restricted to the north of England, this campaign was to extend into Scotland and the rest of England, and agents were sent into these areas with the purpose of insuring their participation.[63] The response was a tremendous credit to the work of the London Committee and to the groundwork accomplished by its propaganda campaign. A total of 519 petitions against the slave trade were entered into the Common's journal for 1792.[64] The abolitionist petition drive of 1791-1792 had far outstripped any other petition drive to date.[65]

60. *Birmingham Aries Gazatte.* Feb 11, 1788.

61. Wilberforce felt the need to defend against this accusation during the 1792 Parliamentary debates. Davis, *Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 409-410.

62. Oldfield. *Popular Politics,* 59.

63. Drescher. *Capitalism and Antislavery,* 80.

64. *Commons Journal*, vol 47, 1116-1118.

The breakdown of the total is even more informative. The total number of abolitionist petitions returned, as recorded in the 47th volume of the Commons Journal, was 363. Those petitions originating from the "inhabitants" of a place, rather than from any specific group, were fully 53% of the total. The next largest group, those petitions including inhabitants with some other group, was 19% of the total.[66]

This showed that the abolitionist drive was overwhelmingly citizen-driven as opposed to those from corporations and privileged classes. Breakdowns of the individual petitions show that while pure inhabitant petitions were in the majority, "mixed" petitions, in which inhabitants shared the title with other groups, were also heavily represented. Combining pure inhabitant and the two categories of mixed petitions, we arrive at 83 percent of the total number of examined petitions coming from non-traditional sources. Traditional petitions, coming from interested parties, were very much in the minority. Religious petitions, while somewhat fewer than the inhabitant petitions, were numerous enough to indicate a great deal of support for abolition among both established and, unsurprisingly, dissenter congregations.[67]

All this indicates two trends. The first was, as Oldfield states, an attempt to avoid charges of radicalism, by including more traditional groups in their petitions.[68] Thus, the petition from the "Mayor, Clergy and Inhabitants of Tiverton;" can be seen as an attempt to grant the inhabitant petition legitimacy by combining it with the more traditional petitioning groups of the town.[69] Interestingly, due to internal debates on the petitions against the trade, the corporation of Tiverton declined to join the petition.[70] Second, the large number of mixed petitions confirms that abolitionism was now solidly within the realm of social respectability, unlike the more radical movements of the later 1790s. In some cases, corporate authorities and inhabitants generated separate petitions, in order to increase the number of petitions in the abolitionist drive.[71]

In comparison to other petitions, the greatly increased numbers of "non-privileged" petitions, or those not originating from nobility, corporations, or freedmen, demonstrate the greatly increased reach of the abolitionist movement. From the 1784 petition involving the dismissal of the Fox-North ministry, the percentage of restricted petitions was 57 percent. The congratulatory petitions on King George III's recovery in 1789 were 72 percent restricted. On the other hand, the 1788 slave trade petition drive had only 30 percent of its petitions coming from identifiably restricted groups, and the 1792 drive reduced that to 15 percent.[72]

The Sugar Boycott

Despite the public success of petitioning, at the Parliamentary level, the abolitionists remained deadlocked by pro-slave trade forces. During 1792, abolitionists considered the use of economic pressure, specifically a boycott on slave-grown produce, to produce their desired objectives. This move towards economic action was one that raised a considerable amount of concern among many advocates of abolition. After their attempts to insure that the petitioning process could not be accused of pandering to the mob, many feared that they were about to do just that. Organized action of such a direct nature was rather too

65.Drescher. *Capitalism and Antislavery*, 59

66.See chart.

67..Lists taken from *Commons Journal*, vol 47, 1116-1118.

68.Oldfield *Popular Politics*, 112-113.

69.Commons Journals, Vol 47, 1117, Oldfield, *Popular Politics* , 108.

70.Oldfield. *Popular Politics*, 108.

71. Drescher. *Capitalism and Antislavery*, 80.

72. Ibid, 74.

close to the public agitation going on in France for many abolitionists to embrace it. In fact, the Abolition Committee, after first deciding to encourage the boycott, reversed itself and moved to distance itself from it. Wilberforce explicitly feared that the boycott might be taken over by "turbulent elements."[73]

However, even without the direct support of the Committee, the move to avoid consuming slave- grown sugar quickly grew and became popular, both for abolitionists and, in at least one case, satirists. A rumor that the Royal family had also given up slave-produced sugar led to the amusing cartoon, "John Bull leaving off sugar," showing the Royal family's attempts to use sugar substitutes in their tea, with varying degrees of success.[74] Another cartoon in the same vein entitled "The Gradual Abolition of the Slave Trade, or Leaving of Sugar by Degrees" highlighted the "pain" suffered by those who tried to abandon sugar to destroy the slave trade, again using the Royal family as its subjects[75].

Like all abolitionist activities, a barrage of public notices, newspaper advertisements, and pamphlets accompanied the onset of the boycott from various sources. Reaching at least 100,000 readers, they aroused support for the boycott.[76] Extolling the benefits of abstaining from slave-grown sugar they emphasized that the slave trade existed only to support the sugar plantations, which in turn were supported by English consumers. Continuing to purchase slave-grown sugar, whatever the stated attitude of the purchaser might be toward slavery, marked him or her as a supporter of the slave trade. The pamphlets thundered in anger at any who would, for the mere sake of their palates, continue to support the slave trade through their pounds and schillings. In one speech, later reprinted for general circulation, the consumer of slave-grown sugar was described as the "Master Spring "of the entire economic structure of the West Indies.[77] Worse, the author charged that the consumer was both the cause and perpetuator of slavery and the slave trade.[78] Thomas Cooper made the point in uncompromising terms:

> Every person who habitually consumes one article of West Indies produce, raised by Slaves, is guilty of the crime of murder - every one who does it, when convinced that what has been said is true, is deliberately guilty, and rendered more criminal by it being preceded by every species of cruelty and torture, which inventive barbarity can devise.[79]

The point was clear: failure to make the minor sacrifice of abstaining from slave-grown sugar would put the lie to any abolitionist sympathies that the consumer might claim to have. On the other hand, switching to East Indies produce, or abstaining completely, allowed the individual both to make a political point, as the petition campaigns had done, and strike a personal and direct blow against the entire slave system. Those who were not allowed to sign petitions, such as children or women, but who wished to strike a blow against the slave trade, could join the boycott campaign. Wives could frequently enlist the entire family in the cause against the slave trade.[80]

In addition to moral and logical persuasion, the various authors were not above describing, in lurid detail, the actual dangers of partaking of slave-grown sugar. One writer

73. Davis, *Slavery in the Age of Revolution,*, 436.
74. Oldfield, 177.
75. Ibid. 178.
76. Davis. *Slavery In the Age of Revolution* 435.
77. Ragatz. *Fall,* 260.
78. Lowell Ragatz. *The Fall of the Planter Class in The British Caribbean, 1763-1833; a study in social and economic history* (New York, London, The Century Co., 1928). 260.
79. Thomas Cooper, *Considerations on the Slave trade,; and the Consumption of West Indian Produce*, 14. Quoted in Ragatz, *Fall* , 261.
80. Oldfield. *Popular Politics* , 140-141

listed the methods of making sugar from cane in the West Indies. Referring to the state of undress of the slaves who were employed in crushing the cane, the writer pointedly remarked on the unwholesome nature of the final product. Other commentators went even further. Speaking of the methods used to "smooth" rum, William Fox made the following claims:

> The whole body of a roasted Negro, stretched out, and fastened down in the bilge of the Cask, opposite the bung hole. . . .Now far be it from me, to insinuate from hence, that any such methods are used to meliorate West Indies Rum; I will only take upon me[sic] to affirm, as a certain fact, that the Carcass of a Dog, Cat, Sheep, Goat, Man or Woman, thoroughly burnt, and put in the bottom of a large vessel, full of Spirits of any kind, will greatly tend to meliorate and soften them. But whether there exist such indelicate wretches, who from avaricious motives, are capable of doing this, I leave to my Readers to determine and to ruminate on what they have read.[81]

Of course, the pamphlets were exaggerated at best and mendacious at worst. The fact that there is no evidence of any attempt to bring such allegations before Parliament makes it very unlikely that any of them were true. None were ever verified, an odd state of affairs given Fox's implication that every cask of rum shipped to England had some form of dead body in it. However, truth aside, the pamphlets had the power, like so many other abolitionist pamphlets, to outrage the public, and the impact of the campaign was impressive. Wilberforce claimed that over 300,000 citizens of England had decided to abstain from the consumption of West Indies sugar. In London alone, at least 25,000 persons were said to have joined the campaign, and that even the King and Queen had foregone the use of sugar.[82] In Leicester, it was claimed that nearly the entire town had joined the boycott, while Clarkson estimated that anywhere from 200 to 500 individuals in all the larger towns had joined.[83]

Taking advantage of the current feeling in England against slave-grown sugar, the East Indies sugar interests launched an assault on their West Indies counterparts, pointing out that their sugar was grown by free labor and neither employed slaves nor contributed to the slave trade. They proclaimed that by buying East Indies sugar the consumer could strike a blow against the slave trade while enjoying sugar and products containing it. While the sincerity of the East Indies' anti-slavery can be doubted, they nonetheless added weight to the abolitionist campaign. For the East Indies, the sugar boycott was a windfall. From 4047 cwt (hundredweight) of sugar in 1791, the demand for East Indies sugar soared to 43,205 cwt in 1793, an increase of 968%. According to Ragatz, this increase was largely due to the sugar boycott.[84]

For all of this, the material effects of the sugar boycott were far less than its symbolic effects. This was due to several factors, the first and most important being related to the chaos stemming from the slave revolt in St. Domingo. The loss of St. Domingo's crops had led to massive shortages of sugar in Europe, and the British West Indies were more than happy to take up the slack.[85] This alternate, European market of course rendered the abolitionists' objective - undercutting the West Indies economy - difficult at best. Although the number of English citizens supporting the boycott was impressive, the actual impact on

81.Ragatz. *Fall* 263. Excerpt from William Fox: *A Second Address to the People of Great Britain: Containing a New and Most Powerful Argument to Abstain from the Use of West India Sugar.* (Rochester: 1792.)

82.Oldfield. *Popular Politics* 140

83.Ibid.

84.Ragatz. 264.

85.Oldfield, 140.

British sugar consumption was somewhat less so. Drescher makes the point that British sugar imports increased from 1,580 cwt in 1781-1785, to 2,021 cwt in 1791-1795. Even with the higher re-export ratio of 24.5%, as opposed to 10.0%, the amount of sugar retained was still an increase of 103 cwt over the previous period.[86]

Drescher and Ragatz agree that during the period 1791-1792, which saw the beginning and initial growth of the boycott campaign in England, the tremendous demand for sugar in Europe increased the profitability of the West Indies sugar crop. This growth in demand for sugar led to a greater demand for new slaves for West Indies plantations. At a time when the abolitionist war cry was "Destroy the slave trade to the West Indies," in Fox's words, the slave trade actually increased by almost a fifth in 1792.[87] Thus, when critically examined in concrete, economic terms, the boycott campaign was a failure. Nevertheless, its effect on politics and the burgeoning petition campaign of 1791-2 are less uncertain.

The boycott's effect on the number of petitions and the increased political interest generated were in themselves important considerations. Clarkson considered the boycott a powerful impetus to gain new signatures for the petition campaign.[88] Although it is difficult to say how much impact the boycott had on the size of the petition campaign, at the very least it, like Wedgwood's seals, brought the campaign more into the public eye. The nature of the campaign provided newspaper cartoonists with a field day, satirizing the various participants in the boycott, further publicizing the campaign, albeit unintentionally and in a farcical manner.[89]

In terms of political effectiveness, the sugar boycott was ineffective. It did not force an abolition of the slave trade, and in fact, little political headway was made. The London Committee, as mentioned, was unwilling to throw its support behind the boycott, for fear of the potential political consequences, and thus no attempt was made to make use of it at the Parliamentary level. In displaying the continuing strength of the abolition movement, the boycott was far more instructive. The lukewarm support it received from the London Committee allows us to see the boycott as a pure demonstration of public support, not a coordinated activity that might artificially inflate the amount of support. Obviously, by 1793, the sugar boycott demonstrated that public abolitionist sentiment had moved beyond the point of dependence on close control and advocacy by the London Abolition Committee.

The End of Public Abolitionism

While the abolitionists managed to secure a bill for gradual abolition of the slave trade, in reality their cause looked increasingly bleak after the high point of 1791.[90] Increasing tension with France, the slave rebellion in St. Domingo, and growing government unease of anything that might hint at the same kind of revolutionary fervor that had infected France, placed the abolitionists on the defensive. As early as 1792, the first rumblings were being heard, and the abolitionist cause was in danger of being tarred with the brush of revolutionary

86. Seymour. Drescher *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition*, (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), 80.

87. Fox's address taken from *An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Propriety of Abstaining from West India Sugar and Rum.* Quoted in Ragatz, Decline of the Planter Class, 261. and Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition*, 117.

88. Oldfield. *Popular Politics*, 57.

89. Isaac Cruikshank, *The Gradual Abolition of the Slave Trade, or leaving of sugar by Degrees.* Printed April 15, 1792. Excerpted from Oldfield, pp. 178.

90. In the Commons, but the bill was then blocked by delaying tactics in the Lords.

sympathies. The Earl of Abington accused the movement of sympathy with Tom Paine's The Rights of Man.[91] The London Times made scornful reference to the membership of the abolition movement in its own pages. The paper made a direct comment on the membership of the abolitionist movement, implying that the danger of mob violence lay behind their activity.

> A Morning Paper expresses its surprise, which the City of London should be so far behind the rest of the Kingdom in Political and Commercial Knowledge, as to afford a majority against the Abolition of the Slave Trade: What part of the Kingdom do they mean by the rest of it? Are the numerous inhabitants of Stoney Stratford, or the enlightened Miners in Cornwall, who it seems, bring up the rear of Petitioners.[92]

Unfortunately, many of the abolitionists had greeted the initial news of a revolution in France with great optimism. This initial contact, as in the case of many reformers, came back to haunt them once the full extent of the French revolution became apparent. Clarkson for example, had visited France, providing French anti-slavery advocates with information he had obtained on the slave trade.[93] William Wilberforce, the parliamentary face of abolitionism, had been declared "an honorary member of the Republic" by France, according to Dale H. Porter.[94] Even though this was against Wilberforce's will, the damage to his reputation in the eyes of those already suspicious of reforms with any possible relationship to French radicalism was obvious.[95]

91. Davis, *Slavery In the Age of Revolution,* 101.
92. *London Times.* March 27, 1792
93. Davis, 27.
94. Dale Porter *The Abolition of the Slave Trade in England.* (Archon Books: USA 1970), 89
95. Ibid.

The abolitionists were aware of the danger, as a letter from Samuel Hoare to William Wilberforce demonstrated. Samuel Hoare, another member of the London Committee, expressed concerns over Clarkson's activities in a letter to Wilberforce dated 20 February 1792. The letter revealed not only concerns about Clarkson, but about the effect that foreign affairs were having on the public image of the abolition movement.

> But I find another circumstance has rendered some of our best friends rather lukewarm, and especially those whom I am most earnest to Bring forward, -- I mean members of the Church of England. They have adopted an idea, which I hope has no foundation, that the Dissenters wish for a revolution; and that the Abolition of the Slave Trade is somewhat connected with it. What has added to this apprehension is some inquiries of Mr. Clarkson's, whether there are many friends to the French Revolution, in letters which he addresses to different places. If I knew where he was, I would write to him on the subject; a moment's reflection must convince him that there is too much reason to fear that what may be only meant as his own private sentiments, will be construed into an opinion of our committee. I hope thou wilt lose no time in giving him a hint upon this subject, or our cause will be essentially injured.[96]

Even worse, the slave revolt on St. Domingo, stemming as it did (at least according to the pro-slave advocates) from attempts to modify the status of slaves in the colonies, seemed to prove the point of the slave-trading lobby. Attempting to modify or abolish either slavery or the slave trade would simply lead to revolution and chaos in the colonies, at a time when the British Empire could ill afford any potential disruption of its trade. With the pub-

96. Letter From Samuel Hoare, to William Wilberforce, February 20th, 1792. *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce.* Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Samuel Wilberforce, ed. (Miama:Mnemosyne Publishing Co. 1969.), 89-90.

lic and governmental mood increasingly against any further agitation of the question of the slave trade, the amount of support declined radically. Wilberforce's attempts to bring in resolutions against the slave trade were universally failures. At no point did he repeat the success of 1792 where only the intransigence of the House of Lords had succeeded in blocking a measure for abolition of the slave trade.[97]

More practically, few in Parliament were sympathetic to experiments that might damage England's trade and economy at a point when the nation was in a war (so it seemed) for its very existence. Discouraged, the abolitionists retreated. The London Committee did not meet at all between 1797 and 1803, and no recorded petitions were sent into Parliament. The movement, essentially, went into hibernation. However, perceptive members of the West Indian Lobby shared their discouragement. In a report given December 14, 1796, the head of the West Indies interests in Parliament, Charles Rose Ellis, made the following conclusions:

> 2nd. That the question of abolition will continued to be agitated year after year, and as often as the forms of the House permit, and that neither the House of Commons nor the Country in general, will suffer it to rest 'till some steps have been taken which may afford them reason to believe that every Regulation has been adopted, which is consistent with the safety of the Colonies.
>
> 3rd. That many persons of great weight and character, tho' conscious of the danger to be apprehended from the measures proposed by Mr. Wilberforce, have supported and will continue to support them, because no mode of conduct at all compatible with their ideas of humanity had been proposed as an alternative.
>
> 7th. That to reconcile the rights of Colonial Legislatures, with the necessity of some proceeding in Parliament, [the committee proposes a motion be put before Parliament] That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, requesting that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to give Direction to the Governors of His Majesty's Plantations in the West Indies, to recommend to the respective councils and Assemblies of the said Plantations to adopt such Measures as shall appear to them best calculated to obviate the Causes which have hitherto impeded the natural Increase of the Negroes already in the islands gradually to diminish the necessity of the Slave Trade, and ultimately to lead to its complete termination [98]

Despite doubts about the sincerity of the West Indian representatives, it was plain that they realized, as did many of the abolitionists, that however successful the defense of the slave trade was, it only had to be defeated once for the slave trade to end. More importantly, it showed that the West Indian and Liverpool slave trading interests, while allied, might not remain that way. Liverpool was tied to the interests of the slave trade in general, while the West Indies were tied to the slave trade as required for the maintenance of their slave labor forces. This difference in interests provided an opening for abolitionism, regardless of any short-term setbacks it might meet.

Resurrection and Victory

The abolitionist impulse, created in 1788, and peeking in 1791-2 did not die with the end of active involvement by the London Abolition Committee. By 1803, the French war was being settled, at least on the high seas, which removed much of the threat that the pro-trade lobby had used to delay abolition. In 1804, when William Wilberforce brought in a new motion for the abolition of the trade, the

97. Jennings, 73. The Commons voted for a gradual abolition to occur by 1796 by a margin of 151 to 132. The measure, however, was delayed by, and eventually died in the Lords.

98. Letter from Young to the Leeward Islands Assembly, quoted in Porter, 98-99.

London Committee took action, but during this period, the action was very different from the earlier massive drives. Private messages, rather than massive meetings, were to be the favored method of influencing Parliament.[99] Possibly stung by the backlash caused by the war with France and the French revolution, the committee apparently chose to remain more of a lobbying and information gathering body than it had been earlier.[100] Even so, the elections of November 1806 were reported to have been the source of much discussion of abolition.[101] How much is hard to say, but Clarkson reported that the younger generation was as interested in abolition as previous activists had been. Thus, the abolitionist impulse was still alive and well in 1806.

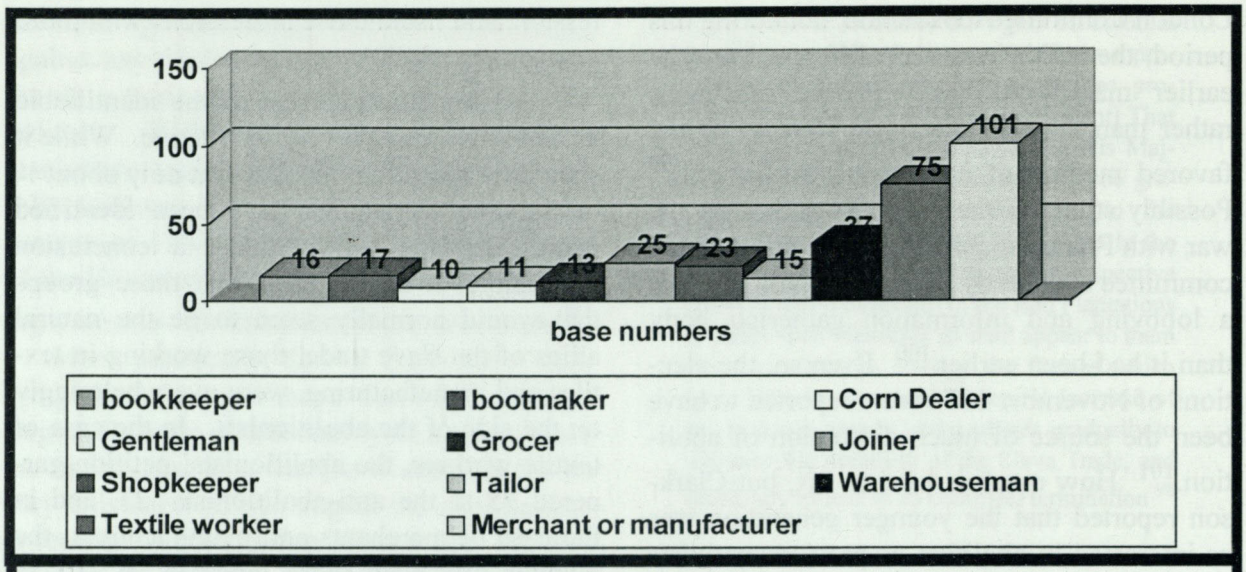
This was demonstrated by the response to the pro-trade petition gathered in Manchester in May 1806. Like earlier pro-trade petitions, this petition gained much of its support from those whose livelihoods were endangered by abolition of the trade. Clarkson quickly requested a petition from abolitionists to counteract the possible damage done by this pro-trade petition. It is instructive that without any preparation, over 2,300 signers had placed their name on the petition and sent it to the House of Lords.[102] This far out matched the pro-trade petition, which garnered 439 names. Tellingly, the Manchester abolitionists reported that they could have doubled the number of signatures, had they had another day.[103] Among the identifiable signatures, the pattern of professional and middle class involvement held true. Seymour Drescher identified 596 abolitionist signers by their profession, and listed those professions with more than ten signers.[104]

The percentage list of the identifiable professions was also very instructive. While it should be noted that the fact that only about ¼ of the total signatures have been identified makes drawing too certain a conclusion impossible, it does appear that those groups that would normally seem to be the natural allies of the slave trade, those working in textiles and manufacturing, were overwhelmingly on the side of the abolitionists. In the case of textile workers, the abolitionists' petition garnered 75 to the anti-abolitionists' 27, and in the case of merchants and manufacturers, the number was even more lopsided, at 101 to 25.[105]

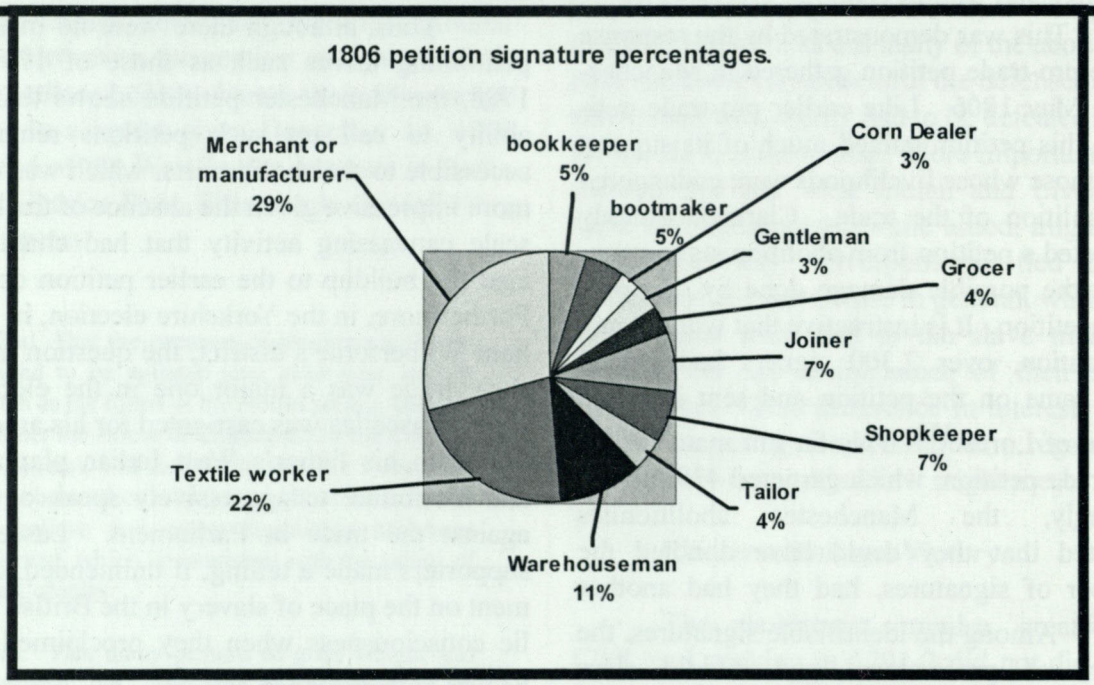
Thus, although there were no massive petitioning drives such as those of 1791 or 1788, the Manchester petition shows that the ability to call up such petitions remained accessible to the abolitionists, which was even more impressive given the absence of the large scale canvassing activity that had characterized the buildup to the earlier petition drives. Furthermore, in the Yorkshire election, in William Wilberforce's district, the question of the slave trade was a major one in the election. Henry Lascelles was castigated for his association with his father's West Indian plantation and his failure to aggressively speak or vote against the trade in Parliament. Lascelles' supporters made a telling, if unintended, comment on the place of slavery in the British public consciousness when they proclaimed that he was an abolitionist.[106]

Another election, in Liverpool, was a special case and cannot be considered typical of the parliamentary races. The election of William Roscoe was hailed as a tremendous victory for abolitionism, and proof that even centers of the trade, such as Liverpool, had

99. Jennings, 106.
100. Oldfield, 186.
101. Jennings, 106.
102. Seymour Drescher, "Whose Abolition? Popular Pressure and the Ending of the British Slave trade" *Past and Present* N143 May 1994
103. Ibid. 142.
104. Ibid. 143.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid. 146-147



Percentages and numbers of 1806 petition signature sources.



been won over by the abolitionists.[107] Unfortunately, such an optimistic reading of the Liverpool election overstates the case. Liverpool had not yet become a center of abolitionism. Roscoe's election had more to do with his opposition to the town Corporation than to his opposition to the slave trade. In fact, Betty Fladeland went so far as to state that his "perverse views on the slave trade" were outweighed by his reputation on other matters, thus leading to his Parliamentary campaign against Corporation backed candidates.[108] In order to win his election, Roscoe had to engage in large scale vote buying and minimize his abolitionist sympathies.

107. Ibid. 147.

108. Fladeland. *Working class Problems*. 58.

According to one source, Roscoe spent 11,000 to 12,000 pounds on his election, outspending his opponents by at least three to one.[109] The campaign itself contained little debate on the slave trade.[110] This would appear odd, if for no other reason than that his opponents missed a possible advantage by not attacking Roscoe's abolitionist credentials. In Roscoe's victory speech, his comments were in line with the sympathies of the other Liverpool abolitionists, advocating a gradual abolition of the trade, along with government compensation to the merchants who would be harmed by it. Although he spent far more time advocating Parliamentary reform and religious freedom than abolition of the slave trade, his speech was a breakthrough.[111] In a city that had once threatened to throw Clarkson off a pier, the open advocacy of abolition by a newly elected Member of Parliament was a tremendous leap forward.

However, there were limits to Liverpool's tolerance, as Roscoe was to find out. After throwing his vote to abolition in 1806, Roscoe largely broke his promise of a gradual and compensated abolition to the Liverpool voters. Concerning the question of compensation for the merchants, Roscoe failed to support his co-representative, Gascoyne.[112] In addition, Roscoe demanded that no more than six to nine months be allowed before the complete outlawing of the trade, and he only offered compensation to those who could show a specific loss. His compensation policy was far short of what the Liverpool voters had expected.

As a result, Roscoe and his supporters found themselves waylaid by a mob when they entered Liverpool after the end of the Parliamentary session.[113] Consequently, Roscoe unhappy as a Member of Parliament, decided not to stand for re-election. Despite the fact that his friends and supporters nominated him for re-election anyway, Roscoe remained adamant in his stand. Roscoe's election makes an important statement about the state of abolition in 1806. In a town that had become completely associated with the trade and one in which whose representatives had claimed that any curtailment of the trade would destroy the prosperity of the city, his election was unprecedented. This did not indicate that Liverpool had suddenly become a center of abolitionist thought. However, it did show that even in the city with the most to lose, abolitionist sympathies did not automatically bar one from political office, just as opposition to abolition did not insure his political success.[114]

The passage of the anti-slave trade act in 1806 owed as much to politics as it did to popular anti-slavery feelings. Although those voting against the trade overwhelmingly gave as their reason the trade impolicy, cruelty, lack of justice and religious demands.[115] At least as important to the abolition of the trade was the breakdown of the West Indies lobby, the entry of Irish representatives to Parliament, and the clever order in council that ended foreign slave trading, thus dealing the slave traders a mortal economic blow.[116] This is not to say that popular abolitionism did not cease to be a factor. Rather, popular abolitionism, and its transformation of the place of slavery and the slave trade in the British consciousness,

109.F. E. Sanderson "Liverpool Abolitionists", in *Liverpool the African Slave Trade, and Abolition*, edited by Roger Anstey and P.E. H. Hair. (Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1976) 223.

110.Ibid. 223.

111.Sanderson, "Liverpool Abolitionists" 223

112. Ibid.

113.Ibid. 226

114. Ibid. 222

115. Seymour Drescher, *The Slaving Capital of the World. Slavery and Abolition,* 1988 Vol. 9 (2). 130

116. Dale Porter *The Abolition of the Slave Trade in England,* (Archon Books: USA 1970) 130-133.

was a vital pre-requisite to abolition in Parliament. Without the pressure of public abolitionism, there would not have been the move towards abolition no matter how weak the West Indies and Liverpool lobbies became. It was public abolitionism that took the impractical ideas of a few reformers, gave them the weight of public opinion, and the endurance to last beyond such temporary setbacks as occurred in the 1790s.

The actions of Parliament, and later analysis of their given reasons, permit one to make some guesses about the impact of popular abolitionism on Parliament. In both the 1791-92 debates and in the 1806 debates, pro-abolitionist MPs stuck to moral stances rather than attempting to create a practical, material reason for abandoning the trade. In 1791, the statement that policy considerations were simply irrelevant to the debate was used in every case where an abolitionist vote was cast.[117] The next two most popular reasons for voting were British guilt and pride, respectively. The pro-trade delegates abandoned defenses based on such abstract issues, in order to continue to attempt to defend the trade on purely pragmatic and material issues.[118]

According to Drescher, it was the creation of a public abolitionism that allowed abolitionists to attack the slave trade. This attack based upon moral considerations rather than pragmatic ones.[119] In this case, the rise of a popular abolitionist consciousness was vital to the elimination of the slave trade. Only the creation of external pressure was able to move the question of the trade from pragmatic, imperial considerations, to moral and abstract ones that sought the elimination of the slave trade regardless of the "practical" costs.

That said, what evidence is there that the abolitionist activities had managed to create an anti-slavery mood in England. First, there is the fact that even after a period of hibernation, the London Committee was able to once again collect information and encourage others to write Parliament. To be able to do so, after a period of enforced inactivity, indicated that the mood that had existed in 1791 had not simply dissipated; so much as, it had gone underground, waiting only for the right moment to return.

The second reason is that the Parliamentary debates on the matter in 1803-7 did not go over any new ground. While the West Indies were in economic disarray, and the incoming delegates from Ireland were less sympathetic to the cause of the slave trade, they were also not automatically disposed against it. Thus, while there was a decline in the power of the pro-trade lobby, taken in isolation it would not guarantee the end of the trade. Rather, only if it is taken in the context of being up against an abolitionist movement, does its failure start to make sense.

Finally, the abolitionist impulse did not simply cease to exist with the end of the British slave trade; rather it spread even to regions where it had formerly found little welcome. Liverpool, capital of the slave-trading kingdom, and for so many years the staunch defender of the trade (Rev. Harris had been presented with £100 from the city for his Scriptural Researches) now redefined itself.[120] In 1814, in response to the danger that the Anglo-French peace treaty would allow France to return to the slave trade, Liverpool presented a gigantic petition, with 30,000 signatures.[121] This petition, far outstripping in numbers any earlier petition on the trade, aligned Liverpool firmly with the abolitionist camp. While one can wonder if much of this was due to fears that France would use the

117. Seymour Drescher, "People and Parliament, the Rhetoric of the Slave Trade". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XX:4 (Spring 1990)

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid. 580.

120. Drescher, *The Slaving Capital of the World.* . 133

121. Ibid. 139.

trade to increase her own fleet, the fact that the city that had only eight years earlier predicted that the end of the trade would destroy its prosperity. In addition, that the city had evidently never entertained the thought of attempting to gain a British resumption of the trade, made it plain that the slave trade's day had passed in England.

In the space of less than twenty years, the abolitionists had ended a form of commerce that had initially been held to have been a vital part of the British empire's economic lifeblood. However, they would not stop there. While few of the beginning abolitionists would survive to see the day, the same tactics they had pioneered would be used to secure an end to slavery in the British Empire, fully 30 years before the United States was forced into the most destructive war in its history over precisely the same question.

Author's Biography

Aurthors Biography in the Editors section

The French Revolution and the External War

By Tim Finch

Edited and Introduced by Thomas De Martino

In an enlightening piece of historiography, Timothy Finch examines the French Revolution in terms of causation for both the War with Austria and the destruction of the Bourbon Monarchy. To achieve his purpose, Finch embarks upon a well-researched investigation of British Parliamentary records, plus the commentaries and correspondences of such contemporary observers as Edmund Burke, Thomas Jefferson, Governeur Morris, and Madames Campan and de la Tour du Pin. As a result, Finch shows how Robespierre and the Jacobin Club blunted the initial goals of the Revolution to fit their own personal agendas.

With fascinating detail, Finch chronicles the intricate power play masterminded by Robespierre to ween the French public from its love of the Monarchy by attacking the reputation of the Austrian-born Marie-Antoinette. In tandem with destroying regal credibility, Robespierre fanned the flames of popular paranoia by pointing to a Bourbon-Austrian conspiracy, which, he suggested, threatened newly won French freedoms. Alternately resorting to eloquence and bullying, Robespierre powered through both the executions of the king and queen and the War with Austria. These actions diverted public attention from the original purposes of the Revolution and furthered Robespierre's bid for ultimate control of the French State.

While examining a host of primary sources with skill and ability, Timothy Finch also provides an intriguing and intimate look at Revolutionary France during one of its most pivotal periods.

Why France declared war on Austria during the French Revolution is an overlooked topic in historiography. The French Revolution actually existed on two fronts - the much chronicled internal struggle between the general populace and the privileged classes of nobility and clergy, and the lesser known external struggle with monarchial Austria. The internal and external conflicts, treated as separate and distinct spheres throughout history, are in fact interrelated and affect the focus of the unpopular revolt. Nationalist fervor, born of a stratagem of politically created fear and hatred against Austrians, monarchies and Austrian born Marie-Antoinette, coalesced into the external sphere of war, and transformed the 'freedom' revolution of 1789 to the Terror of 1793.

Maximilien Robespierre, Hurdman,Charlotte(ED):World Hisotry Encyclopedia.

A themed study of primary source materials, buttressed by secondary accounts of the struggle shows "the Revolution is not a single act of terror but a process."[1] Realizing that a transformation from the earlier struggle for constitutional monarchy to the later Terror occurred, two important questions arise: why a war with Austria, and "how the liberty of 1789 could have led to the despotism of 1793?"[2] The topics of debate include the expectation of an English-style constitutional monarchy and the surprise of the international community on the continued revolution with a popular monarch. Further, the manipulation of the populace through intrigues, the influence of pamphleteering, the underground press of the times, and the absolute power of the Jacobin Club and Robespierre are also important areas of investigation.

One salient argument is that the change occurred because a political power play of epic proportions existed during the struggle. The declaration of war on Austria, in particular, is examined and utilized to mortar a foundation of intrigues. The suggested power play behind the declaration calls into question the intent of the French Revolutionary Leadership, as there is also evidence that some of the more critical events of the revolution were neither representative of the will of the majority nor spontaneous.

The war declared in 1792 came three years after the Revolution's commencement and later raised the question among historians as to the wisdom of yet another conflict so shortly after the bankruptcy of the French economy. The Revolution, according to numerous surveys, was due in part to the nation's financial condition[3]. How would attacking Austria, the French Queen Marie-

1. Robespierre, *Speeches of Maximilien Robespierre*, [Jane Doe], ed. and trans. (New York: International Publishers, 1927), 15.
2. Massimo Boffa, "Counterrevolution," François Furet and Mona Ozouf, ed., Arthur Goldhammer, trans., *The Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 643.
3. News of the dismissal of Finance Minister Jacques Necker by Louis for failing to remedy financially bankrupt France causes "ordinary people enjouing their Sunday promenade to gather together and listen to impromptu orators." Two days later the Bastille was overrun. Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, 51.This is the only one I can find, but the observation is in a majority of the texts on the period.

Antoinette's homeland and her brother's realm, further the Revolution?

These surface questions beget even more inquiries. For instance, did the declaration of war on Austria serve to further coalesce the populace against the monarchy? And if so, was the effect of this action intentional? Again, could the declaration of war against Austria be construed as a plot? What is the possibility of a power play here by a Jacobin sympathetic group? Could an unaccredited complicity by Robespierre, or yet another political aspirant, be at the heart of the war?

Some secondary sources, based on Edmund Burke, François Furet, Karl Marx, and others have suggested multiple causalities as the primary theory behind the conflict. These multiple causalities include economic, social, cultural, class and hunger factors. The inquiry regarding Robespierre and his role, if any, in the Austrian War was partially answered by Furet in Interpreting the French Revolution, "Louis XVI too, albeit in a diametrically opposite perspective, counted on the war to reassert his authority."[4] Furet continues his theory by describing the role of Robespierre. "At that point, the leaders of the Mountain-Danton, Desmoulins and Marat-were quick to withdraw their support from Robespierre, who was temporarily isolated because of his opposition to the war."[5] Here, Furet takes the spotlight away from the two main players in this momentous event and aims it elsewhere.

Thus Furet's book offers viewpoints which are different and even contrary to the suppositions of other volumes regarding the provocation and effects of the Revolution. A further fleshing out of the circumstances by the use of primary sources is necessary to focus yet another lens on the often-covered subject of the origins of the downfall of the monarchy.

The Journal of the House of Commons lists in volume 48, covering the year 1793, an index of correspondences between Monsieur Chauvelin as plenipotentiary minister to England from France and Great Britain's Secretary of State Lord Grenville. Speaking for the person whom the English referred to as 'His Most Glorious Majesty of the French people,' Chauvelin explains his duty to inform King George that "the King has seen a great Conspiracy formed against France."[6] Chauvelin accuses King Leopold of Hungary and Bohemia of being the head of this league. Chauvelin continues by expressing the hope that the King of the British people understands the right of the French people to be free.

The note, the first of seven months of intense communiqués, is dated May of 1792. This is important, since Louis "was virtually a prisoner...in the barrack of the Tuileries (Palace)..."[7] with Marie-Antoinette from October of 1789 until their deaths in 1793. Due to this circumstance, several questions arise. Was he a figurehead being used by the Government? Was King Louis XVI capable of declaring war while incarcerated and under 24-hour watch? Why war against the Queen Marie-Antoinette's homeland, where her brother is Emperor? Was there a Revolution partly by coercion and intimidation, where the minority actually rules? Is there a different light to shine on the Revolution or simply another level of revisionism? The political movements and speeches of Robespierre and the National Assembly will be investigated and examined

4. François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, Elborg Forster, trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978). 65.
5. Furet, 65.
6. Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, 12 May 1792, *Journal of the House of Commons*, Vol. 48, 103.
7. Oscar Browning, ed., *The Despatches of Earl Gower-English Ambassador at Paris* (Cambridge: At The University Press, 1885), xvi.

to find some of the reasons for the events of 1789 to 1794.

A popular uprising and a populace victimized by economic needs and food shortage serve as the fabric of the Revolution. Was the economically bankrupt and starving population mobilized by political forces changing the underlining of the revolt? "The depiction by historians from Alex de Tocqueville to François Furet of the representatives of 1789 as political novices...cannot be sustained."[8] The historian Norman Hampson writes that while Jacobin Club leader Robespierre "...advocated full political rights for Protestants, Jews and actors...he was more concerned with political issues of this kind than with social reform."[9] A monumental statement regarding 'fair trial' from Robespierre, arguably the most powerful and influential man in the French political schism of post-Bastille France, uncovers his true theory of 'freedom.' "If Louis can still be the object of a trial, Louis can be absolved, he can be innocent...if Louis can be presumed innocent, what becomes of the Revolution?"[10]

The search for "a seamless web of causation" to the French Revolution begets questions regarding grounded data based on factual evidence.[11] Contentious and opposing views exist involving the wide scope of events from Paris mob leaders to the capture of the royal family at Varennes in 1791. Noted French historian Mona Ozouf, for example, attributes the precipitous turning point in the Revolution at Varennes to logistics. "We can identify the reasons for the failure...the schedule was not worked out in sufficiently meticulous detail."[12] William Doyle concludes, "the first escort had abandoned its post before the royal coach got there, thinking the enterprise had failed."[13]

Marie Antoniette, Hurdman, Charlotte(ED), World HisotryEncyclopedia.

Marie-Antoinette's lady-in-waiting, Madam Campan however, related the fault of the debacle, as told to her by the Queen, on Louis and the carriage. The travelers were "detained a short time, about 12 leagues from Paris by some repairs, which the coach required. The King chose to walk up one of the hills and these two circumstances caused a delay of three hours, precisely at the time..." when they were to be met by escort troops.[14]

As with this small but significant incident, the entire intent of the Revolution in general is questioned when interrogating the conflict's points of origin, running the gamut

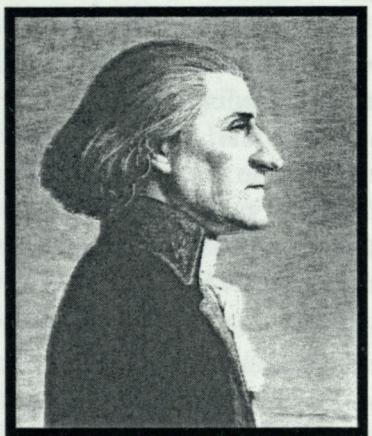
8. Timothy Tackett, *Becoming A Revolutionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 305.
9. Norman Hampson, *The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre* (London: Duckworth and Co., 1974), 68.
10. Robespierre, 3 December 1792, speech, Beatrice Kay Reynolds, ed., [Jane Doe], trans., *Spokesmen of the French Revolution* (New York: Exposition Press, 1974), 92.
11. Gordon Morris Bakken, 4 February 2002, lecture, California State University Fullerton.
12. Mona Ozouf, "Varennes," *The Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 156.
13. William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 151.
14. Marie-Antoinette to Madam Campan, Madame Campan, *Memoirs of Marie-Antoinette by Her Lady-In-Waiting*, [Jane Doe], ed. and trans., (New York: P.F. Collier and Son, 1910), 288.

Governeur Morris, Ferris, Robert, G: Signers of the Constitution,

between ideology and virtuous change to majorities led by minorities for political gain. "In France, revolution remained an idea, a dream and a discourse of transcendence that instead established the Left as the counterpoint paradoxically central to the nation."[15] The enormity of the struggle was known from its inception as histories of the Revolution began appearing "before the end of 1789."[16] Early appraisal of the situation in July idealistically saw "the deputy and scholar from Lyon, Delandine, argue that the extraordinary events of that summer were partly the product of the philosophy and Enlightenment which spread across all ranks of society."[17]

Original intent and ultimate effect clashed as the Revolution gained momentum and intensity. The attack on the Tuileries Palace, the habitat of the imprisoned royal family in August 1792 was the center of comment by Edmund Burke in a letter to Lord Grenville, Britain's minister to France. "The present circumstances are an attack upon the King of France's palace, the murder of all who were found in it...acts of violence, which have obliged the majority of the National Assembly to absent themselves" and constrain the working of the government for the people.[18] Burke asks if submission of official diplomatic recognition to "leaders of the murderous insurrection (is)...a little premature."[19] After all, Burke is described as "an anti-revolutionist," however his entries carry impact, with his first reflections appearing in 1790.[20]

"Distrust is a horrible state," cried Robespierre, the leader of the anti-royalist movement, holding up a mirror to public anxiety. "Is this the language of a free man, who believes that liberty cannot be bought at a high price?"[21] Robespierre's indictments were insightful, yet conveyed the very distrust he critiqued as manifested in the Ancien Régime of the Bourbon kings and their court. The emotional pleas and heavy sarcasm, famous in his orations, emoted the mixed feelings of a people



Thomas Jefferson, A True But Unflattering Portriat, Courtesy of Dewitt, Phjlip(ED)

15. Susan Weiner, "Terre à Terre: Tocqueville, Aron, Baudrillard and the American Way of Life," Ralph Sarkonak, ed., *Yale French Studies*, No. 100, 13.
16. Tackett, *Becoming A Revolutionary*, 4.
17. Tackett, 48.
18. Edmund Burke to Lord Grenville, 18 August 1792, Edmund Burke, *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke,* Vol. 7, Thomas Copeland, ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), 174.
19. Burke, 174.
20. Gérard Gengembre, "Burke," *The Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 918.
21. Robespierre, 2 January 1792 speech, H. Morse Stephens, ed., (my translation) *Principle Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), 309.

starving from the dreadful winter of 1788-89 and the bankrupt monarchical system that they believed had run amok in spendthrift excess. The people retained deep emotions for the King and monarchy, as evidenced by the counter-revolution. But not everyone loved Louis, particularly in Paris.

The unfavorable reaction by the people regarding their place in government inattention on the part of Louis to their plight manifested itself in a power vacuum willingly filled by monarchical detractors. Could the detractors move from a constitutional monarchy by manipulating the citizenry to a more severe change in governance? Enter the French Queen, Austrian born Marie-Antoinette.

"The courts and the salons were hostile to her as an Austrian, the alliance with Austria had never been popular."[22] Calling her L'Autrichienne or the Austrian woman, "almost everything she did made her enemies."[23] Her habit of making levity of important subjects also did not aid her popularity in the court. Times past would not have judged a monarch under these qualifying factors. Burke pointed out, however "the French Revolution is the most astonishing (thing) that has happened in the world...everything seems out of nature in this strange chaos...the most opposite passions necessarily succeed and sometimes mix."[24]

The causes of the Revolution are discussed and studied with a voracity befitting the unique and unparalleled place it occupies in history. Certain patterns emerge, showcasing "a major strand of historiography (which) has placed primary emphasis on the facts of political and economic injustice under the Old Regime."[25] A polemical citation is accorded the role of Marie-Antoinette, both as a subject of derision for the people and targeted by political rivals to assist negative feelings for a foreigner as their Christian sovereign.

When describing the taking of Versailles, Madame Campan recorded that "the insurrection was directed against the Queen in particular," due to Marie-Antoinette's heritage.[26] Present at the chateau that October day and during the Estates General five months earlier, Campan's views throughout were not disproportionably pro-royalist. "The deputies of the Tiers État arrived at Versailles full of the strongest prejudices against the Court," and believing the Queen was spending her time draining the Treasury, they demanded to see Petit Trianon, the country house at Versailles utilized by Marie-Antoinette for a respite from the court.[27] "Paris nicknamed the Queen 'Madame Deficit' (while) she reportedly used her power over her husband" to promote certain people, demonstrating the anti-Austrian directed emotion of the times.[28]

On 24 July 1789 while in Forges, Normandy, with her children, Madame de la Tour du Pin witnessed hysterical crowds who said that the Austrians had destroyed nearby Gaillefontaine and were traveling in their direction. Du Pin and her husband, the captain of the Versailles royal guards, rode to verify the story and were asked on arriving in Gaillefontaine by the townspeople if it was true that Forges was destroyed by the Austrians. "And that was the sole purpose of the scare, to ensure that throughout France, on the same day and almost at the same hour, the entire population should resort to arms, a step closer to removing the King."[29]

22. Will and Ariel Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. 10, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 851.
23. Durant, 853.
24. Edmund Burke, *Selected Writings and Speeches*, Peter Salis, ed.(Gloucester, Mass.: Doubleday, 1968), 28.
25. Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 48.
26. Campan, *Memoirs*, 239.
27. Campan, 214.
28. Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. 10, 941.
29. Du Pin, *Memoirs*, 114.

The internal struggle with monarchy was also a struggle with the nobility. "In the aftermath of the taking of the Bastille and during the first years of the Revolution, tens of thousands of French men and women left their homes."[30] The majority headed east; the émigrés relocated across the border. "Thousands of aristocrats, including two-thirds of the army officer corps, had already emigrated from France, including both the King's brothers."[31]

Leaving the country was indicative and proof positive of enemies of freedom and virtue, according to the Revolutionaries, and those who fled were declared foes of the state. "We think we should call your attention first to the open protection given by the Court of Vienna to the French émigrés."[32] The blocks of logical argument were mortared securely, forming the foundation of the 'traitorous' former French nobles, who "withdrew into the Austrian Low Countries," into the lands of Emperor Leopold II, brother of the French Queen, and, by marriage, family to the Bourbon King Louis.[33]

The cause was freedom from privileged nobility, moneyed monarchy and the house of the Austrian Marie-Antoinette. The dichotomous argument occurs between "those who saw 1789 as the inevitable outcome of pre-existing social and cultural transformations and those convinced...by subversive forces..."The "subversive" forces at work appeared to be Robespierre and the Jacobin Club, composed of influential and intimidating politicos.[34]

Norman Hampson describes Robespierre's first speech as "an attempt at a tactical compromise" to divide the clergy by declaring their right to marry "and to adopt the perspective of civil war...about the violence in Paris, (in which) Robespierre's enthusiasm was unqualified." [35] This lawyer from the country town of Arras who, in three years' time, had become the opposition leader to the 180-year rule of the Bourbon family, to the stranglehold of the Catholic Church on the French people and to the general despotism of most of monarchial Europe, was leader of the Jacobin Club.

Named for the meeting place, this Club served as the birthplace of the early versions of political parties, which were located throughout Paris. In fact, "Their destiny reflects the entire history of the French Revolution...."[36] For example, Robespierre's celebrity so parallels the insurrection that "the death of Robespierre was also the death of the Revolution."[37]

Central to the struggle of the Revolution was the idea that certain minorities of citizens, namely Jacobin Club members, were instrumental in the insurrection. How else could an explanation exist for the change between the people's revolution of 1789 to the 'new' governments' revolution of the Terror of 1793? Referring to the starvation in France, Thomas Jefferson expressed the opinion of many leaders, after the fall of the Bastille, of a people's revolution. "The harvest is so near there is nothing to fear from the want of bread. The National Assembly are wise, firm and moderate. They will establish the English Constitution."[38] The English Constitution was not accepted, while the longevity of those that

30. Mazzimo Boffa, "Émigrés," *The Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 324.
31. Jack Censer and Lynn Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania University Press, 2001), 63.
32. Gonsonne, 14 January 1792, speech, *Spokesmen of the French Revolution*, 77.
33. Gonsonne, 77.
34. Tackett, *Becoming A Revolutionary*, 4.
35. Hampson, *The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre* (London: Duckworth and Co., 1974), 56.
36. [Jane Doe], ed., *Speeches of Maximilien Robespierre*, 14.
37. Patrice Gueniffey, "Robespierre," *The Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 298.

followed was short-lived, as the directed power play in the Assembly unfolded.

The transformation in the revolution mirrors the change in Robespierre's political temperament. "An otherwise unexciting speech on the Civil Constitution ended with the plea that the clergy should have the right to marry. This caused an uproar..."[39] Robespierre created havoc and was the center of the whirlwind. "Of course everyone points to the paradox of Robespierre the abolitionist becoming Robespierre the terrorist..."[40]

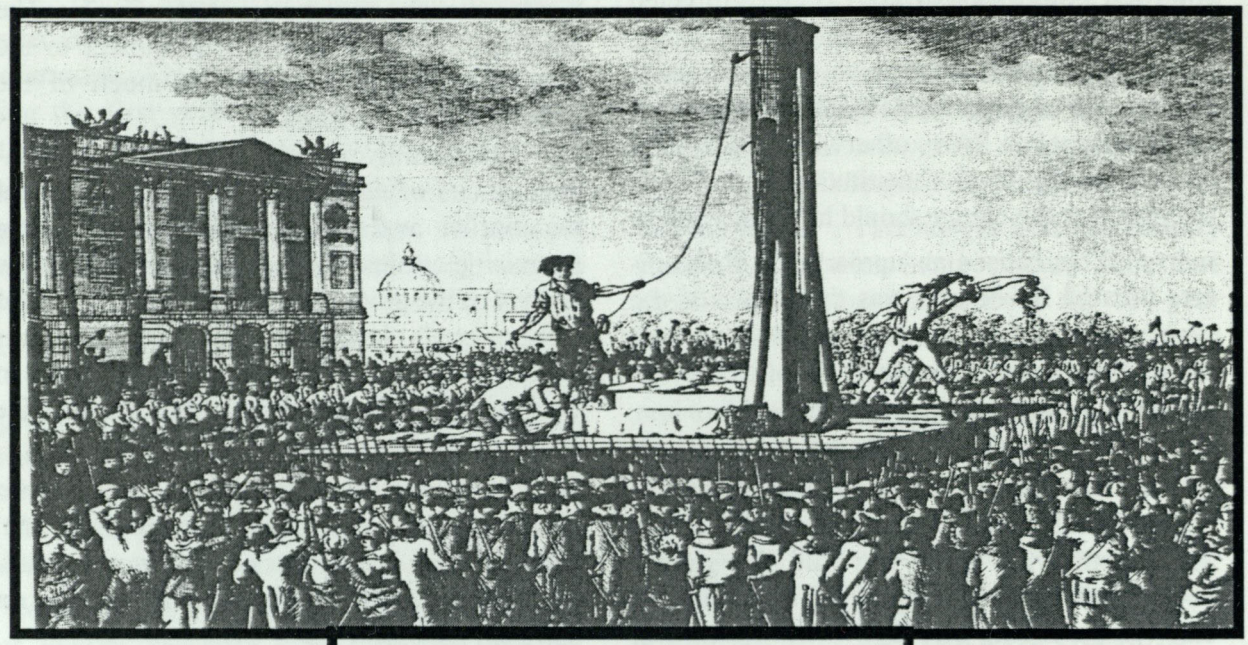
The parallel of Robespierre's outlook and the direction of the Revolution were witnessed with his control of the Jacobin Club and the Assembly. "Little by little the gallery became his gallery, the public his public...as early as the spring of 1791, (member) Louvet charged him with seeking to establish the despotism of opinion."[41] The actions of the population's minority, which served as the political majority in the Assembly, influenced the outcome of the revolution to such an extent that its interpretation was encased in the rhetoric of Karl Marx. "I am convinced that the Reign of Terror anno 1793 must be imputed almost exclusively to overwrought bourgeois, playing the role of patriots."[42] On further examination of the similarities between the Revolution and the war with Europe and Austria in particular, Marx said, "even when the Revolution was going well, war meant revolution and peace meant counter-revolution."[43] The counter-revolution served as testament to the popularity of the sovereign in much of the nation, away from Paris.

Assembly speeches were rife with condemnations of émigrés as traitors throughout the conflict, as the former nobility responsible for raising armies was feared when outside the control of the government of the Assembly and Robespierre's Jacobin Club. "The émigrés have not ceased to show signs of rebellion in wearing the white cockade...[the colors of the Bourbon family]"[44] radical speaker Gonsonné cried at the pulpit. "Patriotic citizens who were travelling on business were not able, without being insulted or even abused by public authority, to wear the national colors on Austrian territory..."[45]

The call to arms was quickly followed by sympathetic oratory on the criminality of those who had fled the country. "I propose to declare immediately that the French nation regard as infamous, traitors to the fatherland guilty of the crime of treason...every Frenchman...in concert...between the nation and the rebels."[46] The nationalist fervor was hailed as the great savior of France and Robespierre served as the vendor of change in the focus of the civil war. It was at this point that the struggle transformed from wanting freedom in an anglicized monarchy to a state of war against Austria and every country that enjoyed sovereignty.

Commanding the rostrum with corrosive, derisive and caustic elocution and ending his performance with tears, the style of the times, Robespierre spoke. He equated the sad

38. Thomas Jefferson to Edward Bancroft, 5 August 1789, Paris, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. 15, Julian Boyd, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 333.
39. Hampson, *The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre*, 69.
40. Hampson, *The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre*, 69.
41. Patrice Gueniffey, "Robespierre," *The Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 302.
42. Marx to Engels, 4 September 1870, Werke, Vol. 33, 53: quoted in Furet, *Interpreting the Revolution*, 127-129.
43. Marx to Engels, 4 September 1870, Werke, Vol. 33, 53 in François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 127-129.
44. Gonsonnè, 14 January 1792, speech, *Spokesmen of the French Revolution*, 82.
45. Gonsonné, 14 January 1792, speech, *Spokesmen of the French Revolution*, 77.
46. Guadet, 14 January 1792, speech, Ibid., 82.



The Execution of Luis XVI, Lindquist, Willis: *The Age of Revolution*,

state of the nation, the enemies across the border and the destructiveness of the Revolution with King Louis and his Austrian queen, who were still imprisoned in the nearby Tuileries. "Is it true that a new ministerial trick has misled the friends of liberty regarding the real intention of their enemies' plans? Is it true that a sham proclamation, emanating from the committee of the Tuileries" could divert virtuousness?[47]

Robespierre's anti-royalist speeches followed and, by the spring, assassinations appeared throughout Europe, thereby introducing the public to a new form of hatred in the guise of regicide. American ambassador Governeur Morris acknowledged to George Washington the outspreading of the Revolution to the rest of Europe. "An express (which) arrived last night brings an account of the assassination of the King of Sweden."[48] With his dying words, Gustavus III condemned the Jacobins for his poisoning at a masquerade party, while Washington queried "a great king-killing project" involving the death of the Emperor of Austria as well.[49]

"The death of the Emperor Leopold took place on 1 March 1792. When the news of this event reached the Tuileries, the Queen (Marie-Antoinette) was out."[50] There had been warnings of attempts to oust the courts elsewhere on the continent, but this was more evidence concerning the power play agenda of the new government in Paris taking precedence over personal freedom. "Upon her return...she exclaimed that the Emperor had been poisoned...and preserved a newspaper..."[51] quoting the Jacobins as saying that a piecrust would take care of things.

Ambassador Morris wrote to George Washington, expressing his concern that the King of Prussia "should take care of himself

47. Robespierre, 11 January 1792, speech "On War," Ibid., 63.
48. Gouverneur Morris to George Washington, 6 April 1792, London, *Morris diary*, 2: 403.
49. Gouverneur Morris to George Washington, 6 April 1792, London, *Morris diary*, Vol. 2, 403.
50. Madam Campan, *Memoirs*, 318-319.
51. Madam Campan, *Memoirs*, 318-319.

and be cautious of his cooks. Such sudden deaths in so critical a Moment are extraordinary."[52] In reply, Washington noted that "the plot thickens and developments must have begun-but what the final issue will be, lyes [sic] too deep for human ken [sic]," thus voicing an opinion that the Revolution may have turned away from its original motives.[53]

Edmund Burke best summed up the change of heart on the part of the revolutionaries as social reform, yet another postulate for the origins of the conflict. "Your leaders in France began by affecting to admire, almost to adore the British Constitution. But as they advanced, they came to look upon it with a sovereign contempt."[54] Burke concluded that there were two camps bent on destructive means aimed at both the church and the French culture as a whole: those wanting to remove the clergy and those wanting to replace French culture.[55]

The change in the focus of the Revolution surprised both Thomas Jefferson and, as mentioned above, Ambassador Morris. "Our friend the Marquis de Lafayette is now in Auvergne attending his election...everything is à l'Anglais and a desire to imitate the English prevails alike in the cut of a coat and the form of a Constitution."[56] Here Morris referred to the Anglomania that swept Paris earlier in the decade, and which he believed would continue with the Revolutionaries' Constitution. As the Revolution altered course to shift the culture, government and even the calendar, the Jacobins must have realized the power within their grasp. Instilling a constitutional monarchy after the fall of the Bastille and bringing the government to Paris by force was one effect. The eradication of the Court system, in place for centuries in France and throughout Europe, needed the help of the people and manipulation through political action.

Some Assembly radicals "led by Brissot decided that a limited war against Austria would whip up popular support for the revolution and drive the King off the fence."[57] The 'conspiracy message' given to the British government by the French Ambassador Chauvelin named "Emperor Leopold, the promoter and declared leader of this great conspiracy."[58] The result "determined France to a war with the King of Hungary and Prussia."[59]

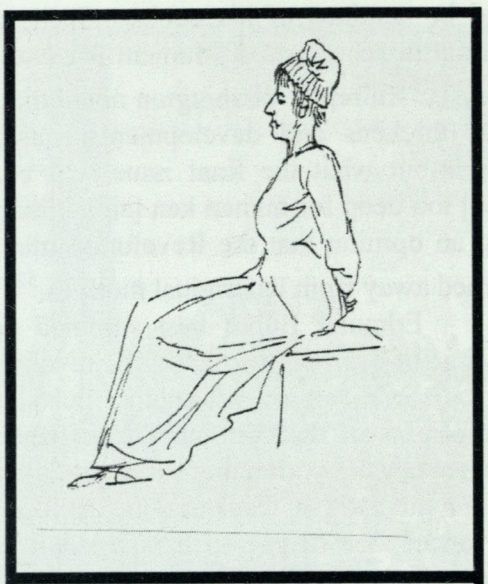
The diplomatic actions were preceded by speeches rousing the Assembly in Paris and preparing the governing body for war. "What then is our situation with regard to the Emperor? It would seem that all the alliances he has made with France were framed only for the special interests of the House of Austria."[60] A nationalistic fervor was now possible with all efforts aimed toward maligning Austria's Emperor, Marie-Antoinette's brother.

"The main aim of the French politicians who had launched this great struggle in 1792 had been to force their compatriots to come out clearly for or against the Revolution."[61] The actions to improve their political positions also served as a note of caution to

52. Morris to Washington, 6 April 1792, *Morris diary*, Vol. 2, 403.
53. George Washington to Gouverneur Morris, 21 June 1792, *Morris diary*, 404.
54. Edmund Burke, *Selected Writings and Speeches*, 450.
55. Edmund Burke, *Selected Writings and Speeches*, 450.
56. Gouverneur Morris to George Washington, 3 March 1789, *Morris diary*, Vol. 1, xxx-viii-xxxix.
57. Hampson, *The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre*, 96-97.
58. Translation of a note Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, 12 May 1792, *Journal of the House of Commons*, 48: 102-103.
59. Translation of a note Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, 12 May 1792, *Journal of the House of Commons*, Vol. 48, 102-103.
60. Gensonné, 14 January 1792, speech, *Spokesmen of the French Revolution*, 76.

anyone countermanding the virtues of the Revolution and its followers. "Our war has hurled the liveliest fears around all thrones: it has given an example for the destruction of the despotism which maintains them. Despots hate our Constitution."[62] Clearly, warning shots were fired at the monarchies of Europe and France. Within three months of these speeches, King Gustavus III of Sweden and King Leopold II of Austria would die from poisoning, with the other Courts of Europe fully knowledgeable as to the identity of the perpetrators.

The King of Prussia issued a threat of his own. Naming the people of Paris responsible for the incarceration of "his most Christian King Louis XVI and the royal family," a promise was made to destroy the city if Louis was hurt.[63] "Faced with this threat of retaliation and growing fears of counterrevolutionary plots, on 10 August 1792, leaders of the local neighborhood government of Paris organized an insurrection and attacked the Tuileries Palace, where the King resided."[64] Speaking retrospectively, Edmund Burke said the capture of the royal family at Varennes, 1791, was the worst day in the history of France. This statement reveals the support and empathy the monarchy as a whole, and Louis as its figurehead, received from French citizens and the international politique. "France loved him even to his death and beyond, for it was Paris, not France that guillotined him in 1793..." bearing witness to the strong counterrevolutionary groups and activities beyond the capital city.[65]



Marie Antonienette on her way to Execution (By J.L.David), Armento, Beverly: *Acrossthe Centuries*.

King George III of England and his emissaries kept communication with Louis during the Tuileries captivity. "To the King of France, St. James', 13 August 1791, Monsieur Mon Frère et Cousin, in consequence of the friendly letter I have just received from your majesty...it will always be a real pleasure to me to cultivate these sentiments..." British Ambassador Lord Gower truly believed Louis' popularity would save him, since "there remains no doubt but the King has a great majority in his favor," even a week before the king went to the Place de la Revolution and the guillotine.[66]

There are strong indications that even the people of Paris were tiring of the Revolution and its effects on their lives. "After a number of postponements, owing primarily to

61. Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, 218.
62. Vergniaud, 18 January 1792, speech, *Spokesmen of the French Revolution*, 83.
63. "This is an expression common to listed sources, including House of Common journal."
64. Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, 63.
65. Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. 10, 857.
66. King George III to King Louis XVI, 13 August 1791, *The Letters of King George III*, Bonamy Dobreé, ed. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968), 213.
Earl Gower, 7 January 1793, dispatch, *Gower Despatches*, 273.

growing resistance to the government's religious reforms, the 'glorification' of Voltaire (his reburying at the Pantheon to inspire the populace) finally took place on 11 July 1791."[67] Voltaire, in fact, shared these sentiments before his death by publicly concurring "all that Louis has done since his accession has endeared him to France," again showing a vast array of citizens and foreigners who supported the monarchy and Louis.[68]

The American Ambassador Morris wrote to Thomas Jefferson regarding the reaction that he witnessed upon learning of Louis' demise in 1793. "The greatest care was given to prevent an affluence of people. This proves a Conviction that the majority was not favorable to that severe measure."[69] The Ambassador's words left no doubt of his definition of the environment. "In effect, the great Mass of the Parisian citizens mourn'd [sic] the fate of their unhappy Prince. I have seen grief such as for the untimely death of a beloved Parent."[70]

The popularity of the Bourbon King Louis was not shared in Paris, as discussed. The reason attributed was the long-standing ill will between Austria and France and the marriage of the young dauphin Louis to the young Austrian Hapsburg Marie-Antoinette. "It must not be forgotten that the bourgeoisie of the large cities was traditionally opposed to Austria," which served as a convenient tool for opponents of Louis.[71] "Nothing made Louis XVI so unpopular (and) the Girondists (party of the Assembly) allied themselves for the purpose of bringing on this war." [72]

The war was made possible by widening the chasm of weakness in Louis' public popularity. As noted previously, the King was highly regarded by other Europeon governments, and French Revolution critic Edmund Burke shared this opinion. A letter to Lord Loughsborough reveals Burke's disdain for the events and contempt for the parties involved with Louis' death. "My dear Lord-since I saw you last, the catastrophe of the Tragedy of France has been compleated [sic]...it was the necessary result of all the preceding parts of that monstrous drama."[73] According to Burke, Jacobinism was one of the "two great evils of all time" with Robespierre the engine of the club formerly known as Society of the Friends of the Constitution. [74]

"So far as he was concerned...the revolution was about popular sovereignty..." and history shows Robespierre could heavily influence a confluence of opinions.[75] "Political power was to be transferred from a King who was merely the mouthpiece of the people as a whole."[76] The numbers of pro-royal people in France, particularly the nobility, were decreasing "in the aftermath of the taking of the Bastille."[77] Those loyal to the monarchy, while simultaneously filling the ranks of the army, left "their homes in waves...tens of

67. *Lettres Choisies de Charles Villete*, (Paris, 1792), 190 in Diane Kelder, *Aspects of Official Painting and Philosophic Art 1789-1799* (New York: Garland Press, 1976), 104.
68. Durant, *Story of Civilization*, Vol. 10, 857.
69. Morris to Thomas Jefferson, 25 January 1793, *Morris diary*, 2: 601-602.
70. Morris to Thomas Jefferson, 25 January 1793, *Morris diary*, Vol. 2, 601-602.
71. [Jane Doe], ed., *The Speeches of Maximilien Robespierre*, 24.
72. [Jane Doe], ed., *The Speeches of Maximilien Robespierre*, 24.
73. Burke to Lord Loughsborough, 27 January 1793, *The Correspondences of Edmund Burke*, Vol. 7, 344.
Burke to Earl Fitzwilliams, 21 June 1794, Ibid.
74. Burke to Earl Fitzwilliams, 21 June 1794, Ibid.
75. Hampson, *The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre*, 59.
76. Hampson, *The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre*, 59.
77. Massimo Boffa, "Émigrés," *The Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 324.

thousands of French men and women."[78] The émigrés departure coincided with Robespierre's increased attacks toward the man for whom he "was chosen to deliver a Latin address to ...as part of the coronation celebrations of 1778."[79]

The popularity of the sovereign could change if a political linkage could be established with the unpopular Austrians, already seen as a possible weakness. An improved nationalist spirit, combined with a hatred of all things Austrian, could change the focus of the Revolution from the struggle for a constitutional monarchy à l'Anglois to absolute power for the Jacobins and Robespierre. "The court...was not satisfied with paralyzing the legislative body, contradicting freely the wish of the people...it achieved its favorite goal...setting us in a state of war."[80] The manipulation of the populace was conducted in order to force a change in the direction of the conflict.

The question of manipulation of the Revolution by the Jacobins can be easily verified by both analysts and eyewitness accounts of the permutation of the Revolution. François Furet interpreted, by using a space age visual, that "the 'bourgois revolution' is transferred without effort to its second-stage rocket."[81] Furet gives full credit to the impending and ongoing struggle within the royal families of Europe. "The outbreak of the war between the French Revolution and the rest of Europe is probably one of the most important and telling problems in the history of the Revolution."[82] He stops short of specifically crediting the external war with Europe as a power play, but does acknowledge its effect on the conflict's speed in eliminating Louis.

Acknowledgment also comes in the form of an inquiry involving events linked internationally with the conflict. The multiple causality, temporal stage and social-religious-economic legacy "would lead also to generations of reflection and debate as to how such an amazing string of occurrences had come to pass."[83] In March 1792, for example, Gustavus III of Sweden was assassinated, pronouncing the Jacobins as the villains with his last breath. "Monarchs not already at war withdrew their ambassadors after August 10...after the French proclaimed war aims calculated to alienate and alarm not only monarchs, but the entire social hierarchies upon which their power rested."[84]

There are indications that Louis was alarmed, as early as the taking of the Bastille that the conflict involved more than a constitutional monarchy and that events would progress from there. "He had written a letter in July, 1789 to the King of Spain, denying responsibility for anything that he might be forced to consent to in the future."[85] Louis had witnessed early on the adverse attitudes towards the Queen and her familial connections to the Austrian Hapsburgs in Court.

Rumors and innuendoes abounded regarding any of Marie-Antoinette's activities. "The summer of 1778 was extremely hot. The Queen spent whole days in close-rooms [sic] and could not sleep until she had breathed the fresh night air."[86] As a result she had nightly promenades with members of the royal family and musician friends at the Ver-

78. Massimo Boffa, "Émigrés," *The Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 324.
79. Hampson, *The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre*, 7.
80. Robespierre, 11 January 1792, speech, *Spokesmen of the French Revolution*, 68.
81. Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 125-126.
82. Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 125-126.
83. Tackett, *Becoming A Revolutionary*, 4.
84. Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, 197.
85. Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, 62.
86. Madam Campan, *Memoirs*, 132-133.

sailles residence. "Nothing could be more innocent than those parties, yet Paris, France, nay all of Europe, were soon canvassing them in a manner most disadvantageous to the reputation of Marie-Antoinette."[87]

The Queen's Austrian background and the animosity of the French to Austria would follow her throughout her reign, when even mentioning the Hapsburg Empire would immediately conjure visions of France's Queen. "If we go over the chain of events since the Treaty of 1756, we see that France has sacrificed her possessions in America, her soldiers, her gold, her ancient alliances even her glory to the House of Austria."[88] The speech to the Assembly contributed to the public perception of Louis and the Austrians. "The shift of alliances, which led to a break with the state of Frederick II and to entente with Marie-Theresa's Austria, was interpreted as a mistake by many observers," who saw it in the context of the two-hundred year feud between the Bourbons and Hapsburgs.[89]

Even sleigh-riding parties at Versailles were regarded as fodder for a 'political event.' "The recollections of the pleasures which sleighing parties had given the Queen in her childhood made her wish to introduce similar ones in France."[90] This was known to the Court as nobles and princes had been seen sleighing as well, and their sleds found 'hidden' in the Versailles stables. The public discovered in it a predilection for the habits of Vienna. Thus "all that Marie-Antoinette did was criticized." [91]

These open detractions of the Queen, themselves precedent setting in France's history, were an opportunity for political opponents, in Court and in government, to gain a beachhead of influence and power. Particular individuals have been cited in historiography as having undue influence in the Revolution's events, but none has escaped examination as completely as the duc d'Orléans. Although brief, his appearance in the national struggle for power must be mentioned.

This royal family member is known to have spoken against Louis in the Estates General "at one of the most finely balanced moments in his country's history."[92] His banishment to the country with a lettre de cachet for his efforts "lifted the veil on despotism."[93] In so doing, he joined Louis' sister Madame Madélaine, who was openly critical of Marie-Antoinette.

Madam du Pin wrote an entry regarding the kidnapping of the royals at Versailles. "Monsieur de la Fayette's fault, if fault there was, was not the much criticized hour of sleep which he snatched fully dressed on a sofa in the salon of Madame de Poly, but his unawareness of the duc d'Orléans' plot."[94] She further implicates the duc in intrigues of another nature, as well. "I later learned beyond any possibility of a doubt that he was present at Versailles when the attempt was made to assassinate the Queen."[95]

Du Pin's shopping in Paris was cut short on the advice of Marie-Antoinette and by the changing mood in the capital, due in large part to reportedly directed insurrections. "It was becoming impossible to stay in Paris, on account of attempts to stir up doubt and anxiety about the supply of food. This anxiety was one of the weapons used by the revolutionaries to unsettle the people."[96] The unrest in Paris

87. Madam Campan, *Memoirs*, 132-133.
88. Vergniaud, 18 January 1792, *Spokesmen of the French Revolution*, 85.
89. Denis Richet, "Treaties of Basel and the Hague," The Critical Dictionary, 152-153.
90. Madam Campan, Memoirs, 96.
91. Madam Campan, Memoirs, 96.
92. Doyle, *The Oxford History...*, 80.
93. My personal observation, single quotes not needed.
94. Madam du Pin, *Memoirs of Madame de la Tour du Pin, 121.*
95. Madam du Pin, *Memoirs of Madame de la Tour du Pin*, 131.

manifested in these tumultuous events, which have been extensively researched and documented, was firmly imbedded in the actions of diplomacy.

The contempt of monarchy flashed through the diplomatic channels and forced a meeting of European heads of state. "The chief rulers of Germany, meeting at Pilnitz in 1791, proclaimed that the danger which threatened royalty in France was common to all old powers of Europe."[97] De Tocqueville noted that "they were all menaced, but at the bottom they did not believe it at all." [98]

The emergence of a unified defensive front, against the Revolutionaries was the 'great conspiracy' Chauvelin spoke of to King George III through Ambassador Grenville. "On August 27 (1791) the Emperor Leopold II and Frederick William, King of Prussia, met at Pilnitz. The result was an agreement between Prussia and Austria directed against the Revolution," but not in the aggressive way described by Chauvelin. "These two powers did not commit themselves to any step unless the other powers of Europe would combine with them...the convention led eventually to war." [99]

Foreign governments were not ignorant that Louis was imprisoned and that the government, having moved to Paris, was a new assemblage. The intrigues by the new government of France to coerce a war in favor of toppling the government increased. "The Ministre de la Justice was authorized to continue to make use of the Seal of State, which measure was thought necessary, as a letter had been delivered to him that morning from the King..." England was aware of the false representation made by the government of France, wherein an emissary said to be speaking for Louis was presented to the English court, although Louis had previously refused to sanction diplomatic ties through any such new representatives who might later be introduced.[100] Concerning this situation, George III said,

> "As a result...I intend to take no part whatever in the measures which the other powers of Europe may adopt in this manner...My hopes in this respect are all for the happiness of their Most Christian Majesties (the captives Louis and Marie-Antoinette) and their subjects...."[101]

Clearly, the war was in the hands of an executive power bent on overthrowing the Constitution and placing the blame for war on Louis. Under twenty-four hour watch, where guards viewed the family's every move through open doors, except when the Queen rose in the morning, the royals had no defense against attacks. The attempts to increase Austrian hatred through the very real veil of war resulted in an intense animosity in Paris toward monarchy and all things Austrian. The Revolutionaries' web captured not only the royal family, but also the bitterness of the populace and aimed this at the living King. Robespierre saw his efforts against the monarchy moving forward and made a daring strike at the heart of the system by saying, "let us march against all the tyrants of the land."[102]

During the trial of Louis, coercion and intimidation were evident in the voting, which took place at the Assembly. "Ministers I

96. Du Pin, 109.
97. Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, Alan Kahan, trans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 93.
98. Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, Alan Kahan, trans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 93.
99. Oscar Browning, ed., *The Despatches of Earl Gower*, xxiii.
100. Lord Earl Gower, 22 June 1791, dispatch, Gower, 96.
101. King George III to Gower, 13 August 1791, *Letters of King George III*, 214.
102. Robespierre, 11 January 1792, speech, *Spokesmen of the French Revolution*, 74.

understand have been privately threatened by Robespierre's party."[103] The result of the vote to take Louis' life must come under question for its authenticity and for the freedom of choice involved in the voting, with historiography failing to examine this evidence. These clues testify to a power play of epic proportions at work and strongly suggest that the killing of the King was not the work of a truly popular vote. In the words of dispatches sent a week before Louis' death, "in order to secure success large bodies of armed men are daily arriving here from the provinces."[104] Why for instance was it necessary for the government, under the Jacobin and Robespierre umbrella of power, to call out troops to repress a possible disturbance for the 'popular' outcome of the trial? If it was indeed the will of the people to guillotine Louis, why were armed men needed to keep the peace? All this strongly suggests the fact that the Revolution, and the regicide that accompanied it, may not have been a popular revolt.

The ideas of the regicide in particular and Revolution in general as not being representative of a majority opinion have not been thoroughly examined in historiography. As Gower noted in his dispatches, "it is generally supposed that these men (troops) are intended to protect the decision of the National Convention whatever it may be."[105] The most telling comment from the English Ambassador concerning the true will of the French people concludes his communiqué to King George III. "That there is a majority really wishing to save His majesty's life in not to be doubted." [106]

As a final blow to the premise of the Revolution as a popular act, Lord Gower writes of Louis' trial one week after the King's death. "Few of the members who went to the National Convention on Thursday morning with a positive resolution voted as they intended." Intimidation and a fear factor enforced by a minority of players again bubble to the surface as the true motives which galvanized the "Revolutionaries." "This sudden change in their sentiments can therefore only be imputed to fear or some other base principle..." Gower continues with his interpretation of the Revolutionaries' formula for success. "In order to intimidate the Royal party nothing but proscriptions and massacres are held out by Robespierre's party."[107] Gower also noted that these revolutionaries actually questioned their own safety as "many of the members of the National Convention I have spoken with never expect to escape." [108] If the decision to execute Louis was a popular one, with the understanding that a majority of the people approved, then what was the reason for convention members fearing for their lives?

Robespierre may have provided the answer one year before in his famous "On War" speech before the Assembly. "One person wants to attack the émigrés and the German princes, others want to declare war on Leopold...but in the midst of all these diverse opinions it will always be the executive power which decides."[109] A two-fold pronouncement, this message intimates that the war is Louis' fault, even though he is being held as a political prisoner for treason, and that this 'power to decide' is Robespierre's personal goal.

Fomenting nationalism through paranoia of the monarchies of France and Europe, the head Jacobin asserted, "do you not see that the executive power already is reaping the harvest of the skill with which it lured you into its

103. Lord Earl Gower, 17 December 1792, Gower, 256-257.
104. Lord Earl Gower, 10 January 1792, Gower, 275.
105. Lord Earl Gower, 10 January 1792, *Despatches*, 275.
106. Gower, 275.
107. Gower, 275.
108. Gower, 275.
109. Robespierre, 21 January 1792, speech, *Spokesmen*, 280-281.

traps? Has he not assembled the armies at his disposal?"[110] Playing both sides of the argument, Robespierre claimed Louis was sending France to war against armies which Louis himself had assembled, a paradox left largely unexamined.

Knowing the populace was needed to successfully wrest power from the monarchy, there was a concerted effort placed on the arts to influence opinion and manipulate the public perception of the conflict. This was attempted through the underground press of the time, the pamphleteers. Their effect can be seen as beneficial to the Revolutionaries, by questioning and maligning the monarchy through unforgiving words and caricatures. Overtures were also made to reputable artists of the time for their positive portrayal of the Revolutionaries' 'virtuous' doctrines.

Attacks on Marie-Antoinette, a favorite target of Parisians and pamphleteers alike, were the most prolific. These were aimed at both her supposed extracurricular affairs, recast in a pornographic setting, and also at her Austrian background. One accusation - a "wife with no sense of decency, you prostitute yourself to fearful pleasures..." - voiced the popular rumor of male and female romps sponsored by the Queen at Versailles' Petit Trianon and Paris galas.[111] Another pamphlet, among the thousands on file, referred to the depleted finances of the country as a result of the Austrian Queen. "Let's laugh, let's revel, make use of our power. Squander all the money of our good Parisians."[112]

"The execution of the Queen was probably the revolutionary subject that inspired the greatest number of engravings, most of royalist sentiment."[113] The anticipated influence of the pamphlets and artists on the public was utilized by the new government to jettison the revolution into its 'second stage' as described by Furet. "Leaders in the National Assembly called on artists to devote their talents to the Revolution. In June 1790, a group of artists petitioned the deputies in an attempt to preserve the four supporting figures, which the Assembly had ordered removed from the base of the statue of Louis XIV."[114] This evinced both the Revolutionaries need to sway the masses and those groups not following the canon of the Jacobin-led insurrection.

The attempted manipulation of public opinion by revolutionary printers and writers contributed to the overall effect of the conflict. "Public opinion and politics enjoyed a symbiotic relationship in late eighteenth-century France."[115] The Revolutionaries hoped to influence the public to such an extent that a majority would eventually become involved in the revolt. However, there is strong evidence to assert that this wish did not come true for the insurrection leaders.

"The arsenal of Maximilien's power was the Club of the Jacobins...."[116] The power was exercised to gather together the people of France in a united effort to not only establish a constitutional monarchy, but to install Robespierre as the absolute ruler of the country.

110. Robespierre, 21 January 1792, speech, *Spokesmen*, 280-281.

111. F. Dantelle, "Descriptions of the Royal Menagerie," 1789(?), pamphlet, Bibliothèque Nationale, 8°L6396056, in Chantel Thomas, *Wicked Queen: the Origins of the Myth of Marie-Antoinette*, Julie Rose, trans. (New York: Zone Books, 1999), 245.

112. "Austrian Woman on the Rampage," 1789, pamphlet, Bibliothèque l'Arsenal, in Rf 16.147, Thomas, 209.

113. Claudette Hould, *Images of the French Revolution* (Quebec: Musée de Québec, 1989), 283.

114. James Leith, *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France, 1750-1799* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 99.

115. Kenneth Margerism, *Pamphlets and Public Opinion* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1998), 1.

116. [Jane Doe], ed. and trans., *The Speeches of Maximilien Robespierre*, 18.

Every means was utilized to accomplish this feat.

The Jacobins employed various methods to foment the populace to topple the monarchy. Resorting to war with Austria, they aspired to accomplish a two-fold ambition. First, to unite the general public through a nationalistic hatred of Austria, and then to direct the insurrection specifically at Marie-Antoinette, attacking her politically and socially through pamphleteering. These actions were necessary only if the Revolution was indeed a conflict unpopular with the majority of the French.

War with Europe was blamed on the incapacitated Louis to incite further monarchical hatred and lead to his eventual demise, thus opening the door for the new government. After his walk to the guillotine, Louis was not able to witness the Assembly's actions, which had complete control of the country's government. "On February 1,1793, war was unanimously declared on England and Holland. On 7 March 7, 1793 war was declared without discussion on Spain."[117] Both of these events took place after the King's death. "Carried away by their own success and rhetoric, they now bade defiance to the whole of Europe."[118]

Jane Doe, in her introduction to the Letters of Robespierre, notes that "Robespierre is at the pinnacle of his power when he is President of the Constituent Assembly President of the Jacobins...the Jacobins exercised an illegal control over all the representatives of the Convention."[119] Hence, the true controlling power in the Revolution is best evidenced by the fact that "exclusion from the Club of the Jacobins was equivalent to a letter of introduction to the guillotine."[120] It was the power of the anti-royal politicians who were attempting to incite the majority to rebel.

This power sentenced to destruction political adversaries like Olympes de Gouges, a popular writer who penned 'the Rights of Woman', and a Girondist party member viewed as a political threat to the Jacobins and Robespierre. "I was presented with my indictment three days before my death; from the moment this indictment was signed, the law gave me the right to see my defenders...all were prevented from seeing me."[121]

This last example is symbolic of the shift of focus that the French Revolution took in the years after 1789. From fighting for representation and human rights, the Revolution became the Terror. While at war with Austria, the Revolution served as an attempt to coalesce the people against Marie-Antoinette and the monarchy, and ended by denying individuals the very rights it purported to defend. Although not a definitive study, this examination has questioned the popularity and the spontaneity of the French Revolution. Much like a civil trial, where the objective is not opinion beyond the shadow of a doubt, this examination has merely offered a preponderance of evidence in favor of shedding a new light on the conflict.

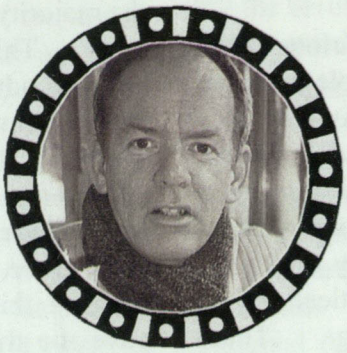
117. Beatrice Kay Reynolds, ed. and trans., *Spokesmen of the French Revolution*, 35.

118. Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, 201.

119. [Jane Doe[, ed., *The Speeches of Maximilien Robespierre*, 18-19.

120. [Jane Doe], ed. and trans. *The Speeches of Maximilien Robespierre*, 18-19.

121. Olympes de Gouges to son, 3 November 1793, Olivier Blanc, *Last Letters-Prisons and Prisoners of the French Revolution*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1987), 130-131.



Author's Biography
Tim Finch

Mr. Finch was born in Iowa and still remembers weekends on his grandparents' family farm in Ballantyne and haircuts in Alta Vista Over the years, Timothy moved to various parts of Oregon, Idaho, Northern and, eventually, Southern California with his parents, sister and three brothers. He worked at Disneyland while pursuing a Journalism degree at Cal State, Fullerton. After graduation, Tim stayed on at the University for another decade plus.

Mr. Finch and his best friend Jayne now reside in Lake Forest, where their children, Graham and Hillary, attend high school. Tim's schoolteacher sister Leslee also lives with them. In addition, Jayne and Tim have enticed their formerly Arizona-based father to stay with the family by building an extra bedroom and bath onto their home.

Timothy is presently pursuing an M.A. in History and is a member of Pi Alpha Theta. Fascination with the complexity and multi-dimensionality of the French Revolution is the reason behind Tim's thesis work, which seeks to answer the following question: why declare war on neighbors during the tremendous cultural, economic, political and philosophical upheaval of Revolutionary France?

Tim wishes to express special gratitude to Doctors Bakken, Fitch, Haddad and Stelluto for being both examples of intestinal fortitude, support, and friendship, and also for modeling the various ways to conduct illuminating classes. Tim further thanks these professors for supplying him the "fuel for the fire," i.e., implanting a desire to find answers to intellectually stimulating questions.Finally and most importantly, Tim thanks his wife Jayne for her continued support throughout this fascinating journey.

When Confronted with Evil: Israel Puts itself on Trial

By Needa Black

Edited and Introduced by Mateo M. Farzaneh

A concise background and light detail on the situation of the Hungarian Jewry in the last fearsome months of World War II is the introduction to the main theme of this article. Orthodox Zionist Rezso ("Rudolph") Kasztner, a very controversial Israeli figure, and his trial fill the pages of this article. Kasztner directly made a deal with Eichmann in order to free a number of Jews including his own family before their deportations to Auschwitz in exchange for much needed supplies for the Nazis. Nedda Black's fascinating historical revision, is based on thorough research along with an overwhelming amount of in depth analysis. She makes a valid point that history has unfairly portrayed Kasztner who ultimately saved over 1,600 lives by his actions.

The story of Hungarian Jewry and its chapter in Holocaust history—the final chapter—is undoubtedly one of the more painfully ironic and tragic of the Nazi war against the Jews. Hungary, a country which by all appearances was likely to survive the war intact, a country which had even served as a relative haven for those refugees of the Nazi regime who had somehow managed to escape to Hungary from the surrounding occupied lands during the same period, suddenly found itself, in the eleventh hour, subject to some of the most brutal and intensified devastation of which the Nazis were capable. In a period of less than two months, close to half a million lives, half of its Jewry, were systematically annihilated. With only a year remaining until its final collapse, the Nazi regime was focused not on war strategy, not on military recovery, but on the ever-escalating, obsessive destruction of as many Jews as possible before the dreaded end would finally arrive. As a result, Nazi policy during this final hour was utterly unsystematic, desperate, and contradictory. Jewish response, to the extent it was to prove at all effective, was therefore necessarily creative, unorthodox, and extraordinary; and, those with the courage to take on the responsibility of carrying out any response were inevitably to become among the rarer, more complex, and controversial figures in history. This paper is an attempt to sift through the rubble of Nazi devastation in Hungary between 1944 and 1945, and in doing so, to put into context and maybe shed some light on one particular figure—that of Rezsõ ("Rudolph") Israel Kasztner—on whom history has dealt far more than its average share of blows.

Rezso ("Rudolph") Israel Kasztner
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(obtained from website).

The Historical Context: Hungary, Nazi Germany, and the Holocaust

Hungarian Jewry, prior to the turn of the 20th Century, had been a distinctly well-integrated society. Beginning with their emancipation in 1867, after the Compromise, which led to the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and continuing on up through the First World War, Jews experienced what Randolph Braham refers to as a "Golden Era" of social, political, intellectual, and cultural participation in Hungarian society. Hungarian Jews were instrumental in building and restructuring Hungarian society post-1867, contributing on all levels, from finance to education, managing in the process to make themselves an utterly indispensable part of the economic and political fabric of the country. As a result of this role, in concomitance with their fervent patriotism and lack of territorial ambition, Jews enjoyed a great degree of tolerance and protection under the Hungarian regime. While a new wave of anti-Semitism, which had begun to sweep across all of Europe, did reach the borders of Hungary, unlike the situation in so much of Europe, it was clearly in the interests of the Hungarian leadership to offer protection to its Jews from rabid anti-Semitism.[1] Therefore, Hungarian Jewry, while not immune, did experience a heavy cushion of protection. This protection, in turn, was responded to with gratitude and fidelity. Hence, a stable and powerful symbiosis was maintained for some time between the

1. Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 21.

Jewish population and its Hungarian leadership.

However, this golden symbiosis was bound to come to an end. When the First World War ended, and left all of Europe's formerly leading powers in ruination and despair, a singularly tragic consequence of this disintegration was visited upon Hungary. In 1918, with the fall of the Hapsburg Empire and the ensuing dissolution of the Hungarian Kingdom, the golden symbiosis between Hungarian and Jewish leadership came to a screeching halt. Out of the rubble of the collapsed empire had arisen in Hungary a communist dictatorship of particularly devastating severity, headed by Bela Kun, who was, ironically, a Jew, yet under whom the Jews above all were "persecuted both as members of the middle class and as followers of an organized religion." Under Kun, only those relatively few Jews who renounced their Judaism were left alone. This outburst of violence and persecution came to be known as the Red Terror. As a result of a combination of factors, including both the "high visibility of Communists of Jewish origin in the Kun government," and the malignant influence of anti-semitic propaganda which had widely permeated the political scene of Europe at large, Jews found themselves bearing the brunt of a wounded society's despair and their downward spiral into abject poverty and political bankruptcy. The First World War had left Hungary with the humiliating reality of only a third of its historic territory and two-fifths of its total population.[2]

In an interview with Arthur Stern on 1 November 2002, he described the turbulent political environment into which he was born. Stern was born in Budapest in 1925. Not long before, at the end of the First World War, the eastern part of Hungary had been lost to Rumania, under the plainly harsh terms of the Trianon Treaty, as ratified by the Hungarian National Assembly on 13 November 1920.[3] With this territory went a very large Hungarian Jewish minority, which had been concentrated in eastern cities like Cluj in the region of Transylvania. The peasant population in the east Hungarian countryside had been significantly Rumanian, so that a city like Cluj (Kolozsvar in the original Hungarian), which had a significant Hungarian (and Jewish) majority, was "an island in a sea of Rumanian peasants." As a result of the territorial amputation, their country of twenty one million inhabitants, of whom eleven to twelve million professed themselves to be Hungarian, had suddenly been left with about eight million inhabitants, of whom well over seven million declared themselves Hungarian. This abrupt demographic shift had drastic consequences on the Jewish population of Hungary. The Jews of Hungary had always identified strongly with the Hungarian majority and considered themselves to be Hungarian first and foremost. Therefore, in those portions of Hungary which had now become Rumania, Jews fiercely resisted assimilation and found themselves alienated from the larger society to which they were strangers. In Hungary proper, Jews soon discovered that they were no longer an essential component in the formation of a Hungarian majority and had therefore become a mere peripheral element there as well. Unlike the political situation prior to the dissection of Hungary, in which Jews were a critical component to the formation of a Hungarian majority, Jews suddenly found themselves a powerless and insignificant minority. Thus, this drastic change in the political dynamic resulted in dire consequences for the Hungarian Jewish community. Stern recalls a childhood in which the very idea of "getting those territories back," of "righting the terrible injustice that was done to us" at the hands of the winning powers of the

2. Ibid., 21-22.

3. Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 26.

war permeated the socio-political atmosphere to such a degree that it was "ingrained into our blood."[4]

Against the backdrop of this fresh wound to Hungary's historical and geopolitical integrity, the various nationalistic, revanchist, and revisionist forces sweeping across the European continent at the time, which were eventually to give rise to Fascism and then to Nazism, suddenly took on a different, more seductive light. The utopist promises of these various ideologies were a much needed balm to Hungary's wounded pride in that they each promised not only some form of territorial resolution, but psychological compensation as well. Jews, no longer essential to the Hungarian majority, became increasingly vulnerable. Of course, at the time, Jews still owned a proportionately large part of the country's wealth. However, "it was just a question of taking it away," added Stern.[5] Therefore, as Braham concludes, "In this climate, it was no surprise that, in the wake of the White Terror [the counter-revolutionary force organized in reaction to the Red Terror which had preceded it], Hungary – the country in which the Jews had enjoyed a 'Golden Era' just a few years earlier – emerged as the first country in post-World War I Europe to adopt anti-Jewish legislation."[6] The justification for the plundering of Jewish wealth was to come to them in the form of the most promising social and intellectual panacea at the time: Nazism. Hungary found expression for its own revisionist and revanchist yearnings in the promise of Nazism. Hungary's affinity to national socialism would come to directly and indirectly dictate its domestic and foreign policies throughout the entire reign of the Third Reich; it would serve as the foundation upon which Hungary's own Jewish population was eventually to be brutally decimated.

By the 1930s, following the appointment of Gyula Gömbös as prime minister, Hungary's destiny had "almost irrevocably [been tied] to that of Nazi Germany." And, with every new crowning success of the Nazi party in Germany, the "successive Hungarian governments embraced the Axis ever more tightly." Gömbös "brought Hungary's foreign policy into line with that of Nazi Germany and made possible the subsequent penetration by and direct involvement of the Reich in practically every aspect of the country's life."[7] The tighter the embrace, the greater it seemed was the reward. Hungary's revanchist dreams were gradually being realized. "Hungary held a unique place among this constellation of countries in that it received generous benefits from the Germans [during this time]."[8] Between November 1938 and April 1941, Hungary successively acquired the Felvidek (Upper Province) of Czechoslovakia, the region of Carpatho-Ruthenia, Northern Transylvania from Rumania, and finally the Delvidek (Southern Region) of Czechoslovakia.[9]

In return for these territorial rewards, and perhaps as an insurance policy against their future loss and against any loss of any of its freedom whatsoever, the Hungarian leadership enthusiastically fulfilled their responsibility as loyal Nazi allies by subjecting the vulnerable Jewish minority in their midst to all kinds of persecution in the form of legislative acts, governmental decrees, and numerous forms of creative social, political, and economic anti-Jewish measures. Arthur Stern describes how, as a result of the legal formalization of Hungarian anti-Semitism, Jews were more severely excluded from access to univer-

4. Arthur Stern, interview by author, 1 November 2002, private residence, Beverly Hills, California.
5. Ibid.
6. Braham (1994), 22.
7. Ibid., 23.
8. Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry* (Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House Ltd., 1990), 143.
9. Braham (1994), 24.

sities; employment was more restricted, and Jews were removed from long-held government posts. For example, it was ordained that no company could employ more than six percent Jews (and many employed far fewer, if any at all). "This was a tremendous blow to the Jewish community because the Jews were more educated in general, and therefore they were usually the ones who occupied a large number of those positions."[10] The number of people who fell under the aegis of this legislation had ironically almost doubled as a result of the newly acquired territory. The number of Jews in Hungary had grown from its previous figure of "nearly 450,000 in 1930 to 725,000 in January 1941."[11] This figure does not include the "100,000 or so people who had converted to Christianity at one time or another but were defined as Jews by the racial laws." Of these people, "close to 185,000 Jews lived in Budapest, representing about 25 percent of the country's Jewish population."[12]

Despite the deteriorating social and political atmosphere of Hungary following the First World War, Hungarian Jewry did manage to maintain a viable, though significantly weakened, foothold in society. "Overwhelmingly urban and patriotic, the Jews continued to play an important role in the modernization and capitalist development of Hungary even after the debacle of World War I. A relatively small percentage of them managed to maintain their leading position in the professions and the major sectors of the economy, including banking, industry, and commerce."[13] Arthur Stern's father, Leo (Leon) Stern, was among this minority. Leo Stern and his brother Joseph owned majority interests in a chain of companies which manufactured and distributed lumber throughout Hungary.

Ironically, for my father, the changes during this period were great. As a result of them, he became richer and richer. Because the superficial formalities that he had to observe in keeping his company a 'Christian' company were relatively easy to fulfill. It cost only money. It was very simple to assemble a board of directors which was majority Christian, in which participated former members of the government, who were now paid. But they did not really intend to run the company. Their only function was to fulfill the requirement of majority membership on the board of directors. It was my father who in fact owned and ran the company.[14]

Ownership of the company shares was not included among the enumerated restrictions, and Leo Stern had managed to capitalize on that loophole. Stern points out that this loophole was created for the express purpose of protecting the prominent Jews, whose loss would have incurred an unnecessary threat to the stability of the social system. "So, as a result, life was good for a small fraction of us," he added. The situation was such that "there was heavy oppression of the vast majority of the Jews, but there was a distinct layer which prospered. And those were the big Jewish industries, who used the existing anti-Jewish laws in such a way as not to lose their property, but to accommodate the formalities that the law covered."[15]

On the other hand, the situation was starkly different for a great majority of the Jews who, as Braham puts it, "could hardly eke out a living. . . .This was especially true during the war years preceding the German occupation of Hungary on [19 March] 1944. The impoverished Jews were supported by the Jewish congregations, which maintained a well-developed network of religious, educational, health, and welfare organizations."[16]

10. Stern, interview.
11. Yahil, 184.
12. Ibid., 506.
13. Braham (1994), 29.
14. Stern, interview.
15. Ibid.
16. Braham (1994), 29.

The resources and organizations available to Jews varied significantly over a wide spectrum. This was due to the fact that, as with Jewish communities throughout Europe, the Jewish community of Hungary was far from the monolithic structure the Nazis believed it to be. There was in fact "no unified, centralized Jewish leadership in Hungary... Neither was there any Jewish political body in Hungary dedicated to pursuing a distinctively Jewish policy that was comparable to the Jewish parties in Rumania and Czechoslovakia." Hungarian Jewry was in fact a highly splintered community consisting of a wide "variety of distinct social classes and religious groupings that had each created its own communal organization." Therefore, "only a few social-assistance and cultural organizations existed on a nationwide scale."[17] Randolph Braham describes how "the level of support varied from community to community, depending on the financial health of the central welfare organizations and of the local congregations." [18]

Jews were sub-divided into three "mutually hostile" groups: approximately half were Neolog and half were Orthodox, and a small number, who "rejected the positions of both major groups," fell into what was called Status Quo.[19] Among these groups, the Neolog community (which was of comparable belief and practice to today's American Conservative movement) dominated the central leadership of Hungarian Jewry, to the extent that such leadership existed. This Neolog community "[consisted] of rich, patriotic, and generally conservative elements, [and was] firmly committed to the values and principles of the traditional conservative-aristocratic system."[20] Rather "removed from religious Judaism," the Neologs "firmly identified with the revisionist aspirations of Hungary."[21] So powerful was this identification that it created a blind spot within the Jewish community which allowed them to "view the rise of anti-Semitism and the consequent adoption of anti-Jewish measures as a legal and constitutional issue confronting the entire nation and a reflection of the spirit of the times." As a result, throughout the War, until it was too late, Hungarian Jews would "remain convinced that, unlike the Jewish communities in the neighboring countries, the Jews of Hungary would survive the war, enjoying the physical protection of the conservative-aristocratic Hungarian government." [22]

Thus, the Jewish community of Hungary during this time was held captive to the illusion that, for all the public formalities of anti-Semitic policy, Hungarian leadership would ultimately remain by their side and not abandon their own Jewish population to the clutches of some foreign power. "They accepted, however reluctantly, many of the anti-Jewish measures as ...necessary tactical moves to 'take the sting out of the anti-Semitic drive' of the ultra-rightists at home and abroad." So blind-sided were they that they even bought into the perverted rationalization of anti-Jewish laws whereby they were seen as "the best guarantee against anti-Semitism and intolerance."[23] This faith in Hungarian leadership, which turned all human logic and reason on its head, was deeply rooted in a profound sense of the service and historic contribution Jews had made to Hungarian society, and an indefatigable belief in the powerful bond of mutual interest and benefit that had been nourished between them. Theirs was a faith based on knowledge, experience, and history—all

17. Yahil, 506-507.
18. Braham (1994), 29.
19. Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 227.

Braham (1981), 85.

20. Braham (1994), 30.
21. Bauer, *Rethinking*. 227.
22. Braham (1994), 30.
23. Ibid., 25.

those things that were soon to betray them. It was a faith in all they had known as humanity; and it was a faith that was to eventually ensnare them in the Nazi web of death.

Nevertheless, for several years, the idea of silently enduring anti-Semitic legislation and persecution as one would invest in an insurance policy, at least on the surface, appeared to be a valid one. "As long as this aristocratic elite remained in power [and the plethora of anti-Semitic legislation and treatment they disseminated was accepted], the vital interests of Hungarian Jewry were preserved relatively intact, even during the war."[24] In fact, between the years 1940 and 1943, Hungary had served as a refuge for over 15,000 Jews who had fled from the surrounding areas of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Russia, which had been in the process of being systematically ravaged and dismembered by German military aggression since 1938.[25] While this number pales beside the much larger number who stood in desperate need of refuge, it is nevertheless a testimony to the prevailing perception of Hungary at the time as a relative haven amidst the raging inferno of Nazi devastation that was threatening to engulf the whole of Europe. This is a significant distinction, given the complex and contradictory conditions within Hungary itself.

All this changed on 19 March 1944, when Nazi Germany, no longer able to securely rely on Hungary as an ally, made the characteristically unilateral decision to invade. Hungary, overwhelmed and torn between the dual threat of Soviet and German occupation, was caught utterly unprepared. "Except for a few isolated shots, the occupation was carried out without any interference or resistance by the Hungarian army or population."[26] In the

The "Kastzner Train", Courtesy of The Simon Wiesenthal Center.

wake of this initial shock, however, Hungary's governing regent, Miklós Horthy, made a series of questionable and highly controversial decisions which played a significant role in all the events that were to follow.

Immediately upon occupation, with an alacrity and severity typical of the Nazi leadership, a vast array of changes was imposed upon Hungarian society: an entirely new national government was put into place; all of Hungary's resources, both political and economic, were mobilized for the common effort of the war (the German war); all Hungarian civilian agencies were placed under the command of the Schutzstaffel (SS); and finally, all those required mechanisms of Nazi machinery were put into place for the sole purpose of implementing the Final Solution to the Jewish question, including the Yellow Badge, which was made an official requirement on the attire of every Jew as of 5 April.[27] The controversy surrounding Horthy's subsequent decisions begins with the question of what it meant for him to have agreed to remain at his post, ceremonially serving as the so-called regent, at the head of a government which in reality no longer existed in any recognizable form, a government which had for all practical purposes been thoroughly liquidated right into the

24. Ibid., 25.
25. Mordecai Shtrigler, "The Kastner Case," *Jewish Frontier* (August 1955): 13; Braham (1994), 32.
26. Braham (1994), 62.
27. Yahil, 505.

hands of the German invaders. The impact of Horthy's decision was manifold. First and foremost, in remaining, Horthy had "legitimized the occupation." But more disastrously for the Jews, Horthy's decision, in effect, "pacified the Hungarian masses and thereby assured the maintenance of law and order that the Germans desired, guaranteed the uninterrupted continuation of war production, and caused the development of a quisling spirit in the country." Horthy did the Germans a great service in having "maintained the façade of Hungarian sovereignty, [assured] the cooperation of new, pro-Nazi Hungarian government, [and provided] legitimacy for the anti-Jewish operation."[28]

Given the situation as it was, when the Hungarian National Socialist Party, the Arrow Cross, under the leadership of Ferenc Szalasi, seized power in Hungary on the morning of 15 October 1944, they found the road had been readily paved for them. André Biss, in his book, A Million Jews to Save, portrays the unique dynamic that existed between the Hungarian leadership and the Germans during this time. "What the Third Reich needed in Hungary was a partner able to carry on with the war and, from the administrative point of view, keep a firm grip on the government."[29] While Horthy had all too willingly fulfilled this role on sole condition that he not lose his nominal power, Szalasi and the Arrow Cross were not the least bit interested in cooperation with the Germans, nor in losing any of their control over how their own Jewish population was to be eradicated. They had every intention of resolving the Hungarian Jewish problem themselves. In fact, from the moment they assumed power, the Arrow Cross set out on an accelerated pace to correct the perceived leniency on the part of the Hungarians throughout the previous months of German occupation.[30] Therefore, "despite its resemblance to" the German Nazi Party in everything from its ideological compatibility to its distinctly virulent strain of anti-Semitism, the Arrow Cross was, ironically, nothing but an object of contempt to the Germans.[31]

It is against this backdrop that the emergence of a figure like Rezsõ Kasztner becomes significant. How one man, and the rescue committee that worked with him, managed to rescue any Jews at all, in the face of universal betrayal, is nothing short of a miracle.

Rezsõ (Rudolph) Israel Kasztner

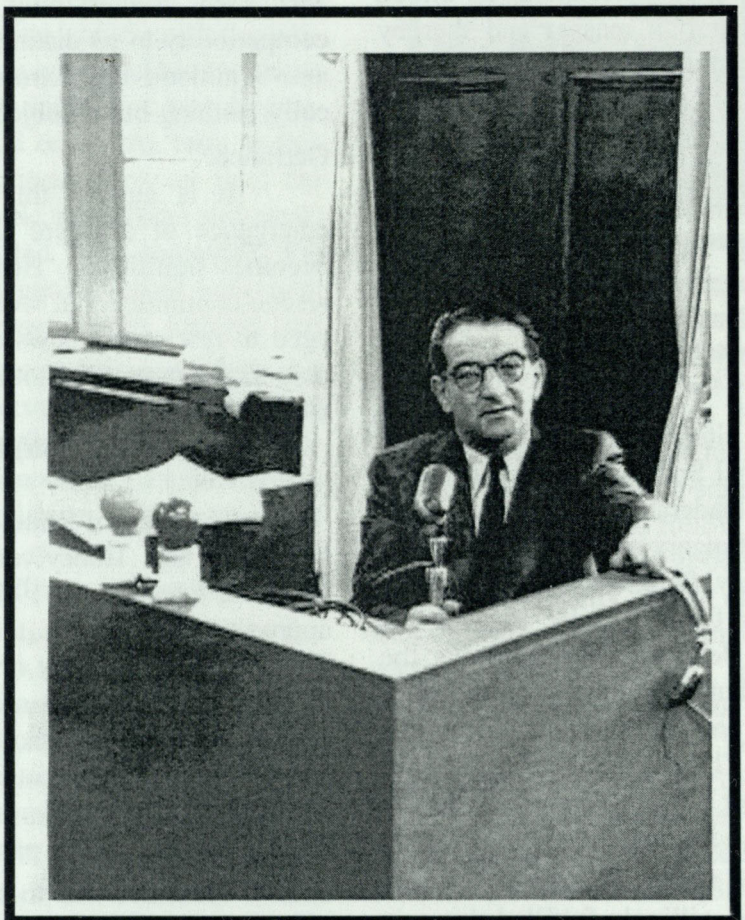
The story of Rudolph (Rezsõ) Kasztner begins in the Transylvanian town of Cluj, where he was born in 1906. Clujs Jews were approximately twenty thousand in number. The Jewish community of Cluj, unlike that of the city of Budapest, possessed a substantially Jewish (primarily Orthodox) and somewhat less substantially Zionist identity. They were Jews first and Hungarian (or Rumanian at the time Cluj was still a part of Rumania) second.[32] Kasztner was to remain in Cluj until after the annexation of Transylvania by Hungary in 1940, when he would relocate to Budapest.

From the time of his youth, Kasztner had been very active in politics, beginning as a Labor Zionist activist, and acting from within the center-left Zionist group known as Ihud. The Ihud was the "Diaspora extension of the Palestine Jewish Labor Party known as Mapai."[33] Kasztner was a journalist by profession, but was also well versed in the law and in five languages. Between the years 1925

28. Braham (1994), 56-57.
29. André (Andréas) Biss, *Der Stopp der Endlosung (*A million Jews to save: check to the Final Solution, translated by Hutchinson & Co.) (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1975), 149.
30. Ibid., 152.
31. Ibid., 148-149.
32. Ben Hecht, *Perfidy* (New York: Julian Mesner, 1961), 90.

and 1940, he distinguished himself by playing a significant role in the mediation of interests between the Jewish community and Transylvanian leadership as parliamentary correspondent in Bucharest. He also managed to serve in the capacity of political and parliamentary correspondent of the Zionist daily newspaper Uj Kelet ("New Middle East") from the years 1929 to 1931, which allowed him to build a solid rapport with the highly intricate and convoluted Rumanian political establishment.

In 1942, having become a Hungarian citizen, Kasztner moved to Budapest "where he quickly became the leading light in the very small Labor Zionist faction" in existence there. Given the rather fledgling status of the Zionist movement in Budapest as compared with that which he was familiar with in Rumania, Kasztner had much in the way of knowledge and experience to offer them. However, his fame was to remain limited to a "small coterie of intellectuals." The various Zionist Youth movements which had been highly active during the same period preferred to conduct their own operations on an independent plane from that of Kasztner and his colleagues.[34] The Zionist presence in Budapest was quite unlike the dynamic which had surrounded Kasztner since his youth. In Budapest, the Jews considered themselves to be Hungarian first and Jews only second. In fact, altogether, "Hungarian Zionists probably did not account for more than five percent of Hungarian Jews, the reason being that ... most Hungarian Jews were patriotic Hungarians, whereas the Zionists preached that the Jews were a nation and should go to Palestine."[35]



Rezso Kasztner in a broadcastingbooth at *Kol Yisroel* where he hosted a Hungarian-language program.Courtesy of "Kasztner Memorial" Dr. Egon Mayer & Associates. CUNY Graduate Center.

When this reality of Hungarian Jewry is taken into consideration, it becomes all the more apparent how tragically overestimated had been the influence of Kasztner and his colleagues upon the general population of Hungarian Jewry. The fact of the matter is that they were a minority within a minority and simply had no real authority in Hungary. "From a Hungarian Jewish point of

33. Yehuda Bauer, *Jews for Sale? Nazi-Jewish Negotiations, 1933-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 151.

34. Bauer, *Rethinking,* 227-228.

35. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?,* 151-152.

view, people like Kasztner and [Joel] Brand were marginal—they were totally unknown in the community, and they were foreigners."[36] Even when, on 21 March, the Jews were impelled to establish a Budapest Judenrat, or Jewish Council, Kasztner had nothing to do with it—neither at the time nor at any time afterward.[37]

Sometime in 1943, Arthur Stern was approached by Kasztner, who had taken to Stern rather affectionately, with a personalized certificate of immigration to Palestine. At the time, Stern knew Kasztner as the vice-president of the Hungarians' Zionist Organization. He also knew of many of his peers who had obtained similar certificates. There was apparently at that time a certain allotment granted for immigration each year. However, Stern was unable to take advantage of the certificate. His father adamantly forbade it. "That his son should be allowed to make the perilous journey through Turkey and eventually into Palestine, coming face to face with God only knows what dangers, was utterly unthinkable to him; who knows what could have happened to his son—and his oldest son at that," relates Stern. Stern, of course, obeyed his father; for, his father was, after all, his "one and only hero in life."[38] His story, a real and very personal one, helps put into perspective—in a way general history never could—the idea of relativity in experience and why in the end it was so incredibly difficult, if not impossible, for Hungarian Jewry to be persuaded to flee. To Leo Stern, allowing his son to leave "safe" Hungary would have been an act of sheer insanity and nothing less. Stern's story poignantly reveals why it is that History, which is divorced from the individual and profoundly personal realities like his, ultimately loses its human relevance. It is only through its immersion in the excruciating detail of personal experience that historical truth comes to ultimately transcend it.

Once in Budapest, with the assistance of Joel Brand, Otto Komoly, Samuel Springmann, and other Zionist leaders of similar perspective, Kasztner set up the Relief and Rescue Committee (Vaada) in 1943. The priority of this clandestine and illegal organization was initially the aid of Jewish refugees from the surrounding regions of Poland and Slovakia, through cooperation with similar organizations, which had been established both in those countries and in Istanbul, and through coordination with a variety of national and international Jewish organizations in Bratislava and Geneva.[39] Their funding came from various Jewish sources scattered throughout these regions.[40] Kasztner met with the various youth movements on a regular basis and "counseled [or advised] them [on how] to obtain weapons, build bunkers, and prepare false papers."[41] However, as with any organization, their plans and strategies eventually came to require modification. The initial aim of armed resistance proved futile. Instead, Vaada redirected its energies and resources into a variety of direct rescue operations, successful and unsuccessful. As the situation grew in intensity and desperation, these rescue operations were necessarily narrowed in scope to the rescue of specifically Hungarian Jewry.

Leo Stern was one of the seven members of the Board of Directors of the Budapest Orthodox community. He was the director in charge of finances and economic affairs. Initially, he was given this role as a starting position, for it was considered the least prestigious and demanding position among them. However, as the group's focus began to shift toward the escalating refugee problem, things

36. Ibid., 152.
37. Ibid., 155.
38. Stern, interview.
39. Braham (1994), 203.
40. Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million,* translated by Haim Watzman (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 165.
41. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?,* 160.

changed. The refugee problem was mostly a financial one relating to how to support the massive influx of people coming in across the border. They managed to muster up the necessary resources by directly bribing the officials of the Hungarian government. Gradually, as Leo Stern became more and more immersed in these matters, what had begun as a specialized position suddenly became its center of operations. He thereby made the decision to turn over much of the management of the lumber company to the care of his brother in order to dedicate most of his time to the Vaada and the rescue of Hungarian Jewry. It was through his work with the Vaada that Leo Stern would eventually get to know Rezsõ Kasztner.

Their meeting was not to occur without its own set of obstacles, however. Leo Stern and Rezsõ Kasztner, while they were in charge of parallel, almost identical, rescue operations, each in their own particular segment of the community, were in fact a universe apart. Given that Leo Stern was a prominent member of the Orthodox community, while Rezsõ Kasztner was an active member of the "godless Zionists," cooperation between the two of them fell in the realm of the unconditionally heretical. The Orthodox community had explicitly dissociated itself from the Zionist movement, and for Leo Stern to seek an exception was an enormously arduous task. The Chief rabbinical authority of Hungary, who was at the time a Szatmar Rebbe (a Rabbi of Szatmar), initially forbade their cooperation in absolute terms. Only through a concerted effort, combined with a twist of fate, was this cooperation finally made possible. Dezsõ Sussman (the son of Victor Sussman, the Chief Orthodox Rabbi of Budapest), whom Stern had known well from the yeshiva and who had considerable standing in the national community, paid a visit to the Szatmar Rebbe and pleaded with him that this was a matter of utmost urgency involving the rescue of endangered lives. After several months of agonizing consideration, the Szatmar rebbe withdrew his ban (though he absolutely refused to explicitly approve it), and the two Jewish communities miraculously united their efforts, with Kasztner on one side and Leo Stern on the other. At that point, Kasztner became a frequent guest at the Stern home. Arthur Stern was around seventeen years of age during this time, and his father would often allow him to sit in on their conversations. These conversations varied in intensity and generally revolved around the mechanics of the rescue operations—both the financing and the logistics. The escalating events of Poland at the time played an enormous role in their discussions as well as in their ensuing decisions. Kasztner and Leo Stern worked together on these operations until the German invasion in 1944.

After the German invasion, the dynamics of the situation took a dramatic shift. While Kasztner continued with the rescue operations, Leo Stern withdrew his involvement. He was concerned that he may be placed in a position where he would be forced to become "a traitor to his own people"—a position he was determined to avoid absolutely.[42] It had become apparent that successful continuation of the rescue operations would require a change in tactics. They would involve clandestine negotiations with not only the Hungarian authorities, but German authorities as well, including the German military intelligence, the Abwehr. This meant the establishment of direct contacts within the leadership of the SS occupation forces as well. Dieter Wisliceny, of Eichmann's Sonderkommando forces, was one such connection, with whom contact was achieved through the efforts of Rabbi Michael Dov Ber Weissmandel of Nitra.[43] These contacts would later prove all the more useful as the situation grew increasingly more desperate.

Kasztner eventually came to take over negotiations with the SS. The decision to deal

42. Stern, interview.
43. Braham (1994), 203.

directly with the SS in negotiating the rescue of Jewish lives was to become a fundamental source of one of the bitterest controversies surrounding post-war discourse on the history of the Holocaust in Hungary. Braham explains this decision in terms of pragmatism, exigency, and survival: "The decision to rescue Hungarian Jewry through negotiations with the SS was based on perfectly logical assumptions at the time. During the first phase of the occupation, when the Hungarian authorities categorically refused to deal with the Jewish representatives with the explanation that the Jewish question fell under the jurisdiction of the Germans, the Vaada leaders concluded that their best chance was to deal directly with those who seemed to wield real power in the country." In doing so, they held the added advantage that, "[t]he SS preferred to negotiate with the Vaada rather than with the Jewish Council leadership, as they valued the international contacts and foreign currency sources of the Zionists more highly than they did the limited resources of the domestically oriented Council leaders."[44]

Kasztner and Brand met with the SS leadership for the first time on 5 April 1944, incidentally, the very same day the Yellow Badge was imposed upon the Jews of Hungary. Their contact that day was Dieter Wisliceny, who agreed to accept the business of the Vaada in exchange for the guarantee that Hungarian Jewry would "neither be placed into ghettos nor deported 'unless the [Hungarian leadership] appeals directly to Berlin over the head of the Sonderkommando.'"[45] The Hungarians, or more specifically Horthy, had of course already thoroughly colluded with the SS in putting into place all measures for the liquidation of Hungarian Jewry at the time of this conversation—a fact of which Wisliceny was "well aware." In fact, Horthy had "expressed no objection to the deportation" of Hungarian Jewry to their deaths.[46] Less than two months after the Nazi occupation, all that remained of all the Jews in Hungary was the approximately 200,000 Budapest Jews. The Budapest Jews were to be the next, and last, in line. The 437,000 Jews of all the surrounding areas had already been deported to Auschwitz, where they had been selected either for labor or for the crematoriums.[47]

However, at this early date in April, the Vaada had not yet been aware of the profound degree to which the Hungarian leadership had already betrayed their own Jews; in fact, "without the support of the Hungarian instruments of power, the SS could not [have] possibly carried out the ghettoization and deportation program." Instead, both the Vaada and the SS were engaged in a dual game. On the side of the Vaada, this game involved "a race with time"—in "delaying or minimizing the implementation of the program in the well-founded conviction that the military position of the Axis was very precarious and that the Red Army, which was already approaching the Carpathians, would soon liberate Hungary." It was in this context that the Vaada conducted negotiations with the SS, even when it was highly unlikely the SS leaders would, or even could, keep their side of the bargain. For Wisliceny, Eichmann, and the other SS officers under Himmler, these negotiations were simply a matter of stringing along the Vaada, while occasionally granting "minor concessions in order to assure the ultimate success of the Final Solution" in Hungary, as well as the hope "that negotiations with the SS would help lull Jewish masses into a false state of optimism, deterring them from other possible avenues of escape."[48]

Towards the end of April 1944, the Nazis' approach to negotiations with the Vaada took on an entirely new significance.

44. Ibid., 204.
45. Ibid.,
46. Bauer, *Rethinking,* 238.
47. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?,* 156.
48. Braham (1994), 204-205.

With the support of his superiors, namely Himmler, Eichmann was authorized to step up the level of negotiations with the Vaada from their narrow function as a means to facilitate the implementation of the Final Solution to serving a more formidable purpose. Thus, Eichmann devised "a grandiose new plan that [was to extend] beyond the scope of Hungarian Jewry."[49] It is crucial to note that this was also about the time when, it is now believed, Kasztner received the information contained in the so-called Auschwitz protocols, if not a copy of the protocols themselves.[50] This detailed account on the part of two Auschwitz escapees of the fate that awaited the Jews there was a powerful confirmation of what had been merely rumor up to that point. There could have been no doubt in the mind of anyone who read or simply heard of the protocols that, more than ever before, Hungarian Jewry was "caught on an island in shark-infested waters and they had no boat... [and the] island was flooded."[51]

The Auschwitz protocols "certainly had an immediate impact"—especially to those who needed conclusive evidence beyond the limitations of rumor. And, when combined with the progress of the war, with increased Allied awareness of Axis war crimes, and with Roosevelt's War Refugee Board (WRB), it is quite likely that the protocols had something to do with the "eruption of neutral and Allied intervention, direct and indirect, which ultimately caused the cessation of the deportations." Not only that, but almost immediately afterwards, rare headway was made with the Germans, whereby they agreed to limited Jewish emigration to Palestine: the release of 7,800 souls from the Nazi snare. Their motivation? The end was nearing, desperation was escalating, and minor concessions in the interest of a larger, more long-ranged success (i.e. in the monomaniacal mission to liquidate the world's Jews) were but a matter of temporary strategy. "[T]hey saw in it a way of compelling the Hungarians to agree to the deportation for the rest of Hungarian Jewry in return for a promise—which would be kept or not—to let some Jews out."[52] However, in making this promise, the Nazis had unwittingly revealed vulnerability; the door had been narrowly opened for the possibility of other, similar, attempts at rescue.

Contrary to all the accusations which had been hurled at Kasztner in his 1954 trial in Israel as to why he "did not warn the Jews" of the fate that was befalling them, he had in fact made as earnest an attempt as it was in his capacity to make; but he had tragically failed. His warnings were abundant, but they had consistently fallen on deaf ears—a reality he tragically did not emphasize in his own defense. Yehuda Bauer describes the result of his committees' efforts:

> [They set out to] warn the provincial communities that were being ghettoized of the mortal danger they were in. They persuaded the Judenrat to open a special department for the provinces and sent out youth movement members, usually to the communities from which they originated... [Yet,] in all cases without exception, the message was rejected by the local leadership. Calls to resist or flee went unheeded; even family members of the emissaries often refused to be saved by fleeing to Budapest.[53]

He even notes how "[i]n Ungvar, the capital of the PKR [the region of Subcarpathian Russia], a letter arrived from Rabbi Weissmandel, directed to his Orthodox friends but also to the whole community, urging them to resist deportation or to flee, and that, too, went unheeded." Why did all these calls go unheeded? Because the fact of the matter is they were, as Bauer puts it, "impossible to

49. Ibid., 206.
50. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 156-157.
51. Bauer, *Rethinking*, 226.
52. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 157-158.
53. Ibid., 158-159.

obey. . . There really was nowhere to hide in the open Hungarian plains, and the Gentile neighbors were mostly hostile or cowed, or both. The churches were violently and murderously anti-semitic; the greed of the neighbors who hoped to loot Jewish property once the owners were gone was overwhelming." Few of those rare attempts at flight from Hungary—which meant hiding in the neighboring Carpathian Mountains—were known to have succeeded. "No more than fifty to seventy youths made it through. The Germans were guarding the approaches to partisan territory very closely. Hungarian Jews also faced language barriers and the understandable distrust that the partisans had of all Hungarians."[54]

It is true, as Kasztner opponents claimed over and over again in his trial, that the situation in Cluj, Kasztner's home town, was slightly different than that of other Hungarian regions, in that Cluj was a mere ten miles from the Rumanian border and the German military presence in Cluj was sparse in comparison to other occupied Hungarian territory. However, it is also true that "there is evidence of Polish Jews who had found refuge in Cluj and who were telling their stories to anyone who would listen." As a result, 4,000 to 5,000 Jews did manage to cross the border illegally.[55] Yet, in general, even to these first-hand witnesses, few were listening. If this was the response in a city like Cluj, one can imagine the formidable task that lay before anyone who may have sought to convince the Jews of Hungary's inner, more heavily guarded regions to flee their homes in a mad dash for the border. There were many obstacles to Jewish flight from Hungary—all the way from the psychological meltdown which accompanies that special category of information which Bauer refers to as "life-threatening information" to the fact that there was in a very real way simply nowhere to go. However, one obstacle that certainly did not exist was that of a lack of information. Indeed, to claim that a word or two from Rezsõ Kasztner would have saved the lives of thousands does seem to border on the absurd.

The "Blood for Goods" Deal

Hungarian Jewry was initiated into the Holocaust with an unparalleled intensity. And as a result of this unprecedented and condensed timeline of destruction—even by Nazi standards—the preparations which would have been required for rebellion and armed resistance regrettably eliminated them as feasible options and rendered them "no option at all." According to Yehuda Bauer, only two options remained for Jews: "either despair and attempts to save individuals, as many of them as possible, or negotiations with the murderers. A third option, that of illegally collaborating with the neutral diplomats, such as the Swiss diplomat Charles Lutz, would not present itself until later.[56] Faced with these options, the Vaada opted (far from unanimously) for negotiations with the murderers.

These negotiations were attempted on many levels and in many forms. One of the most bitter and widely repeated accusations leveled against Kasztner during his trial and in all the discourse to follow was that he "tried to save just a few hundred Zionists."[57] One does not need to delve too deeply into the detail of these negotiations to begin to appreciate how unjust and misplaced these accusations in fact were. Kasztner had in fact fought assiduously, along with his partner Joel Brand, for the rescue of as many Jews as they possibly could, employing whatever tactics they could come up with for the sparing of even just a few lives more. In one case, 30,000 individual immigration certificates were manipulated to represent 30,000 family certificates, thereby turning the

54. Ibid., 159.
55. Ibid., 160.
56. Ibid., 161-162.
57. Ibid., 162.

figure of 30,000 souls into 150—160,000 souls. And this is but one example among many in which Kasztner compromised his own safety in order to attempt the rescue of as many Jews as he possibly could. Unfortunately, in a great majority of these cases, the Nazis' motive was sheer exploitation. Yet, it is easy to imagine that, in the perspective of Vaada, even one promise kept out of ten was still one promise kept.

One of the most dramatic moments in the Hungarian experience of the Holocaust, and in the Holocaust as a whole, was when, on 6 April 1944, Eichmann summoned Joel Brand of the Jewish Rescue Committee to his Budapest headquarters in order to offer the exchange of one million Jews for ten thousand winterized trucks. In addition, he hoped for quantities of tea, soap, coffee, tools, leather, and numerous other items. This amounted to one hundred Jews per truck.[58] That this proposal was issued under the direct authorization of Eichmann's superior, Himmler, is, according to the extensive research of Yehuda Bauer, no longer a disputed matter. In fact, Bauer argues that "it seems very obvious that Eichmann was Himmler's reluctant messenger" in the whole affair. "[Eichmann's] own inclination clearly was to carry on with the murders and not be diverted to negotiations with the Jews."[59] Eichmann, in his own memoirs, stated that he only agreed to this deal to avoid being disturbed in his greater mission—the wholesale destruction of Hungarian Jews.[60] Himmler's own motives in the deal were multifold. Initially, it was very likely to maximize the exploitation of the Jews. "Take whatever you can from the Jews," he reportedly said to Eichmann. "Promise them whatever you want. What we will keep is another matter."[61] The function of the proposal to the Nazis was in Eichmann's words, as quoted by Bauer: "[to] extract necessary labor from Hungarian Jewry and sell the balance of valueless human material against valuable goods."[62] Richard Breitman and Shlomo Aronson argue that "Himmler was building his own state within a state. In the process, he was willing, in exchange for major benefits, to exempt a small number of Jews from the Final Solution and even allow them to proceed abroad, provided that they did not stir up trouble."[63]

Rezso Kasztner (third from left) standing between Hansi and Joel Brand. Moshe Schweiger is first from left. Courtesy of "Kasztner Memorial" Dr. Egon Mayer & Associates. CUNY Graduate Center.

58. Shtrigler, 14.

59. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 167.

60. Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939-1945* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981), 399.

61. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 167.

62. Bauer, *American Jewry,* 410.

Later on, however, Bauer argues that Himmler's own motive likely came to focus not only on self-protection in the event of a successful assassination attempt on Hitler, which we now know was in the making at that time, but also on containing Allied activity on the Western front and easing up the German military for the Eastern Front. Therefore, as an added incentive for the Allies, who along with Bolshevik Russia were but puppets in the hands of Jews according to Nazi fantasy, and who they knew would be the actual suppliers of the materials if the deal was agreed upon, Eichmann also guaranteed (to the extent such a word had any meaning when uttered by a Nazi) that the trucks and supplies would not be used against the West—thereby implying that they would, of course, be used against the Soviets in the East.

This addition on the part of Eichmann, which clearly aimed at driving an axe into Allied-Soviet relations, was to play an enormous, perhaps even a definitive, role in all the negotiations that followed—both among Jewish and Allied leadership. Allied rejection of this incredible proposal was in large part based on the desire to thwart this particular aim of the Germans. Allied-Soviet relations were too essential to the war efforts to be in any way compromised at this juncture of the war. Such was the rationalization which would allow the rescue of more than a million souls to go from a matter of the utmost moral imperativeness, to a matter of plain and simple political and military expediency. One million souls were up for sale, and once again, among the world, the Jews found no willing buyers.

The blood-for-goods proposal had enormous appeal to Kasztner and his friends, however, and they were not to be discouraged. In Kasztner's mind, the purpose was "to offer goods so Jews unfit for work would be sent to Spain and thereby [be] saved."[64] He also harbored the much deeper hope that in breaching the Nazis' principle of absolute murder, this exception could serve as a precedent for more such deals in the future.[65] The real tragedy is that while he was to prove right in his hopes as far as the Nazis were concerned, it was the rest of the world that would disappoint him; and, no matter how many deals the Nazis were willing to make, if the world was unwilling to participate, it was all in vain.

Following the initial meeting with Eichmann, Brand was to go to Istanbul in order to put this proposal before the Allies and the Jewish leadership for action. The story of this journey of Joel Brand could no doubt fill volumes in its own right. It is a truly tragic story, rife with betrayal, false hopes, deception, and sabotage. Controversy has surrounded every aspect of Brand's mission, all the way from the amount of time allotted to him by Eichmann for its completion, to why he never returned to Budapest, and whether more lives could have been saved if he had. In the end, for a whole host of reasons, none of which the Jews had any real control over, the deal simply fell through. It is to his enormous credit that Kasztner fought so assiduously for its success to the degree that he did, continuing even beyond the point of obvious futility. Unfortunately, the proposal seems to have had no hope of success from the time of its very inception: the Soviets threatened repercussions to the West in the event of a separate peace with the Nazis at their own expense; the British resented the very thought of the "burden" which would be incurred by all those additional Jews to feed and provide for; and, the United States State Department only occasionally broke its austere silence in order to

63. Shlomo Aronson and Richard Breitman, "The End of the 'Final Solution'? Nazi Plans to Ransom Jews in 1944," *Central European History* 25, no. 2 (1993): 184.

64. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?,* 196.

65. Bauer, *American Jewry,* 399.

mimic the aforementioned rationale of the British.[66]

The larger and more important question here seems to be what alternatives were left to the Jews in the form of resistance and survival in the face of a world that was half out to destroy them and half blind, deaf and indifferent? In the realm of the traditionally realistic, their options were few. In fact, with no central, governing authority, no military apparatus, no reliable means of communication, no centralized media for the dissemination of information, and no territory they could call their own, it is very difficult to imagine what options could possibly have been available to them aside from establishing small amateur networks between them and considering negotiations with the enemy. The press coverage of the blood-for-trucks deal at the time it occurred alone attests to the degree to which Jewish life, and its imminent extinction, was removed from world consciousness. Bauer relays the New York Herald Tribune's "exposing the Brand story as a Gestapo plot designed to secure a negotiated peace or a split in the United Nations," the London Times portrayal of it as "one of the 'most loathsome' of the war," and the BBC broadcast on 21 July 1944, which relayed the story of "a rich industrialist, a Hungarian Jew, accompanied by two German officials, to Turkey to negotiate with the British...," adding further, "It is needless to say that this humanitarian blackmail was not accepted."[67] To the Allies, or more specifically to the Americans and the British, rejecting this proposal was a matter of principle—one does not deal with the enemy, plain and simple.[68] Whereas, to the Jews, the collapse of the proposal, regardless of its apparent repugnance, meant the loss of that many more lives. The disparateness between these two realities was plainly irreconcilable; and it left the Jews entirely to their own resources for their survival.

One of the more tragic ironies in the thinking of Jewish leaders like Kasztner and his friends who were in the business of saving lives is that, without realizing it, they had in fact embraced:

> [the] anti-semitic notion of a tremendous Jewish power and did believe that Jewish leaders could move freely during the war and would be able to persuade leaders of the Allied nations to do what they wanted to see done. They believed that American Jewry in particular was tremendously rich and almost all-powerful and that money and goods would not be a problem. They also had an unlimited trust in the leaders of the Western powers, who would surely do everything they could to prevent the annihilation of the Jewish people. Isolated in Nazi-occupied Europe, they saw in Roosevelt and Churchill demigods whose avenging campaign against the Nazi evil would naturally see in the hunted Jews not only souls to be saved but allies to be supported.[69]

That Kasztner and those like him would embrace such a tragically illusive view of the world beyond the Hell that had engulfed them is certainly understandable. That their minds would erect out of the rubble heap of their immediate reality a fantasy of Jewish power, which rivaled even that of their enemies—a projection of their own deep-seated but ever frustrated wish—is simply a question of survival.

Eventually, it became clear that Brand was not going to return to Budapest, and the deportations out of the Hungarian provinces were to press forward with rabid intensity. Kasztner expressed, with unusual candidness,

66. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 178-180.
67. Ibid., 192.
68. Efraim Zuroff and Yisrael Gutman, *The Response of Orthodox Jewry in the United Sates to the Holocaust: The Activities of the Vaad ha-Hatzala Rescue Committee 1939-1945* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 2000), 278.
69. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?,* 170-171.

his response to this tragedy in a letter he wrote to his Geneva colleague, Nathan Schwalb.[70] In this letter, the despair Kasztner felt over the loss, and his grief over having been unable to make events turn out any differently, is more than apparent. This was a letter written straight from the depths of its author's soul. They are not the words of a cold and calculating or self-serving man, far from it. They are the words of a genuinely anguished man, struggling against his own sense of powerlessness and failure. But, Kasztner was more determined than ever not to give up, not to surrender to the forces of death.

The "Kasztner Train"

In the end, the blood-for-trucks deal never materialized. Kasztner and his friends found themselves vulnerable to the competing political machinations of the SS and Hungarian secret police. Kasztner's friends were arrested by the Hungarian police and subsequently tortured in the interest of silencing them, though they were unable to hold them in custody for any long period of time. Kasztner himself was arrested, but did manage to narrowly escape torture.[71] At that point, ideas were exchanged over new strategies for rescue in a situation which defied all realistic possibility. It had become clear to them all by this time that, to the extent rescue was even remotely possible, it was no longer going to involve large numbers. This was when the idea of using one or more trains of those that were leaving Hungary on a regular basis for the purpose of rescue became more appealing. This idea had been entertained much earlier, in passing, but was dropped for having been rather risky and problematic. Aside from the difficulty posed in convincing Jews to embark upon trains of which they had by then known well the grisly destination, there was the question of where these Jews were to be taken, as so much of the world's doors were hermetically sealed against them. The first thought was, of course, Palestine, but the Mufti of Jerusalem wielded enormous political power with Nazi Germany, which placed a high priority on their alliance. Kasztner brought the proposal before Eichmann on 22 May, and together they came to an agreement that a limited number of Jews (600-750 persons) would be granted emigration to Palestine. This number would later be more than doubled, but it was to remain so limited. It was agreed that the train would reach its destination by route of Constantza in Rumania. In return for this right of passage, Eichmann demanded a payment of first $200 per head, and later $500 per head. Kurt Becher (Eichmann's colleague responsible for economic affairs – particularly the exploitation of Hungarian Jews—for whom Kasztner would, incidentally, provide a bitterly controversial postwar testimony in his defense) found this amount inadequate and unilaterally increased it to $2000 per head. Eventually, $1000 per head was settled upon.[72]

The selection of passengers on the Kasztner train was perhaps the most complex and controversial element of the Kasztner story—it was to become the springboard from which all judgment would be hurled against Kasztner, and ultimately the bullet which would end his life. Out of the agreed upon number of passengers, Kasztner was allowed a certain number from his hometown of Cluj – specifically, 388.[73] These 388 people would include friends, the members of his family, and numerous others. The presence of his family was a balm upon the fretful hearts of the remaining passengers, who had every reason to hold the entire affair suspect and to regard it with a profound sense of foreboding. The task before him in convincing the Jews to board the

70. Ibid., 196.
71. Ibid., 197.
72. Ibid., 198.
73. Ibid., 197.

train was enormous. And it is crucial to note that given Kasztner's extremely narrow sphere of influence and reputation, he would no doubt have been received with even more suspicion elsewhere. Instead, he came to the familiar Cluj, and there, as any sentient being would do, he started with the members of his own family, not only for reasons of his own heart, but for reasons of convincing others as well. Convincing others was no small task. Hansi, the wife of Kasztner's negotiating partner, Joel Brand, recalled the impact of Kasztner's action on her at the time: "If [Kasztner] put his own children [on the train], perhaps these people really will be brought to a neutral country. That made me calm, because I hoped that these people, whom we persuaded with such difficulty to get on the train, would be brought to freedom despite everything."[74] If even those who were closest to Kasztner needed persuasion, one can imagine how little credibility the mission would have held to these same people, had Kasztner decided to exclude the members of his own family.

Arthur Stern was to become one of the passengers on board this train. That he would be selected was a natural extension of the relationship he and his family had both personally and professionally established with Kasztner. Yet, they were told surprisingly little:

> Of course we didn't know the details of the deal. All we knew was that there was this offer of ten thousand trucks for a million Jews and that as a sign of good will, before the trucks were delivered, a number of Jews would be taken through Germany to Palestine. That must have been some time in late May. Then the story changed. We would not be taken to Palestine, but to Spain, via France, because the Germans did not want to antagonize the Arabs, namely the Mufti of Jerusalem, who was in Berlin at the time, voicing his objection to Hitler. Therefore, we were to be taken to Spain, and then from Spain, we would be allowed to go to Palestine on our own if we wished. Later, the story changed yet again. We could no longer go to Spain because the Allies had cut the route to Spain after invading France. Therefore, it was decided we would stay in Germany for a few days, and then we would go to Switzerland... we really just didn't know what would happen, but we trusted that Kasztner knew what he was doing.[75]

Kasztner had hoped this train would serve as a model for the Germans and the Allies and that it would lead to others like it. His plan was founded on the misplaced belief in a powerful and influential "world Jewry" which, upon being provided just such a model, would unite with the Allied forces in the rescue of Jews. This united front would in turn provide all necessary money and material for exchange. Little did he realize how unpopular this model was to prove among both the Nazis and the Allies.[76] In the end, Kasztner was left to his own resources, not even knowing whether the deal was just another Nazi trick. The Kasztner train was a precarious gamble—all the more so because it included those dearest to him. But it was a gamble made against the background of sure destruction.

To understand the difficulty before Kasztner and others in convincing people to board this train is to understand the mentality of Jews at this juncture of the war. The fact is that Jews—even those Jews of Cluj who were but ten miles from the border of another country—were interested neither in blindly fleeing to meet some unknown fate nor in boarding any death trains; they simply wanted to do what anyone would want to do in such a situation—survive. Survival entails doing whatever it takes to hold onto a life which it had taken generations to build, no matter what the cost; and, to many, if not most, that meant, above all, staying right where they were. Per-

74. Hansi Brand, as quoted by Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 198.

75. Stern, interview.

76. Aronson, 188.

haps Yehuda Bauer sums it up best when he says: "people are disinclined to listen to life-threatening stories."[77] These stories, especially those as outlandish as what was occurring to the Jews all across Europe, tend to be so incredibly overwhelming on the human psyche that it is easier to deflect them than to attempt to internalize their significance. The mind simply has no way to consciously process life-threatening situations from which there is no immediately apparent escape. Human beings do this on a regular basis with everything from the fluctuations of the stock market to the increasingly imminent threat of nuclear holocaust. Life would be impossible any other way.

This special train, which came to be known as the "Kasztner train" finally departed from Budapest on 30 June carrying a total of 1,684 passengers. To all appearances, it was no different from any of the other innumerable boxcars which were deporting Jews by the hour to their deaths; but, to the few who knew about it, this train was not like any other—not by any means. This train carried with it a rare hope—or, more precisely, 1,684 hearts filled with hope. Of those 1,684 people, one hundred and fifty were able to afford their own ransom price. The rest, the vast majority, were unable to come up with the money, and it was therefore agreed that their ransom would instead fall upon the heads of those richer passengers who could more easily afford it. In some cases, where certain passengers requested permission for personal additions to the list of passengers, depending on the circumstances, these additions were granted, on condition of additional payment, of course.[78]

Arthur Stern describes his experience of those final days leading up to their departure:

> On 29 June, the day before our departure, in the morning, at 6:00, I went to see Kasztner in his office and asked him whether he would give me a slip to enable my girlfriend to come. And he did, almost immediately. He was always very nice—like an uncle to me in so many ways. He took the slip book out of his desk and asked me, 'What is her name?' and proceeded to write up an instruction for the train officials to accept her. So when the next day came, 30 June, we boarded the train to leave. It was a cattle train. Seventy to eighty people per box. No windows except for the little slits up above. The train was ultimately to go to Bergen-Belsen, but we did not know that at the time. We were told simply that sooner or later we would get to Switzerland, but with no further details.[79]

Almost immediately after its inception, the Kasztner train came to be known as a "Noah's Ark." This title is a reflection of the vast array of passengers it contained. Yehuda Bauer describes this array:

> Representatives of all communities, trends, opinions, ages, and origins were included in the train. There were the extreme anti-Zionist Hasidic Rabbi of Szatmar, Joel Teitelbaum, and his whole court—rescued by the Zionist Kasztner—leaders of the Orthodox and Neolog communities, Zionists of all hues, members of Zionist youth movements, Polish and Slovak refugees, and ordinary Hungarian Jews who had managed to corner Kasztner or some other member of the committee and make their case. A group of Orthodox leaders had been included by [Fülop von] Freudiger, who bribed [Dieter] Wisliceny for that purpose. Some people who did not belong to any of these categories jumped on the train or sneaked onto it and became part of the ark.[80]

One can only imagine what it must have been like to have been one of the passengers on this train, not knowing whether the next stop would be freedom or death. Every stop the train made filled the passengers with

77. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?,* 160.
78. Ibid., 198-199.
79. Stern, interview.
80. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 199.

horrified panic. The first stop was near the Hungarian-Austrian border. From this junction, the train could easily have headed either to Auschwitz or continued on westward. Arthur Stern relates how the passengers were asked to disembark at that point and to bring out all their belongings and spread them out on the grass. It was a hot summer day in Hungary. They remained there for almost four days, guarded by some SS officials. They were warned not to attempt to flee time and time again: "you know damn well that you had better not flee, because if you do, you will end up in the hands of the Hungarians who will be far worse to you than we are!!" Stern said they knew this in fact to be true: "The Hungarians were very cruel, and we knew that. Unlike the SS, the Hungarians regularly applied torture, right and left, every which way, anything to get the last bit of money and valuables out of people before they were deported."[81] They remained there for the four days—which were received as a relief from the suffocating box cars.

The train followed a rather convoluted route. Having encountered various obstacles with the ever-obstinate Hungarian border authorities, it passed back through Slovakia, through Vienna, and then stopped at Linz, in Austria, where all the passengers were herded into showers, "convinced that these were gas chambers."[82] "It was very cruel," relates Stern, "they asked us to throw our clothing, pell-mell, into one massive heap, and then to get into the shower. But it turned out to be a real shower. It was nothing." In Linz, Stern recalls, "we were marched into town. There, people were actually standing along the road watching us go by. But, unlike in Budapest, where people had shouted at us and thrown stones at us, in Linz, they simply stood there and did nothing."[83] Stern further recounts how, at certain stops, Kasztner was there at the station to greet them and reassure them, before they were sent yet again on their way. This was an enormous comfort. Apparently, Bergen-Belsen, where they finally arrived, had been "established as a transit and exchange camp for Jews by an order of Himmler dated December 1942."[84] Eichmann had apparently made the decision to redirect the train to Bergen-Belsen after having encountered the various difficulties with the Hungarian authorities en route. When the Kasztner train finally arrived at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, it was 8 July. The passengers were told very little. They were again forced into showers, not knowing whether they would survive the experience. As far as the passengers were concerned, they were to be detained in this concentration camp indefinitely; whether, at the end of that period, a sentence of death or freedom awaited them, they had no real way of knowing. Thus, they faced the days with only immediate survival on their minds. Even hope seemed a luxury irrelevant to the reality of the moment—a word which is essentially anachronistic in any context of the Holocaust.

The Kasztner Jews remained in Bergen-Belsen until the day came for them to board one last train. There were to be two such trains: the first, in late August, taking 318 of them; and, the second, in early December, taking those who remained. Arthur Stern relates how they were left in utter ignorance of the fate of the first train. Kasztner's own family was not on the passenger list of that first train of 318; the German's intended to hold them as hostages. They would only find out later that indeed those 318 had reached safety, as they soon would as well. The date was 4 December. Arthur Stern was reduced to a mere one hundred pounds, which, for his height and bone structure, was all too near to death. The train that was to carry them this time was a true passenger train, a "people

81. Stern, interview.
82. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 199.
83. Stern, interview.
84. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 199.

train," as Stern called it.[85] Immediately upon sight of it, they received the assurance they long craved that indeed they were not headed to Auschwitz. With that assurance, they felt the thrill of children about to embark on a fantastic adventure. Kasztner was again there to greet them upon their departure, imparting onto them a much needed sense of genuine security. The train finally reached Switzerland. The Kasztner Jews were finally free—1,684 souls fewer for the insatiable Nazi chimneys.

Why did the Nazis even agree to the release of any Jews at all—and for what amounted to relatively so little money? Bauer answers this question with the suggestion that "[the] release of a trainload of Jews makes sense if we combine it with the hesitant steps taken by Himmler two months later in Switzerland to start negotiations with the people whom he thought were the representatives of World Jewry."[86] For the Nazis, these were desperate times which required desperate measures.

Contrary to what Kasztner's critics have claimed, this train of Kasztner was only one of many efforts he made to rescue Jews, both beforehand and afterward. In fact, he may have been responsible for the saving of anywhere between 12,000 and 20,000 additional lives. On 7 June 1944, the mayor of Vienna had expressed to the SS his dire need of labor. Eichmann, in turn, made the decision to pass this request onto Kasztner in the form of another deal, fulfilling in the process Kasztner's hope that the Kasztner train had established a tempting precedent for the Nazis. As a result, in exchange for a certain number of tractors, money, and coffee, as many as 18,000 Jews were delivered to Austria instead of their assigned destination (Auschwitz), where a great majority of them would survive the war.[87]

The Kasztner train would come to serve as a precedent for other Nazi proposals in general—though it would be on a smaller scale than Kasztner had hoped. In the fall of 1944, the Nazis would agree to a proposal with the Vaada, whereby, in exchange for twenty million Swiss francs, 300,000 Jews would be allowed to emigrate from Germany and the murders in the concentration camps would cease. The Vaada simply did not possess the resources to obtain this level of funding on its own, without Allied support. The Vaada nevertheless agreed to the proposal, if in principle only, knowing the inevitable American veto would subvert it, as it did.[88]

The Trial: The Court as Historical Forum

In 1952, the Israeli journalist and right-wing Zionist Malkhiel Gruenvald published a pamphlet which contained an excoriating assault on the character of Kasztner, who by then had become rather prominent in the Israeli political scene, particularly as a member of the Mapai Labor Party, and was well on his way to winning a seat in the third Knesset in 1955. The pamphlet alleged that Kasztner and the Jewish Rescue Committee had misappropriated funds, collaborated with the Nazis, and "paved the way for the extermination of 500,000 Hungarian Jews who had been misinformed about their danger and consequently had made no attempt to revolt or escape." The pamphlet continued with a summary of the Israeli court's position: "According to the court, Dr. Kasztner struck a bargain with the Nazis under which he would mislead Hungarian Jews into thinking they were being sent to

85. Stern, interview.
86. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 200.
87. Bauer, *American Jewry,* 399.
88. Zuroff, 279.

labor camps when their destination was the gas chambers at Oswiecim (Auschwitz)."[89]

At the time of the pamphlet, Kasztner was serving as press spokesman for the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.[90] Being directed towards a senior government official, these charges were, by implication, an assault on the government of Israel itself; and, almost immediately, they erupted in a scandal of the worst kind. As a result, Kasztner, who admittedly would just as easily have let it go, was given an ultimatum: either he resign from his government post or he sue Gruenvald for libel.[91] Kasztner agreed to sue, completely unaware that in the process of doing so he had made his last decision as Rudolph (Rezsõ) Israel Kasztner. From that day forward, 18 February 1954, he would be known only as "Dr. K." However unwittingly, Kasztner had indeed sold his soul—an accusation he was soon to hear enough of—only it was not the Devil who was the buyer, but History.[92] On trial was not one individual, but the entire Jewish people—or, more specifically, those Jews who found that lives could indeed be saved out of the flames of the European Holocaust if one was willing to negotiate with the enemy. Trying the defendant was none other than the Jewish people themselves. Only, this was no ordinary trial of individuals trying individuals in an ordinary court of law. On the contrary, it was to become apparent from its very inception that, in this trial, the Tel Aviv courtroom was to serve as a stage upon which the infinitely complex theater of a battered and tormented Jewish consciousness was to play itself out. Sixteen months later, on 22 June 1955, the court declared him guilty.[93]

How this trial went from being a civil libel case of the State of Israel (in the guise of Rudolph Kasztner) versus Malkhiel Gruenvald, to being the undeclared criminal trial of the very prosecution itself is truly one of the more remarkable stories of history and law. There can be no doubt that at the head of this perversion of justice was not only Shmuel Tamir, Gruenvald's attorney, but more importantly, the presiding Judge, Benjamin Halevi, himself. However, the Kasztner Trial, as this libel suit against Gruenvald came to be more accurately called, was much more than a story of one attorney and one judge's mad crusade. One need only consider the explosion of publicity the trial received at the time—not only in Israel, but all over the world—to know this to be the case. Benjamin Halevi may indeed have indirectly colluded with Tamir in transforming his courtroom into a grand theatrical production conducted on the world stage; but, the significance here lies in the fact that, in doing so, they did not alienate their audience. Instead, they intensely captivated them. Tamir's production had struck a powerful chord in the consciousness of Jews and non-Jews worldwide. He hit on a question that had clearly been on the world's entire mind, yet on no one's lips: how did the Jews perform in their confrontation with Evil; were they, in the end, any better than their murderers? Who would decide how humanity fared in its historic battle against the unfathomably inhuman? Could it still call itself humanity with any sense of integrity? Who to decide these questions of profound historical importance, but "a lone judge sitting in Jerusalem eleven years later," and a lone defense attorney who would smoothly pave the way for him.[94]

89. "Sharrett Ousts One Party: Forms New Israeli Regime," *New York Times*, 30 June 1955, 1.
90. Segev, 257.
91. Leora Bilsky, "Judging Evil in the Trial of Kastner," *Law and History Review* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2001).
92. "Perjury Charged to Israel Ex-Aide: Case Part of Legal Drama Against Former Official Called Nazi Collaborator," *New York Times*, 6 February 1956.
93. "Chief Judge Backs Kastner Clearing," *New York Times*, 17 January 1958, 6.

The attorney general, Haim Cohn, in his insistence that Kasztner clear his name through a libel suit claimed as his rationale that "in our new, pure, ideal State...a man cannot officiate in a senior position... when there is a stain on him, or even only a grave suspicion of collaboration with the Nazis."[95] In short, either Kasztner prove he is snow-white, or he resign. Indeed in a pure and ideal state, there can be no room for the gray zone, where figures like Kasztner permanently dwell. Unfortunately, the real tragedy is that Cohn did not realize that in such a state as he described, there would in fact be no room for anyone at all—not even Cohn, himself. His ideal state is one that is not only free of Jews, but free of people, utterly uninhabited. He described a world of only black and white, consisting of only evil Nazis and the helpless, defenseless Jews they killed—no one else. That this thinking is in fact a death wish in disguise, and that it is in effect the crowning consummation of Hitler's Final Solution, delivered up from the grave, seemed to escape Cohn altogether. But his position is understandable. As with so many of the characters in this drama, he was attempting to work through his own inner anguish and irreconcilable loss. To see the world as one vast sea of grayness, when that same sea just rose up and swallowed six million of its own souls is perhaps asking too much. To imagine the sea to be anything but black is to deny our own rage; and to desire anything for ourselves but an escape to a fictional land of pure whiteness is to deny our own inner yearning for humanity—humanity, that is, as we had known it before we knew Hitler.

Hannah Arendt, in her highly complex and controversial Eichmann in Jerusalem, attempts to rescue humanity from the chimerical realm of dreams, to where it had duly been banished after the Holocaust, back to the real world, where it must risk mingling with evil, if it is to live at all; for, evil is ubiquitous, so much so that it is in fact "banal." Yet, her interpretation abruptly stops there. Evil is everywhere, but apparently not in everyone. Evil is banal, but far from human. Similarly, when confronted with evil, one must either summarily reject it—even at the cost of death—or one inevitably becomes it; nothing in between. There is no bargaining with evil—even for the sake of one's life. For, it is impossible to come out of such a deal with one's own humanity intact, or at least unstained. Hence, Benjamin Halevi, in his verdict against Kasztner, declared that when he made the decision to bargain with the Nazis for Jewish lives, he had unequivocally "sold his soul to the Devil." And, hence, the plethora of pure historic fiction that has been written on Kasztner and his life—stories of shady collaboration, mass deception, and deliberate sabotage. Gruenvald even goes so far as to accuse him of "vicarious murder." Put simply, the day Kasztner made a deal with Evil, he relinquished his own humanity. Ben Hecht's Perfidy is nothing but one long venomous treatise on why Kasztner did just that—he became a "friend [of the] enemies of the Jews," the Devil incarnate. Or, in the words of Halevi's scathing indictment of Kasztner, he "paved the way for the murder of Hungarian Jewry;" he was in "partnership with a Nazi war criminal in acts of thievery."[96] What Halevi, Arendt, and all of this perspective seem to have overlooked is that, in their reification of evil, in their outlandishly mythical portrayal of human honor and purity, and

94. Harry Gilroy, "Quisling Charge Stirs All Israel: Top Issue is Judge's Decision Hungarian Zionist made Deal With Nazis in 1944." *New York Times,* 3 July 1955, sec. 4, p. 5.

95. Asher Maoz, "Historical Adjudication: Courts of Law, Commissions of Inquiry, and 'Historical Truth'," *Law and History Review* 18, no. 3 (Fall 2000).

96. Hecht, 90.

in their recklessly brushing over the manifold complexity of human choice and of humanity—a canvas rich with the infinite shading of evil and good alike—they are in fact embracing the very purity and ideology which gave rise to Hitler and the vast variety of national socialist movements. Only, instead of that banal malignancy being similarly embodied in the Jews, they have simply made it a generic "Evil" with no name. All that is needed now is a little more time and the right leader, and again, Evil can have a name and a face—who knows what face Evil will be given next time.

There was not merely one European Holocaust – nor is there one Evil. There were more than six million Holocausts—one unique to each of the six million that perished, and one unique to each of those who survived—as there were more than six million forms of Evil perpetrated upon them. When confronted with Evil, one does not sell his or her soul; man's relationship with Evil is never so simple as a business transaction; one simply does whatever one can to survive. When Kasztner was confronted with Evil, he did whatever he could to survive given his own unique set of circumstances, and to help as many others as he could in the process—beginning with those he knew most intimately. Clearly, Kasztner had exhausted all possible resources and efforts to rescue as many Jews as it was in his power to rescue—and to cast that rescue net as widely as he possibly could. That he even tried alone is an act of heroism of the highest order. That he may have been responsible for anywhere between 12,000 and 20,000 lives is an unutterable miracle. However, despite his most earnest and exhaustive efforts, this was but a fraction of what he had set out to accomplish. The rescue net he had cast so widely had tragically shriveled up in his hands, until at last he was left with the chance to save but one train, with a mere allotment of around 1600 Jews, 300 to be of his own choosing. History had relegated to him the responsibility of this selection. What burden the responsibility of such a choice must have borne on his conscience, we can only speculate. His choice was a simple one: to select the 1600 or to lose that many more souls to the Nazi chimneys. So, select he did—beginning with his own family. To think that any human being would do otherwise in his situation is utterly ludicrous. Those 1,684 souls did not survive at the expense of the lives of others; they survived in spite of the death that had engulfed them. What would have been the correct response to evil—if it is neither going like a sheep to the slaughterhouse, nor taking advantage of the rare opportunity to bargain with evil for one's life? How many more millennia must pass before the Jews heal from the Masada?

Could Kasztner have filled his train with six million, there is no doubt he would have; but he could not. What of all those who did not make it on, who were not given the opportunity to make their case, who were not there to jump on at the last second as it rolled by—who is to blame for their deaths? Kasztner? God? These questions are central to any serious study of the Holocaust and more importantly, to the Jews who managed to survive it. They were central to Israel, when it placed Kasztner on the stand. And they were central in the mind of the man who eventually took Kasztner's life.

Contrary to all the claims of his accusers, Kasztner knew he was not God. He knew it was only in his power to save the relatively few that he did. As Arthur Stern put it, "He did the best he could with what he had, living in that time and under those circumstances."[97] And, the fact is, in the context of the Holocaust, for all Kasztner had, in the end, he had excruciatingly little. The man from Cluj, whose family perished and was not among the selected, the man who hunted Kasztner down in the streets of Israel and killed him was certainly justifiable in his rage, but tragically unclear in his target. In the same breath

97. Stern, interview.

that he condemned Kasztner for "playing God," he was unknowingly declaring his expectation for him to have in fact been God. It is the same maddening contradiction with which Halevi and the entire world had condemned Kasztner in his trial.

Rezsõ Rudolph Israel Kasztner was a man who possessed the courage and the vision to uncover in the amassing Nazi rubble a rare opportunity; where others had seen merely the wreckage of the sinking European Jewish ship, with all on board as good as dead, Kasztner had the foresight and presence of mind to glimpse a vision of his own—a potential for the rescue of Jews. In a significantly weakened enemy, Kasztner found the inspiration for a rare and heroic strength—a strength which would save countless lives and strength for which Jews all over the world would not soon forgive him.

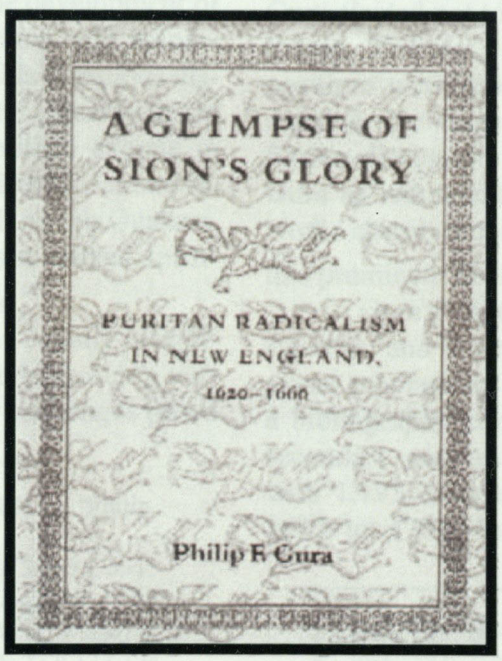
Author's Biography
Nedda Black

Nedda Black will be graduating with a degree in political science in June of 2004. Passion for the realm of humanities made her disregard three years of undergraduate studies in computer systems engineering. A professional pianist, Nedda's areas of studies include political science, history and literature. What fascinate her most are civil liberties, international law and social justice. In the midst of important decisions she has to make for her future, she has yet to decide between an education in law and a graduate school education after the receipt of her baccalaureate degree. She enjoys teaching piano lessons in her busy schedule at California State University, Fullerton. She is convinced that she learns just as much in the role of teacher as she does in the role of student, relishing the playful dance between the two, and the occasional spark of their embrace.

A Glimpse of Sion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620-1660 Philip F. Gura, Ph.D.

By John E. Stahler

Edited by Mateo M. Farzaneh



Philip Gura was born in Ware, Massachusetts in 1950, earning a B.A. (magna cum laude) in 1972, and a Ph.D. in 1977 from Harvard University. As a prolific modern historian, he has authored several scholarly works dealing specifically with the theology, philosophy and literature of Puritan New England.[1]

The scope of Gura's treatise is generally confined to the period from 1620 through 1660, although he occasionally wanders outside of this timeline by referencing pertinent events as early as 1565 and as late as 1702, but particularly and repeatedly with the decade of the 1660s.[2] For example, the Synod of 1662 is cited five times as being a significant event.[3] Even though Gura deemed the 1660 date sufficiently important for inclusion in the title, he never offered any justification for arbitrarily employing this precise year as the ending point.

Dividing his work into three sections, Gura focuses first on the various genres of Puritan radicalism, which emerged in New England, defining the Bay Colony during this period as fertile ground for the development of many different religious factions and numerous ideologies. He expands this sagacious discourse with a general summary elucidating the religious, intellectual and political climate in Massachusetts, and offers detailed examinations of heretical groups such as the Quakers, Seekers, Anabaptists, familists, radical spiritists and even nudist Adamites. [4]

Gura continues with an equally insightful analysis of the Puritan establishment's varied responses to the vigorous challenges posed by these sundry dissenters, nonconformists and free thinkers beginning with an erudite discussion of the inherently radical nature of Puritanism. The author then probes the key issue of toleration, including its development as a divisive issue, and how the Puritan polity managed to survive this acrimonious controversy through cooptation of such salient radical views.[5] His extensive inquiry into the Bay Colony's reactionary stance is concluded by exploring the metamorphosis of the New England Puritans' sanctimonious self-identity, and their increasingly contentious relationship with the old England Puritans.[6]

Lastly, the scope of Gura's scholarly effort includes comprehensive case studies of three prominent and distinctly different radical figures: Anne Hutchinson, Samuel Gorton, and William Pynchon.[7] These dissenters were considered sufficiently noteworthy for special attention because they not only had the willingness, but the ability to express thoroughly, logically and forcefully their religious philosophies and political ideologies.[8] However, Gura elected not to devote a specific section to Roger Williams, as his radical theological positions were deemed to be adequately elucidated in the three case studies offered. Any further discussion of Williams was opined by Gura as redundant, since there are numerous works already published examining the life of this prominent Seeker.[9]

Gura's methodology is exceptionally rigorous and reveals a commanding professional scholarship. He supports his work with a bibliography containing 80 primary and 84 secondary sources, 672 endnotes, and index with 1,193 entries, and 31 illustrations from 1627 to 1702. In addition to relying upon

1. *Contemporary Authors*, 1984, s.v. "Philip F(rancis) Gura."
2. Philip F. Gura, *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620 - 1660* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1984), 315; 232; 123-124.
3. Ibid., 396.
4. Ibid., xi-xiii; 30; 19, 126; 74-76; 93; 54-56; 23, 30; 4, 75.
5. Ibid., 155; 185; 193-194, 214.
6. Ibid., 233; 219.
7. Ibid., 237; 276; 304.
8. Ibid., 99.
9. Ibid., 217; 238.

church, town and colony records, 36 of Gura's primary sources are Puritan and radical theological tracts published from 1620 to 1702.[10] Illustrative of these largely polemical works is *The Covenant of Grace Opened* (1649), composed by Thomas Hooker in response to John Spilsbury's *A Treatise Concerning the Lawfull Subject of Baptisme* (1643), a noteworthy Particular Baptist essay entreating infant baptism.[11]

Since writers during this period often utilized alternative spellings of the same word even within the same sentence, Gura frequently encountered the dilemma of deciding whether these were errors committed out of ignorance or out of a desire to impart a different meaning. He comments on this conundrum at the outset, and successfully confronted the tedious historiographical challenge of untangling the Puritans' archaic prose as well as deciphering their unstandardized spelling.[12]

Moreover, Gura cites almost four-hundred major and minor personalities and their respective roles. In addition to prominent characters such as Governor John Winthrop who was referenced 47 times, one representative of the large cast of virtual unknowns briefly resuscitated by Gura is Richard Overton, a dissenter who attained fleeting notoriety by penning Mans Mortallitie (1643).[13] Although Overton's single citation is neither of monumental importance nor crucial to Gura's arguments, this obscure radical's inclusion is a germane instance, demonstrating the profundity of the supporting research provided throughout the work. Gura successfully fulfilled his role as an historian by deciding which characters were allowed to take the stage.

Gura's methodology also encompasses the thorough investigation of numerous events, groups, and ideologies, which he considers essential to support his thesis. He devotes considerable attention to the Antinomian Controversy (1636-1638), a pivotal episode which served as a catalyst in motivating the conservatives to maintain their power through the articulation of rather convoluted but effective theocratic arguments, as well as the exercising of increasingly authoritarian legal sanctions.[14] In addition, Gura regarded the Quakers so worthy of scrutiny that he devoted a substantial portion of one chapter to their influence on the evolution of the New England Way. His research reveals the Society of Friends' propensity for martyrdom provoked the New England Puritans into administering such harsh penalties that King Charles II was persuaded by English Quakers to intervene and halt the commission of these atrocities. Ultimately, Gura shows that the Puritan establishment embraced a limited degree of tolerance by their begrudging acceptance of the Quakers within their erstwhile heterogeneous commonwealth.[15]

The pervasiveness of a progressively strident anticlericalism is another crucial theme exposed through Gura's diligent methodology. Not only was this ideology critical of the message of nonseparating congregationalism, but the messengers (ministers) were condemned as well. A prime example is the obstreperous denouncement of the Puritan ministry by Samuel Gorton, who espoused the heresy that the concept of sin had been fabricated by society's elite to more effectively dominate the lower classes. Thusly, Gura revealed a burgeoning antiauthoritarian sentiment, which was barely concealed behind the façade of a seemingly monolithic Puritanism.[16]

10. Ibid., 331-338; 339-379; 381-398; xiii-xv.
11. Ibid., 113.
12. Ibid., ix.
13. Ibid., 381-398, 261.
14. Ibid., 239-275.
15. Ibid., 126; 211; 150; 152.
16. Ibid., 68-73; 85-86; 243.

Although Gura writes in a manner, which is lucid and even captivating when discussing generalities and forming conclusions, some of the narratives sustaining his main arguments are excruciatingly, detailed and occasionally become tedious. In particular, Gura's lengthy discussion of the Anabaptists could have been substantially edited without derogating his credibility or undermining support for his analysis.[17]

By his own admission, Gura's approach to this subject is deliberately intellectual, as he is neither a social nor an economic historian. However, Gura subsequently acknowledges the necessity of addressing the significant effects wrought by the radical Puritans on the social and political evolution of the New England way, and he repeatedly probes these influences.[18]

Adhering to the basic principle of Leopold von Ranke, Gura makes an assiduous effort to show how things actually were by providing an insightful understanding of radical Puritanism based upon a fresh and objective analysis of original source materials. Indeed, Gura obtained a fellowship and spent an entire year conducting painstaking research in the archives of Harvard and other Boston area libraries. However, he criticizes the scholarship of English historians such as Christopher Hill and Bernard Capp, for example, as showing a misunderstanding of the relationship between the English Puritan radicals and the different brand of radicalism, which developed on the American side of the Atlantic.[19]

The Puritans held an obviously providential view of history, as evidenced by their fervent quest to establish a perfected and righteous society as a necessary prelude to the second coming of the Messiah. Conversely, Gura's concept of causation is one of free will determining the course of events. Illustrative of this perspective is his review of court records, which confirmed that while Samuel Gorton was given many opportunities by the magistrates to recant his heretical and seditious views, he vehemently refused to comply as an exercise of his own free will, and accordingly suffered the consequences of imprisonment and forced hard labor.[20]

While Gura's approach is ostensibly equitable and balanced, with approximately equal coverage being devoted to both persuasions, he appears to demonstrate a subtle bias favoring the radical position.[21] This discreet inclination is revealed by examining the perceptual filters influencing his underlying thought processes. Gura attended college during the late 1960s and early 1970s, a tense period of radical protest and social unrest, which was manifest nationwide.[22] The impact of these turbulent times was inescapable, and it had an attenuated but enduring effect on his mindset. This is evidenced by the essentially radical nature of Gura's thesis, and can be perceived throughout his astute analysis and interpretation of radical Puritanism.[23]

As further evidence of his propensity to think beyond conventional limitations, Gura presents research, which suggests that both the Puritans and the radicals were enamored of taunting each other with crude scatological epithets and lewd woodcuts. Furthermore, he details accounts of severe legal sentences imposed upon dissenters who committed the heinous crimes of sedition and heresy, such as the radicals' overt disputation of the existence if heaven and hell. Gura's graphic enumeration of these tyrannical sanctions includes real property seizures, flogging, imprisonment, hard labor in irons, physical mutilation, and

17. Ibid., 93-126.
18. Ibid., viii; 11.
19. Ibid., 28-29.
20. Ibid., 232; 216; 11-12; 282.
21. Ibid., 19, 155.
22. Gura, *Contemporary Authors*.
23. Edward Hallet Carr, *What is History?* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1961), 48.

even execution.[24] In order to know history, the historian must be examined.[25]

Gura's decision to incorporate incondite quotes, licentious illustrations, and explicit descriptions of iniquitous punishments could well be construed as exceeding an honest effort to provide realism. While Gura never directly passes judgment on the Puritans' predilection for vulgarity and cruelty, through the selective inclusion of original historical documentation he allows the "facts" to perform the task of adjudication. In the course of exposing these sinister aspects of Puritan rectitude, Gura succeeds in recreating a reality quite dissimilar from the commonly accepted version of the Puritans. He deflates their image as pious and virtuous Christians intent upon establishing a New Jerusalem inn the wilderness, thereby depicting them simply as human beings subject to intense emotions and exhibiting common foibles. Thusly, Gura provides de facto support for one of the critical theological tenets of the radicals: the fundamental equality of spirit in all humans.[26]

Gura's central thesis is the redefinition of Puritanism in New England based upon the rejection of the generally accepted image of a monolithic and virtually omnipotent Puritan theocracy. Previously espoused by eminent historians such as Perry Miller, Gura exposes this traditional view as an erroneous recreation of reality based upon a misinterpretation of relevant events.[27] Accordingly, he deftly constructs compelling arguments sustaining his assertion of the ubiquitous influence of radicalism.

Gura adduces that Rhode Island was indulgent of virtually any concept, philosophy, or ideology, which did not disturb the civil peace, and thus many dissidents migrated there to escape mainstream Puritan intolerance. Indeed, this bastion of blasphemy had become such a haven for radicals that the Massachusetts Puritans had begun referring to it as Rogue Island and the sewer of New England. However, contrary to previous historical analyses, Gura contends that manifestations of radical influence were not confines to Rhode Island or the fringes of the Bay Colony, but were pervasive throughout New England.[28]

The critical underlying factor during this period was that the Puritans were very absorbed in religious issues, from the controversy surrounding free grace to the fundamental tenet of nonseparating congregationalism. According to Gura's thesis, this continuous dialogue was at the very core of American Puritanism, within which existed a radical seed that had the potential of spawning a multiplicity of beliefs. Furthermore, the Puritan theocracy in New England evolved as it did as a direct result of the protests by the radical element - a state of affairs neither envisioned nor intended by the colony's founders.[29]

Although the Puritans had been a vociferous minority in England, they became the majority after their voyage to North America and firmly dominated most of New England. Gura asserts that in forming their conservative theocracy, the New England Puritans initially institutionalized a large part of their inherently radical spiritual thought. In light of this explanation, however, their intemperate and repressive position vis-à-vis the radicals appear rather ironic. The Puritans did not genuinely desire religious liberty, but only coveted their own form of ecclesiastical absolutism.[30]

Gura maintains that while the conservative leaders of the Bay Colony were understandably fearful that their quest for establishing a New Jerusalem would disintegrate with the ever-expanding numbers of

24. Ibid., 63; 90; 83; 309, 119, 70, 195, 150, 92.
25. Carr, 26.
26. Gura, 63, 80; 88, 90, 99; 291.
27. Ibid., 5-6, 8, 9.
28. Ibid., 85; 14, 64; 67.
29. Ibid., 49-50, 87; 190; 157; 156.
30. Ibid., 92; 188.

profligate sects among them, they failed to realize that the common person lacked sufficient education to fathom complicated Puritan doctrinal debates. Acceptance of the radicals' road to salvation was simply easier, especially since orthodox Puritanism required its adherents to live under the psychological tension of continuous guilt and self-doubt.[31]

Crossing the Atlantic to escape economic hardship, many immigrants held values substantially different from those ensconced in the Bay Colony - especially indentured servants. Gura suggests these lower socioeconomic strata soon became severely disappointed with the bleak material prospects New England offered, and created a potent opposition to the despotic Puritan theocracy. Although the authorities had attempted to solicit theologically acceptable recruits, secular immigration developed into an alarming problem for the Massachusetts leadership. To preclude further proliferation of these heretical miscreants, the General Court enacted legislation in 1637 denying residency to those whose beliefs were inconsistent with official doctrine.[32]

Gura contends that such extreme measures, which the conservatives employed to preserve their absolutist theocracy, contravened the basic tenets of their professed faith, and emphasizes just how serious a threat the radicals actually became to the Puritan polity. By describing these prolific and often vehement responses to dissent, Gura argues that the Puritan oligarchy was sufficiently resourceful to either successfully nullify or selectively absorb the effects of unrestrained religious zealotries which threatened both ecclesiastical and civil authority. Even the moderate Puritans feared a radical proposal to separate church and state because of the potential for anarchy and societal collapse. Gura is properly critical of other historians for inadequately investigating these significant points.[33]

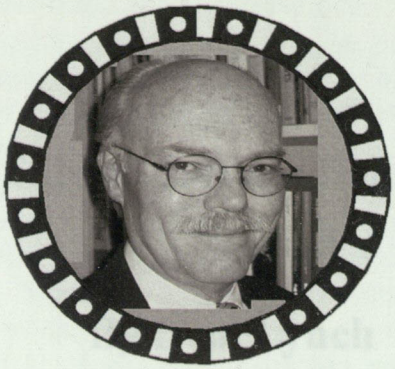
In summation, the ensuing conflict between the Puritan establishment and the radical spiritists is implicitly analyzed by Gura in Hegelian terms. Through the struggle between the thesis and the antithesis, i.e., the conflict between the original Puritan positions brought from England and the radical philosophy of the dissenters within the colony, a synthesis evolved which was a distinctly "New England" variety of Puritanism.[34]

Furthermore, Gura posited the most important component in the development of the New England Puritans' self-image as one of symbolic identification with the ancient Israelites. Holding their errand into the wilderness to be the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, a belief which wholly permeated Puritan culture, they believed they were the group anointed by God to witness the second coming of Christ from the vantage point of a spiritually redeemed New England. Conversely, the dissenters also fervently believed their plans for social and religious reformations were just as firmly based in scripture as were those of the mainstream Puritans.[35] Thus, Gura explains the fundamental meaning of the New England Way through examining the Puritans' attempt at instituting what they considered divine will. The realization of this, their sacred destiny, is perhaps the Puritans' most abiding legacy. While the establishment of a New Jerusalem remained elusive, both varieties of New England Puritans did behold a fleeting glimpse of Sion's glory.[36]

In conclusion, Gura has successfully dispelled enduring historical myths through a meticulous reexamination of radical Puritan doctrine, theology, and philosophy culled from original documents. Combined with judicious

31. Ibid., 48; 52, 53.
32. Ibid., 26; 187.
33. Ibid., 183-184; 113; 78, 125.
34. Ibid., 29 -30.
35. Ibid., 216; 127; 12-13.
36. Ibid., 180; 328.

excerpts borrowed from some very narrowly focused works of other prominent historians, he adroitly recreates a comprehensive and realistic image of an experience of paramount importance to the establishment of western civilization in North America.



Author's Biogaphy

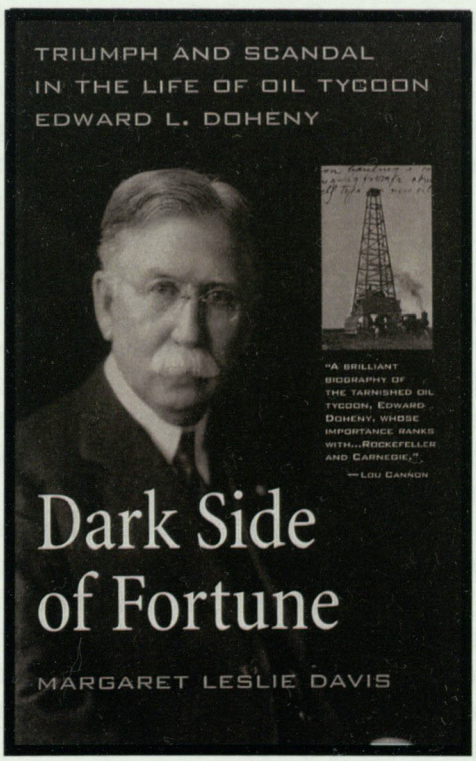
John Stahler

John Stahler received his Bachelor's Degree in History from California State University, Fullerton, and is currently working on a Master's Degree focusing on oral histories from the World War II period. His major areas of interest are varied, and include constitutional, religious and military history with a particular emphasis on totalitarianism. He is also a wine journalist, having written for numerous publications over the past 15 years, and has traveled extensively throughout the vineyards and wineries of California.

Dark Side of Fortune Book Review

By Neal Lynch

Edited by Tiffany Delpe



The beginning of 20th Century America was one of exploration, discovery, and invention. The Gilded Age provided many advances in technology, paramount among them was the development of the automobile. Critical to the success of the automobile, as well as the further evolution of the railroad, was the search for and acquisition of fuel. As the development of the automobile required a pioneer so did the search for oil. In her book, *Dark Side of Fortune: Triumph and Scandal in the Life of Oil Tycoon* Edward L. Doheny, Margaret Leslie Davis chronicles the life of one such pioneer.

Davis' story traces a classic "rags-to-riches" tale of a poor prospector and miner, who through tenacity, hard work, and a little luck created an oil empire, only to fall to ruin as a result of a national scandal. The government accused and tried Doheny on a charge of bribing a government official to secure a lucrative oil contract. Was he blameless? Although Davis praises Doheny's work ethic and his dedication to public service, she stops short of declaring his total innocence. Like any successful businessman, Doheny compromised and made choices that favored his own prosperity. The man who professed his patriotism so vehemently during his trial was the same man who was accused of profiting from his Mexican oil production by being "prepared to pay the right man for the right policy." (68) In addition, Doheny used his political connections to influence government policy in Mexico when it became apparent that the government might not be able to protect his interests within their borders.

Davis paints Doheny as a private man, suffering personal and professional tragedy as he made his fortune and established himself as one of the wealthiest men in America. He was compassionate enough to write romantic letters to his lonely wife when they were separated for months at a time, but awkward enough to coolly sign them "Affectionately, Edward Doheny" as if she was a mere acquaintance. (67)

His associations included influential politicians, including presidents and future prime ministers. One of the most distinguished of these was his close friend, Albert Bacon Fall. It was this personal relationship with Fall, then the Secretary of the Interior, as well as a controversial monetary loan, that ultimately destroyed both men. Doheny went from being referred to as the "Emperor of Oil" to the personally humiliating and professionally devastating "Crooked Oil Millionaire."

Thoroughly enjoyable were the many historical sidebars. Davis takes the reader through important periods of history leading up to a "Doheny event" allowing the reader to understand the context of the event and therefore fully understand its significance. She tells of the time Doheny and family were sailing to England aboard RMS Olympic when her sister ship, RMS Titanic, struck an iceberg and sank in the North Atlantic. (83) Davis speaks of the revolutionary Pancho Villa during a time when friendship between the United States and Mexico was crucial to Doheny's business ventures in that country. (95) She even mentions little Ned listening to records on his new "talking machine." (51)

The story of the times and trials of Doheny and Fall hold all the excitement and suspense of Watergate, the Scopes Monkey Trial, the JFK investigation, the O.J. Simpson Trial, and Mr. Smith Goes To Washington wrapped into one. The entire incident may never have surfaced if not for a little-known oil producer in Wyoming who wrote to his senator complaining that equal opportunity was not given to all bidders on the Naval Petroleum Reserve project. (149) This seemingly insignificant action started a chain of events that captivated a nation for ten years. This combined with the fact that Doheny's wife spent the afternoon of his funeral in the basement of her home burning hundreds of personal and business documents adds mystery and intrigue.

(4) The contents of this proverbial "18 minutes" are now forever left to conjecture.

The courtroom drama highlighted the political maneuvering that took place between two powerful high-profile attorneys representing the government and the defendants, drawing unprecedented national attention. Mystery surrounded the violent death of Doheny's only son, Ned. Evidence at the scene of his murder tested the logic and common sense of police investigators; the absence of fingerprints, a questionable trajectory, the cigarette in the gun hand, and the absence of the inevitable power burns that would result from a close-range gunshot wound. (233) The only thing the story lacks is the "magic bullet."

Journalists and historians have argued the unusual and controversial conclusion that Doheny was proven innocent in a criminal trial while judged guilty in a civil trial. The conundrum was not missed by Fall's thirteen-year-old granddaughter who asked her mother, "...if Mr. Doheny is not guilty of giving a bribe, how can grandfather be guilty of accepting one?" (262) Doheny himself rebounded from his initial defeat by campaigning on his own behalf, fighting his "lost cause" in an effort to convince the American public of his innocence.

Although it is necessary to address everything that contributed to the Doheny story, it became somewhat redundant describing the details of the many trials and appeals over the ten-year ordeal. Much of the same evidence was presented at these proceedings, and it was a difficult task presenting them in different ways while holding the reader's attention. Conversely, Davis' writing style resembles that of a suspense novelist weaving tales of intrigue, tragedy, and success throughout. Her chapter endings are such that the reader is compelled to turn the page. Phrases like "Construction of Greystone got underway early in the year, before the family knew that the tortuous legal battles were to take an ugly turn" demand knowing what is going to happen next.

Davis, a graduate of Georgetown University, holds a law degree and has won the Golden Spur Award for Best Nonfiction Book. She has also written about the life and career of William Mulholland. Davis' research is thorough. Because Doheny's wife destroyed so many personal documents, Davis relies heavily on personal interviews, church and government archives, oil company records, and the personal papers of Albert Fall. Davis' conclusions leave the Doheny legacy up to the individual. His story remains a mystery.

Author's Biography

Neal Lynch

Neal Lynch earned his Bachelor of Science in Business Administration from Arizona State University in 1975. He reentered the academic world in 1997 by enrolling in American History courses at Fullerton College. He is currently a graduate student in History at California State University, Fullerton where he is enjoying being one of the "old guys" in the classroom.

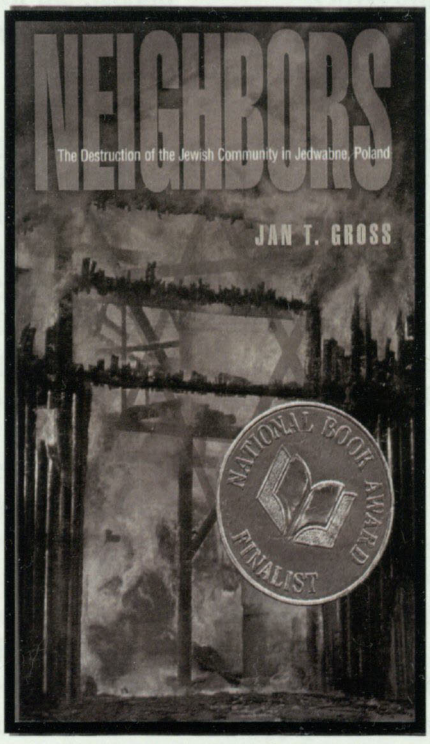
Neal's interest in American History began in earnest when he read about his great-grandfather's service as a Confederate artillerist with the 4th Maryland (Chesapeake) Battery during the Civil War. Inspired by his genealogy, he joined the 7th Virginia Volunteer Infantry, Company D re-enactment group and also gives presentations on the Civil War to middle and high school students.

Neal's interests are diverse. He plays the guitar and occasionally performs "Songs by Old Guys (and some by dead guys)" at local coffee houses and restaurants around the Orange County area. He began teaching United States Citizenship classes at the Brea Community Center in 2002 and is a member of the "Run for the Borders" chapter of Toastmasters International.

Jan T. Gross, Neighbors: The Destruction of the Community in Jedwabne Poland

By Lisa Lopez

Edited By Tiffany Delpe



Holocaust historiography has undergone a significant evolution over the past two decades. While previous works tended to focus on the leaders and functionaries of the Nazi party, current research has attempted to place the common individual within the continuum of Nazi atrocities. Jan Gross contributes to this burgeoning field of "history from below" in his monograph, Neighbor: *The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne Poland*, which relays the murderous events that occurred within the small town during the summer of 1941. This is the story of neighbor turning against neighbor, not at the behest of their German occupiers, but of their own volition. What follows is a compelling examination of how an entire town comes to terms with their actions and further serves as a microcosm of Polish complicity during the Third Reich.

Jan Gross' work shines with regard to its significant revelations. He proposes, "First and foremost I consider this volume a challenge to standard historiography of the Second World War, which posits that there are two separate wartime histories-one pertaining to the Jews and the other to all the other citizens of a given European country subjected to Nazi rule." (7-8) Gross directed this statement directly at Poland which he believes has severed the historical experiences of its citizenry into two distinct historiographies. This approach has created a serious misconstruction of the Polish experience during the Second World War and Gross questions, "...how can the wiping out of one-third of its urban population be anything other than a central issue of Poland's modern history?" (9) Addressing the gap that exists between the two histories is therefore Gross' chief intention.

Nonetheless, Jan Gross presents a confusing analysis of the events he intends to expose. While it is clear that Gross intends to initiate a dialogue that will lead to the reassessment of unilateral Polish participation in the events of the Holocaust, the methods that he

attempts to employ in order to create this dialogue lack a clear direction. He proposes a myriad of topics such as memory, collective responsibility, the dichotomy of victim and victimizer, and totalitarian theory, but fails to link these topics through a centralizing argument. Nor does Gross embrace a specific theoretical perspective. He states from the outset that Neighbors does not fit neatly within the structural-functionalist or intentionalist perspectives that normally provide the framework for Holocaust analysis. This approach is understandable since Jan Gross is examining his subject from outside the Nazi hierarchy. While the intentionalist view examines the will and intent of Adolf Hitler in driving the Holocaust, and the structural-functionalist view addresses the evolving role of the government bureaucracy, the author's focus is to show that "each episode of mass killing had its own situational dynamics." (12) This proposal is the closest that Gross comes to a thesis statement within his monograph.

Gross utilizes a substantial array of primary documents within his work. The strongest of these sources are the testimonies of those who survived the butchery of Jedwabne's Jewish population and the depositions of those who took part in the killings. Gross also utilized oral interviews in order to round out his text. The relaying of the horrific slaughter of Jedwabne's Jews is the absolute strongpoint of this book. Gross does an excellent job of exposing Polish behavior during the early stages of German occupation. He presents a compelling case that spotlights the Jedwabne Pole's autonomous decision to annihilate their Jewish neighbors without direct orders from the Nazi officials that had recently occupied the town. Although Polish historiography has posited that most Poles were coerced by the Nazis into participating in the Holocaust, Gross' sub-argument conclusively proves that this was not the case. Had this been the only focus of his book, I would have felt that Gross effort was outstanding. It

truly was riveting as well as extremely enlightening.

However, Gross did not limit his monograph to the events that occurred in Jedwabne. For instance, he attempted to provide an analysis that included Stalinism and Jewish-Soviet relationships that relied heavily on totalitarian theory. The arguments which he presents are weak and unsubstantiated. In one case, Gross appears to argue half-heartedly (and almost as if playing devil's advocate) that a possible motivation for the Jedwabne pogrom was the perceived belief that the Jewish population had actively colluded with the Soviet government during the Soviet occupation. However the sources which Gross uses within the work do not give any indication that this was the case. One is left to wonder why Gross included arguments that were incomplete and thus took away from the power of his work.

Ultimately, Gross' work is both powerful and bewildering. Gross missed the opportunity to make this book exceptional because he offers partial arguments. Each of his chapters presents a larger theoretical question but fails to provide an answer or even explore the issue in depth. As a result, this approach gave the monograph the feel of an unfinished work. Perhaps Gross was only intending to do inspire new questions, or perhaps he was out of his depth in attempting to provide answers. He admits, "...I do not see the possibility of attaining closure here. In other words, the reader will not emerge with a sense of satisfied yearning for knowledge at the conclusion of the reading;" (12) Jan Gross was correct in that statement. Despite these problems, Neighbors is a pivotal and necessary work that will compel Polish historians to reexamine their nation's role in the Holocaust. I found the book to be somber, graphic, extremely engrossing and elucidating when dealing specifically with the dynamics of the massacre and I would recommend it as a solid case study of Polish behavior during the Third Reich. Neighbors is definitely a worthwhile read for students of the Holocaust or modern European history particularly since this monograph is destined to become an essential stepping stone for scholars working in this field.

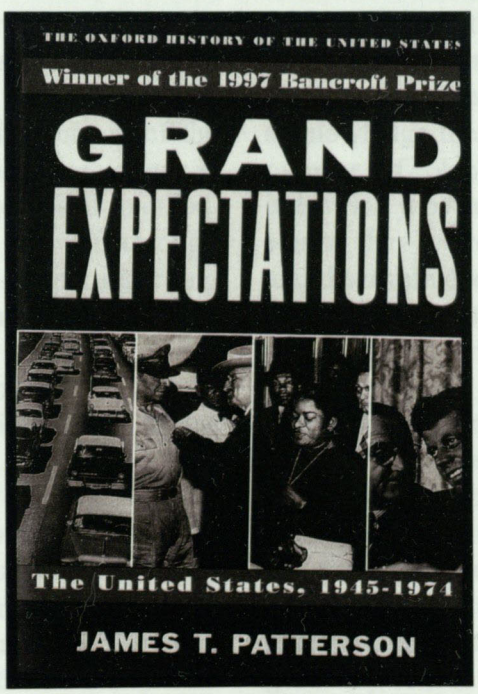
Author's Biography

Refer to Elizabethan England Article

Book Review of James T. Patterson, Grand Expectations: The United States 1945-1974.

By Scott Behen

Edited by Miguel Garcia



James T. Patterson's *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974,* volume Ten of The Oxford History of the United States, attempts to be an objective overview of this often-turbulent, yet unprecedented period. Beginning with the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and ending with the resignation of Nixon in August of 1974, Grand Expectations is an admirable attempt by the Brown University Professor Emeritus to encapsulate one of the most inspiring and perilous eras in American history. While the theme of the book, as titled, refers to an ever-present rise of expectations among the American people, it is the presence of a subtle and recurring, yet unexplained, theme about the rise of the Conservative Right over a seemingly inept and misguided Liberal Left that is truly at the core of the book.

Grand Expectations is a well-organized and strongly constructed text that very ably deals with a plethora of material. The first five chapters are arranged in what can best be described as standard New History with chapters such as, "Veterans, Ethnics, Blacks, Women" and *"Grand Expectations* about the World," highlighting the various social aspects of life immediately after the war, and serve as an introduction to the overall structure of the text. The remainder of *Grand Expectations* is handled in a classic chronological method, president to president, from Truman through Nixon, serving as a jeremiad primer regarding the rise and fall of liberalism in America. The consistency of the narrative eases the necessary transitions while reconnecting with various themes from one administration to the next.

In transporting the reader backward in time to postwar America, Patterson depicts a country that, during the space of five calamitous years of warfare, had transformed from unmitigated depression to postwar boom. America entered the war as a second rate nation and came out of the war as an industrial, economical, and political juggernaut. The Army fought with a barely mechanized cavalry that just prior to the war still had saddles in its inventory, and ended with the ubiquitous Sherman's that en masse brought down Hitler's Panzers. The Air Corps and Navy consisted of an obsolescent inventory of airplanes and inexperienced pilots who were no match for Goering's Luftwaffe or Yamamoto's Zeros, and finished the war with glimmering steel Superfortresses and Mustangs that flew high above the clouds visiting hell upon their enemies. Finally, it was the pre-war employment programs of the depression era that led to what easily may have been the best fourteen billion-plus dollars the federal government has ever spent, the GI Bill of Rights.

As the title suggests, it was the rise of expectations, left unmet, that led to an overwhelming sense of frustration that eventually erupted in the 1960s and 1970s. Rising expectations, an abundance of wealth and progress, and an abiding faith in technology guided America, at times dangerously, through the Cold War and its campaigns into both Korea and Vietnam. Black veterans returning from the war desired the same respect and opportunities afforded their white counterparts and instead found a nation that still did not acknowledge their existence. Though a record number of blacks migrated north for both industrial jobs and to escape the Jim Crow south, they were still overwhelmingly poor and discriminated against, albeit differently, in their new homes. Women, the wartime Rosie the Riveters, proved their collective mettle building, flying, and driving the same planes and tanks the American men fought with during the war. After the defeat of the axis powers and rapid demobilization, these same women were once again relegated to domesticity and sex-segregated jobs such as file clerking and nursing. After a brief hiccup in divorce rates, attributed to hasty wartime marriages, women generally settled into domestic bliss until they either read Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique after its publication in 1963, or they

started taking the pill when it became available after 1960.

It is here that the subtle and indirect theme of the book implies that it was the Liberals and Democrats' mishandling of the postwar years-via inept or incomplete legislation and pie-in-the-sky social theories that were the root-cause of everything that went wrong in the 60s and 70s. Patterson's theory rails against, amongst others, the Civil Rights and Women's movement, Vietnam, Welfare, and even the Apollo space program, which, according to Patterson, "produced relatively little scientific knowledge," a statement that is analogous to concluding that the Wright Brothers flight at Kittyhawk was essentially unproductive. The space race, as embodied by the Apollo program, led to tangible results such as the development of MRI technology directly from the methods used to map the moon for a suitable landing site. The intangibles, as with the flight at Kitty Hawk, gave America a worldwide lead in the use of space for commercial and military purposes. It might be fair to assume that had the Apollo program been gestated by a conservative President Patterson would have interpreted the race to the moon as a smashing defeat of the Soviets. Accordingly, it was the frustration of the American people's grand expectations inspired by these issues that led to the economic and moral decline of the post-Nixon 1970s. The undercurrents in the book become clearer in the chronological examinations of history via the successive presidents and their administrations.

By using a consistent back-and-forth commentary, Patterson seems to bring a balanced view of each President's administration, and the rewards or consequences of their administration's decision-making. Regarding Truman's decision to drop the bomb, Patterson states that at the time using the atomic bombs on Japan was a popular decision that did bring a quick end to the war, then elaborates upon the current revisionist beliefs that are firmly stuck in the present-day viewpoint. However, it becomes clear as the chapters on Truman's presidency unfold, that Patterson's goal is to debunk the belief that Truman was an able decision maker as exemplified by the "Buck stops here!" sign placed prominently on his White House desk.

In contrast, Eisenhower's presidency is treated with kid's gloves and an apologist tone. Where Patterson often rebukes Truman for indecision or inaction, Eisenhower is not held to the same standard. There is no balanced retribution for Eisenhower's unwillingness to address growing domestic concerns. In Patterson's own words, "Ike shrank from involving the presidency in controversial questions." Using this logic, Patterson excused Eisenhower when he virtually abandoned Nixon upon public disclosure in the press that Nixon had a small slush fund at his disposal. This also explains the lack of any serious action regarding McCarthy, the disavowal of knowledge of any credible evidence regarding the dangers of continued nuclear testing, and Eisenhower's statement that,

> ...this is the first time it has come to my specific attention now, since, oh, I think a year or so" when asked about the Equal Rights Amendment during a 1957 press conference. Patterson writes that it is, "simply ahistorical to think Eisenhower...could have or should have demanded major reforms....

defending Eisenhower's inaction and his generally sexist and racist attitudes.

Historically speaking it is absolutely true, no person of the past should be judged by present-day standards, yet this does not seem to apply to Truman, and as written, Patterson does not apply this belief to any of the liberal, Democrat presidents. He savages Kennedy, a more and more common theme among present-day historians, as reactionary and too aggressive. Patterson also refers to Kennedy's supporters, both then and present-day, as "aco-

lytes" and to Robert F. Kennedy as "nefarious," hardly the words of an unbiased historian. In every subsequent chapter Patterson attacks one or both of the Kennedy's. Patterson's treatment of Lyndon Johnson does stand above the other Democratic Presidents because it alternately praises and incriminates Johnson for his social reforms and for his mishandling of Vietnam. However, an example of his obvious bias against liberals becomes visible when Patterson writes that, "Any reasonably competent liberal President would have done well," making the case that Johnson's successes were in large part due to the failure of the formerly conservative body of Congress, in effect belittling Johnson's political abilities.

It is Patterson's near complete lack of any real criticism of Nixon that erases any remaining doubt about the existence of a pro-conservative theme throughout *Grand Expectations.* In fact, Patterson states that Nixon's only mistake was in covering up for the Watergate break-in, and getting caught. Nixon is praised by Patterson for his ability to weather political controversy. Somehow, accepting a hard-hat as a trophy from construction workers who previously used the same hard hat, amongst others, to break up a sit-in by beating peaceful war protesters, is elevated by Patterson as one of Nixon's endearing attributes. None of the criticism and attacks against Kennedy in his three years had been reserved for Nixon who in his six years in office did far more to damage the office of President and to divide this country than Kennedy.

Grand Expectations is a valiant attempt at history on a large scale that discusses a daunting array of subjects from the significant to the mundane. Though it suffers from a clear political bias, it is an eminently readable book that more than adequately lays the groundwork for a better understanding of post-WW II America. Patterson consistently decries that it was wrong to raise Americans' expectations if unable to fulfill them while not following through fully on the reasons these expectations were never completely met. Political bias aside, this 1997 Bancroft Prize in History award winning tomb will stand shoulder to shoulder with the previously published volumes in the Oxford History of the United States series such as James McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom.*

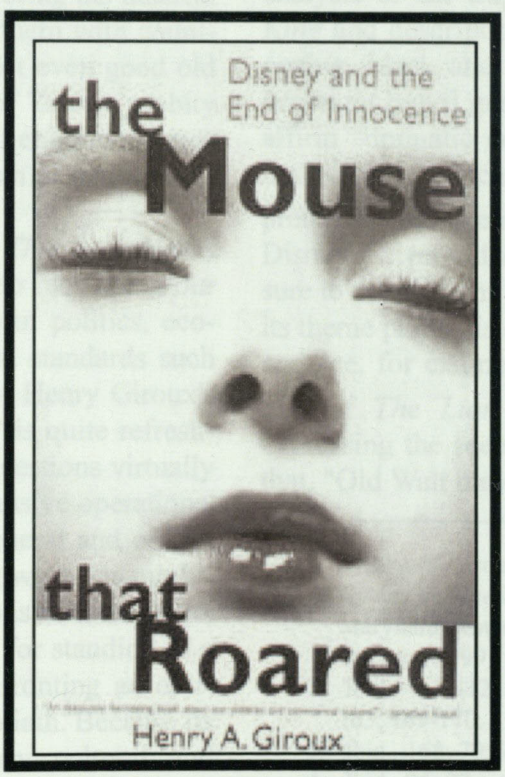
Author's Biography

Scott Behen's Biography Printed on Previous Article

The Mouse That Roared: Disney and the End of Innocence

By John Stahler

Edited by Charles Gray



Walt Disney was a tremendous artist and magnificent visionary who always conveyed an image of the sagacious grandfather with a mischievous twinkle in his eye, kindly manner, and innate ability to sense what children enjoyed. Indeed, some the fondest memories from my youth are of rushing home after school to watch his Mickey Mouse Club, back in the days when it wasn't a rerun, and sitting cross-legged before a black and white Admiral television completely mesmerized by the antics of Jimmy, Cheryl, Cubby and crew. Although he engendered the great admiration of the baby boomer generation, as well as that of their children and now grandchildren, the idealistic Walt was in reality a terrible businessman, and without the guidance, expertise and financial assistance of successful venture capitalist like Jack Wrather, it is doubtful that Disneyland would have ever materialized. The "happiest place on earth" was built by one of the luckiest men on earth - a man who had the good fortune if being able to bring his fanciful dreams to fruition and share them with countless millions. Lamentably, not even good old Walt, the erstwhile paragon of Yankee probity and quintessential marketer of childhood innocence, is now beyond reproach or above critical investigation.

It is good that *The Mouse That Roared* was written, as it gives us pause to reexamine our fundamental suppositions about politics, economics, education and ethical standards such as trust and integrity. Thusly, Henry Giroux's thinking "outside of the box" is quite refreshing, as his incisive analysis questions virtually every aspect of Disney's expansive operations, its influence on society in general and on our children in particular. Writing what one thinks, regardless of criticism, demonstrates courage, and Giroux should be lauded for standing as a solitary academic David confronting an ominously powerful corporate Goliath. Because its ubiquitous creations, "...carry cultural and social messages that need to be scrutinized," Disney does warrant, as he appropriately posits, "...healthy suspicion and critical debate..."[1]

Professor Giroux's central thesis is that the concentration of immense power in Disney's mercenary hands is a pernicious and pervasive, "...threat to democracy..." a pejorative judgment which he repeatedly visits throughout the volume.[2] Eschewing both orthodox liberal and traditional conservative philosophies, he proposes instituting a, "...radical democracy..." as an effective means of constraining a vast Disney empire which engages in unbridled profiteering, "...undermines attempts to revitalize public education...", and disseminates, "...conservative and commercial values that erode civil society..."[3]

While his praise of Disney is noticeably sparse, Giroux's admonition that parents and educators should pay attention to what their children are doing, viewing and thinking is both prudent and pragmatic.[4] His character analysis of the duplicitous Scar in *The Lion King* and description of, "...Ursula, the large, oozing, black and purple squid in *The Little Mermaid* [who] gushes with evil and irony..." affirm dramatic descriptions of consummate malevolence which children can readily comprehend.[5] He even begrudgingly admits that Disney, "...provides a certain measure of pleasure to the millions who buy its products, visits its theme parks, listens to its media broadcasts, and see, for example, its outstanding production of *The Lion King*."[6] However, after expressing the seemingly charitable sentiment that, "Old Walt may have had the best of inten-

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1. Henry A. Giroux, *The Mouse That Roared: Disney and the End of Innocence,* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 85; 90.
2. Ibid., 4; 11-12; 27; 30-31; 44; 79; 156-157; 163; 169-170.
3. Ibid., 168; 79; 91.
4. Ibid., 85; 97.
5. Ibid., 96.
6. Ibid., 27.

tions when it comes to making kids happy..." he continues with more baneful descriptions of the Disney organization as being, "...a corporate utopia..." and "...a capitalist fairytale..." and ritually employs such antiquated socialist adjectives as, "...bourgeois, ...profit mongering, [and] ...reactionary."[7] Moreover, Disney is not the sole target of his indignation, as he liberally dispenses acerbic commentary denigrating a broad spectrum of American cultural icons, corporations and celebrities ranging from Ozzie and Harriet, the Lone Ranger and Norman Rockwell, to McDonalds, Toys 'R Us, Janis Joplin and Eddie Murphy.[8]

Although he writes in a scholarly fashion and employs a demonstrably learned vocabulary, by thoroughly subjecting his words to the same rigorous scrutiny and critical analysis, which he demands, be done to every facet of Disney, it becomes apparent that Giroux's academic objectivity is somewhat questionable. For example, strategically placing footnoted material at the end of a paragraph which was until that point composed almost exclusively of his own opinion was nothing more than a disingenuous ploy utilized to bolster his inherently feeble arguments, and is a textual manipulation which is heartily discouraged in freshman composition classes.[9] This tactic is all the more deplorable in light of the fact that he earned his doctorate, in part, by penning a dissertation entitled "Themes in Modern European History: A Study in the Process of Writing History."[10]

Giroux sagely counsels that we should strive for, "...a life built upon the precepts of compassion and justice rather than the inverted hopes and dreams offered by the narrow visions of Disney's corporate culture...and the logic of the market."[11] Compassion and justice are unequivocally hallmarks of any civilized society, and the assertion that Disney's corporate culture is myopic cannot be disputed. However, a critical postulate which he dismisses is that the logic of the market is dictated by free will.[12] Economic choices may be made intelligently, emotionally, or routinely, but ultimately are the responsibility of the individual making them. Giroux would have us believe, contrary to the wisdom of Lincoln's oft quoted remark, that Michael Eisner can fool all of the people all of the time, and that we are impotent in the face of some massive corporate deceit. Contrary to his allegation that there is, "...no countervailing power from civil society to hold such power in check," numerous broad economic fluctuations, landmark judicial decisions, and elemental political shifts throughout the history of the United States demonstrate otherwise.[13]

Although Giroux astutely observes that Disney has become, "...a cultural institution that fiercely protects its legendary status as purveyor of innocence and moral virtue," institution it is not unlike other corporations that have always stoutly defended their public images.[14] The vigorous enforcement of trademark and copyright law is a fundamental tenet of our economic system, and accordingly, Disney has every legal right, as well as a substantial fiduciary obligation to its shareholders, to safeguard its assets. Flatly denying this prerogative, he scolds Disney for being a corporate

7. Ibid., 38; 43; 44; 91; 111.
8. Ibid., 40, 130; 139; 41, 43, 88; 159; 106.
9. Ibid., 113.
10. "Henry Giroux," in *Vitae,* [database online] (University Park. PA: The Pennsylvania State University College of Education, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, 24 March 2003); available from: http://www.ed.psu.edu/ci/giroux_vita.asp; Internet; accessed 7 April, 2003.
11. Giroux, 149.
12. Ibid., 30.
13. Ibid., 162.
14. Ibid., 86.

bully because of its, "...aggressive endorsement of property rights."[15]

His oft repeated claim that Disney is turning our children into consumers is grossly inaccurate.[16] We have always been a society of consumers. That is the nature of human beings, and is a fundamental component of any economy: consumers are producers, and producers are consumers. Professor Giroux may well be shocked by the fact that children are consumers, but they actually become such at the moment of birth. What is apparently causing him undue consternation is that the Disney organization not only realized this early on, but has developed a superb ability to capitalize on this fact.[17] Although Giroux laments that his three sons suffer from an uncontrollable infatuation with things Disney, neither of my children nor any of their cousins are overly enamored or unduly influenced by Disney corporate culture despite enjoying a rather substantial collection of toys, books, and videos inspired by old Walt, as well as partaking in numerous family outings to the "magic kingdom" over the years.[18]

Expanding his argument beyond the venue of the American market, Giroux asserts that Eisner's goal is, "...to make every person on the planet..." a consumer of Disney products, and cites successful Disney corporate beachheads in France and Japan as evidence of its portentous global expansionism.[19] Conveniently evaded is the issue of hundreds of millions of malnourished, poverty stricken humans in Africa, India and China who must first produce enough in order to have sufficient incomes to purchase Disney's decidedly pricey merchandise.

In another blatant factual contortion, Giroux contends that 43 million jobs evaporated as the result of heartless corporate restructuring between 1984 and 1999.[20] In reality, almost the entirety of those who became unemployed found new jobs elsewhere - all created by the capitalist system which Giroux so fervently condemns. Furthermore, he erroneously charges that Disney was failing when Eisner took the helm in 1983.[21] It may well have been suffering some financial distress, but was far from failing. Chrysler was failing when Lee Iacocca took the helm and induced the federal government to bail them out in the 1970s. Giroux's depiction of Disney as failing is yet another instance of his exaggeration of the true state of affairs.

Skewing the data again, Giroux maintains that government support for education is drying up.[22] It is true that education is chronically under funded in many areas of the country, but it obviously has not been curtailed. Simply because Disney provided funding for one school in Celebration, Florida, he unabashedly asserts that it negatively impacts all public schooling.[23] It would truly be grand if Disney were actually powerful and wealthy enough to invest in and rehabilitate every dilapidated, outmoded, cockroach infested inner-city school in the United States, and thusly elevate them to the impressive standards enjoyed in Celebration. Once again, Dr. Giroux is either terribly confused, or is attempting to purposely mislead his readers, as Disney quite obviously does not possess that amount of money or power.

Giroux berates the "magic kingdom" for their authoritarian training programs and utilization for pedagogy for commercial purposes, and quotes one Disney executive as saying, "We want the students [we hire] to be as skill-

15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., 43, 158.
17. Ibid., 32.
18. Ibid., 83-85, 160-161.
19. Ibid., 33; 39.
20. Ibid., 29.
21. Ibid., 32-33.
22. Ibid., 64.
23. Ibid.

ful as possible."[24] The acquisition of marketable job skills is precisely what secondary vocational education and Regional Occupation Programs are designed to provide. This effective partnership has existed between the business and educational communities in California for decades, and is a flourishing training program well outside the parameters of Disney's supposedly enormous influence over American education. Furthermore, working at "the park" has been a matter of entirely free choice for thousands of Disney employees for almost half a century and many have carved out successful careers working for "the mouse". Contrary to Giroux's allegations, they are not manacled in leg irons deep within the hold of the slave galley *Columbia*, perpetually circling Tom Sawyer's Island to unquestionably do the bidding of an evil Captain Eisner as his grossly underpaid but eternally loyal capitalist lackeys.

Disney's material is characterized as having,

> ...no basis in reality, no sense of real conflicts..., although legions of goose-stepping hyenas in *The Lion King* would appear to offer a very clear definition between good and evil.[25] Giroux further states that Disney's, ...films are often filled with contradictory messages...handily skirting the issue that real life is actually teeming with conundrums.[26]

In that respect, Disney's writers could not be more realistic if they wished upon a star.

Probing yet another area of this superfluous and convoluted analysis, Giroux asserts that Disney prides itself on offering a squeaky clean image that is, "...white, suburban, middle class and heterosexual," the penultimate definition of American life with small town roots.[27] He then proceeds to dissect the Disney movie *Pretty Woman*, discussing in vivid detail the social and psychological implications of the difficulties encountered by a, "...child-woman..." prostitute portrayed by Julia Roberts.[28] This topic definitely does not come under the heading of family values, and is most assuredly not the type of script that Walt would have approved during his lifetime. Furthermore, his attempt at a pseudo-Freudian psychoanalysis of this movie, as well as the, "...manic improvisations..." of Robin Williams in *Good Morning, Vietnam*, is morally anemic, irrelevant to his arguments and borders on the absurd.[29]

Dr. Giroux's condemnation of Disney as racist because of the portrayal of the Aunt Jemima character, references to violent redskins, and producing the movie *Song of the South* (1946), which truly abounds with racial stereotypes, is a classic example of the commission of presentism.[30] Perhaps more than any other cadre of professional academics, historians should be aware of this egregious analytical pitfall and attempt to avoid it or, at a minimum, admit to its use when it is employed.

Giroux relentlessly criticizes Disney for creating and marketing a sanitized view of reality, yet describes its movies as containing, "...larger narratives about freedom, rites of passage, intolerance, choice, greed and the brutalities of male chauvinism."[31] Disney's confronting such issues would appear quite realistic and highly unsanitized, and reveals yet another inconsistency in his arguments. The version of history Disney offers in its animated films may well be sanitized, but then, contrary to Dr. Giroux's job description, Disney is not in the business of authoring factual academic treatises for critical analysis by university students, fellow professors and other thinking adults. If we want our children to observe an unedited, unsanitary, un-Disnified

24. Ibid., 66.
25. Ibid., 158.
26. Ibid., 91.
27. Ibid., 127.
28. Ibid., 142-143.
29. Ibid., 129-141.
30. Ibid., 103-104.
31. Ibid., 96.

version of reality, we can have them watch the History Channel, take a tour through numerous urban slums, peruse the six o'clock news, or view *Schindler's List.* In the production of fantast based entertainment, Disney has every right to utilize historical facts, figures and circumstances in any manner it chooses so long as it neither creates a clear and present danger nor libels anyone. In contrast, since Professor Giroux is ostensibly writing from an objective academic perspective, the liberties he may take with reconstructing the past are severely limited.

He berates Disney for not extending the story line of *Pocahontas* to include indigenous exterminations, which occurred during the three centuries subsequent to the time of the movie, and his comparison of the plot in this animated fantasy to that of a Jewish woman falling in love with a blonde-haired, Aryan Nazi is particularly repugnant.[32] Most astonishingly, as if accusing Disney of indoctrinating children with a, "...racist, sexist and antidemocratic ethos which permeates Disney films..." was insufficient to make his point, he brazenly intimates that, "...Disney's corporate pedagogy..."could foster the creation of the same barbarous societal conditions which led to Auschwitz.[33] Dr. Giroux should seriously reexamine his position regarding just who is guilty of rewriting history to suit their own hidden agendas.

The cynical pronouncement that, "This is not to suggest that there is something sinister behind what Disney does," is utterly astounding since Giroux devotes almost the entire volume to eviscerating practically every aspect of the organization.[34] He accuses Disney of having,

> ...little regard for free speech and public criticism," and harboring aims of, ...global expansionism and colonialism.[35]

32. Ibid., 101-102.
33. Ibid., 85; 55.
34. Ibid., 114.

In addition, Disney is nefariously defined as escapist, historically forgetful, and repressive, as well as being,

> ...a political and cultural toxin... which unsparingly exploits its, ...stranglehold on the message and image business...[36]

Incredibly, even good old Walt was accused of being a secret agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.[37] By any objective standard, these allegations would certainly seem quite sinister to any thinking adult.

Furthermore, Giroux's declaration that threats to democracy by communist dictatorships were imagined is an unconscionable affront to the tens of millions who perished, and to the hundreds of millions who still live under brutal and amoral totalitarian regimes.[38] It was not Walt Disney who ordered Soviet tanks into East Berlin in 1953, or Budapest in 1956, or Prague in 1968, thusly slaughtering innocent civilians fighting for their freedom. It was not Walt Disney who sent millions to the Soviet Gulag where they suffered slow, painful deaths mining salt and coal barehanded in sub-zero weather. It was not Walt Disney who orchestrated the obliteration of thousands of monasteries and liquidated millions of devout Buddhists living peacefully in a formerly autonomous Tibet. Yet, Henry Giroux unabashedly denounces Disney for, "...whitewashing history...."[39]

His endorsement of waging public debate in numerous venues is a laudable and noble sentiment, as the exercise of free speech is a necessary prerequisite of any credible and viable democracy.[40] However, this presumably

35. Ibid., 129; 146.
36. Ibid., 126-128; 164; 157.
37. Ibid., 128-129.
38. Ibid., 30.
39. Ibid., 41.
40. Ibid., 164.

egalitarian expression is merely a reprehensible facade, as Giroux finally betrays his true ideological disposition with the proposal of confiscatory totalitarian measures such as, "taking ownership away from the media giants..." and, "...closing the gap in wealth and property between the rich and poor..." to remedy severe social inequities so ruthlessly exploited by Disney and the degenerate capitalist system which propagates them.[41] By articulating the dire prediction that, "Corporate power is pervasive and will not give up its resources willingly," the underlying collectivist substance of his ominous message becomes clear.[42]

Over three centuries ago, Thomas Hobbes revealed his lack of faith in the basic goodness of human nature when he defined life as,"...solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."[43] Essentially paraphrasing Hobbes, Giroux offers his own similarly pessimistic definition of contemporary American existence as being brutal, boring, and estranged, and further exposes this fundamental negativity with his condemnation of Disney as a, "...predatory corporation that views children's imaginations as simply another resource for amassing earnings."[44]

Moreover, in his continuous and virulent attacks on traditional American mores and capitalist economy, Giroux not only indicts Eisner for aggressively fomenting the, "...penetration of the Disney empire into every aspect of social life," but also contemptuously observes that, "It seems that the real policy makers are not in Washington, D.C., but in California, and they call themselves the Disney imagineers."[45] Such over-inflated claims of Disney's power and influence undermine the credibility of Giroux's entire effort. Perhaps it would have been more fitting if Dr. Giroux had accused Michael Eisner of conspiring to carve Walt Disney's likeness as the fifth face on Mount Rushmore - an equally absurd proposition.

Rather than just Disnification, or even Americanization, a more appropriate target for Giroux's wrath would have been the Westernization of the planet. However, that is a process which began over five centuries ago, and contrary to his misguided diatribe, Disney is a relative latecomer and merely one player out of many. Names like Edison, Bell, Ford, Farnsworth, and now Walton and Gates, greatly surpass that of Disney in their impact on the economies, history and culture of the modern era. Since there is every likelihood that this global acculturation process will continue unabated, the real question becomes one of who in society will have control and make decisions about our future. Analogous to the cynicism expressed by Hobbes, it is amply evident that Professor Giroux neither trusts nor has faith in the basic goodness of humanity, and would force us to submit to some omniscient culture police rather than rely upon our inherently sound judgment.

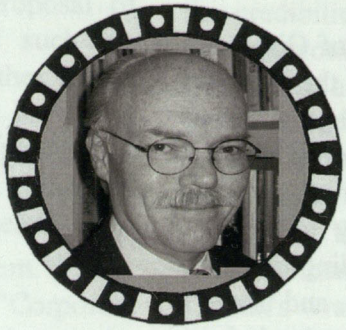
To the contrary, we are sufficiently intelligent, adults and children alike, to discern the difference between the fantasy Disney creates and the real world beyond television and the silver screen. We are not required by statute to stock our homes, schools, or public libraries exclusively with Disney books, videos, CDs and DVDs, and Giroux's supposition that Disney is turning our children into mindless, audioanimatronic parodies of themselves is intellectually bankrupt and ethically reprehensible.[46] Not every child in America is being forced to goose-step down Main Street in Dis-

41. Ibid., 164; 170.
42. Ibid., 168.
43. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 1651, in *The Naked Past: Revealing Records of Human History*, 2 Vols., Jerome S. Arkenberg, ed. (Fullerton, CA: Little Professor Books, 2001), Vol. 2, 154.
44. Giroux, 148; 162.
45. Ibid., 87; 89.
46. Ibid., 34.

neyland wearing armbands emblazoned with the image of Mickey Mouse and dollar signs tattooed on their little foreheads.

While the underlying premise of Giroux's work is admirable, i.e., to expose the foibles and machinations of Disney's gargantuan corporate empire, he has not taken the high road to accomplish this noble endeavor. The Mouse That Roared is in reality an over-inflated "op-ed" piece masquerading in the guise of sanctimonious scholarship, and is rife with unsubstantiated and untenable value judgments boldly proffered as well researched fact. Perhaps a thorough, impartial and objective evaluation of Disney's animated classic *Pinocchio* would have been of benefit to this investigation.

Walt Disney's mirthful vision of reality would never have manifested if multitudinous consumers did not freely and willingly spend their dollars on merchandise and entertainment media bearing his name and the cartoon characters, which he and his company created. In the final analysis, each individual consumer citizen has all the power they need - the ultimate power to "just say no" to corporate America's insatiable lust for increased profits, and the innate intelligence to disregard the alienated, collectivist, neo-Marxist ravings of Henry Giroux.



Author's Biography

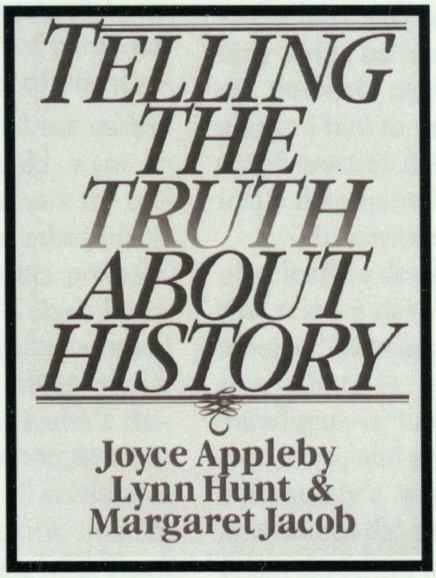
John Stahler

Refer to Sion's Glory Review

A Book Review on Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob's: *Telling the Truth about History*

By Nicole Peebles

Edited by Michael G. Woods



Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob's T*elling the Truth about History* examines the political, religious, and ideological aspects of historical thinking from the Enlightenment up to the postmodern age. A comprehensive historiography that belongs to the broader school of intellectual history, *Telling the Truth* draws from its authors' disparate emphases to present a comprehensive picture of mainstream academic history and the reasons why it changes periodically. Although all three authors are professors at UCLA, it is Margaret Jacob's field, the history of science, which furnishes this book's organizing principle: Thomas Kuhn's model of paradigm revolutions in scientific practices. However, the extent to which the authors are successful in describing the academics of history in paradigmatic terms depends both upon the reader's investment in rational empiricism and the ability to accept Appleby et al.'s interpretation of Kuhn's major theory.

The relationship between Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* and the social sciences runs long and deep. During the past forty years anthropologists, sociologists, and cultural studies practitioners have appropriated Kuhn's theory of paradigm shift and applied it to a multitude of phenomena.[1] Although Kuhn himself could not understand why cultural theorists would want to force the social world into his formula for scientific discovery, professionals in other disciplines have turned a deaf ear to his protests. This is partly due to the fact that Kuhn's interpretation of the scientific community is broad enough to find analogues in other social groups; however, the attraction of Kuhn's theory of revolution lies also in its power to resonate with a postwar generation of academics who were brought up on the rhetoric of elite revolt from the status quo. *Telling the Truth About History,* on the other hand, uses Kuhn's theory to defend the status quo.[2] Throughout the book, the authors view the evolution of western historiography through Kuhn's lens yet ultimately arrive at a legitimization of conventional historical methods. In doing so, Appleby, et al. stray significantly enough away from Kuhn's theory to warrant skepticism about their assertions.

A basic knowledge of Kuhn's theory will be necessary here; therefore, a brief synopsis is in order. Kuhn, a student of the philosophy of science, had grown increasingly frustrated with traditional accounts of the course of scientific progress. In the past, historians of science theorized discovery as a chain of cumulative events leading up to an illuminating conclusion. These narratives generally attributed scientific innovations to the epiphanies of great men, which are where we get our persistent myths about Newton's apple and Franklin's kite—both involve a moment of realization when a natural truth is revealed. Taken as a whole then, this approach to discovery posits science as a cumulative enterprise progressing towards objective truths. Kuhn was skeptical of this formula, particularly since he had begun to question the roots of rational empiricism, a skepticism that allowed him to see science as a historically situated practice that possessed its own sociologically determined "truths."

In contrast to the traditional accounts of scientific development, Kuhn hypothesized that science developed through a series of successive "paradigms," in between which occur revolutions in theory and practice. Kuhn's paradigm—a loose constructs of facts, theories, texts, and practices—guides the scientific community's work. The paradigm therefore determines the shape of normal science, which Kuhn described as the period of puzzle-solving

1. Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

2. Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History* (New York: Norton, 1994).

whose main activity involves reinforcing the paradigm and resisting anomaly. Recognition of anomaly (those questions that cannot be answered by the paradigm) often leads to a period of crisis in which intense competition between different interpretations escalates, allowing competing paradigms to form. When persistent anomalies obstruct the continuation of normal science, a paradigm shift occurs: the current traditions are rejected in favor of new explanations, structures, and practices. Once the shift is complete, normal science resumes.

The potential for the transference of this symbolic scheme has not escaped practitioners in numerous disciplines. Generally, there are two major ways in which Kuhn's theory of paradigm change has been employed within the social sciences. One involves the analysis of social communities, such as the pre-war gay culture analyzed by George Chauncey in *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1809-1940.*[3] In this widely acclaimed ehtnography, Chauncey evaluates socially constructed definitions of homosexuality as they evolve through paradigmatic views of gender and sexuality. The other way that Kuhn's theory enters the social sciences is through historiographic studies. Once example of this is Gene Wise's essay, "Paradigm Shifts in American Studies: A Cultural and Institutional History of the Movement."[4] Like Chauncey, Wise uses the paradigm as his fundamental organizing unit, although on a slightly different plane of analysis; Wise traces the evolution of his discipline through successive theoretical, instead of social, revolutions. Telling the Truth about History is a similar study, and like Wise's essay, it is part of a traditionalist stance that aims to defend conventional practices while struggling to absorb new developments in the field.

Appleby, et al. utilize Kuhn's major concepts in creative, if slightly oversimplified ways. For example, the authors describe practitioners of history in much the same terms as Kuhn defined the scientific community: as a tightly woven group of intellectuals who share the same education, literature, practices, and hence, general ideas about how their studies should be executed.[5] These professionals practice science under the umbrella of a paradigm, explicitly yet broadly defined by Kuhn as a "disciplinary matrix" whose components may or may not always function as a whole. Kuhn lists four major ingredients of paradigms: "symbolic generalizations," metaphysical models, values, and "exemplars," which he defined as the "concrete problem-solutions that students encounter from the start of their scientific education."[6] This complex of practices, rules, theories models, expressions, and ideological commitments guides normal science, whose primary goal is to "force nature into the conceptual boxes supplied by professional education."[7]

These concepts—the scientific community, paradigm, revolution, and practices of normal science—are translated thus in Telling the Truth:

> In normal, everyday science the social networks and community experiences of scientists in laboratories and professional associations help reinforce the dominant paradigm. Sealed off in their working enclaves, scientists routinely try to explain away any anomalies that their research might turn up. Only when forced by mounting evidence to confront these anomalies will some scientists...make a sudden mental

3. George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1809-1940* (New York: Basic, 1994).
4. Gene Wise, "Paradigm Shifts in American Studies: A Cultural and Institutional History of the Movement," *American Quarterly* (31:3 1979): 293-337.
5. Kuhn, 177.
6. Kuhn, 182-87.
7. Kuhn, 5.

> shift which permits them to break with normal science.[8]

This rather deterministic and less organic interpretation of Kuhn's book informs the way that Appleby et al. view historians past: as cloistered intellectuals driven by ideological imperatives to impose hegemonic narratives on the public at large. Yet, despite the authors' seeming agreement with Kuhn about narratives of scientific progress, this book's central story tells of successive generations of historians gradually shedding their ideological motives and progressing towards near-objectivity. As a result, Appleby et al.'s protagonists evolve from Machiavellian mad scientists to noble purveyors of a truth-seeking discipline that "offers a variety of tools for effecting liberation from intrusive authority, outworn creeds, and counsels of despair."[9] Thus, the authors see historians as potential heroes in a rather un-sociological sense, in that they assume that a truth is out there to be found, even if for the meantime we can only represent it partially until we shed our biases.

In contrast to Appleby et al.'s faith in the continuing progress of historians away from paradigmatic influences, Kuhn believed that such influences were a necessary and permanent component of scientific practices and thus could not be shed; in other words, there is no normal science without a paradigm. Furthermore, the authors damage their association with Kuhn's theory even further by simplifying its essential notion. They reduce Kuhn's highly complex notion of a "disciplinary matrix" that guides normal science to theoretical novelty, and they also boil down Kuhn's understanding of monumental paradigm shifts to "[p]eriodic exercises in theory."[10] Ironically, despite these simplifications, Appleby et al. strictly adhere to one of Kuhn's more understated assertions about the generation of paradigmatic revolutions:

> [N]ormal science possesses a built-in mechanism that ensures the relaxation of the restrictions that bound research whenever the paradigm from which they derive ceases to function effectively. At that point scientists begin to behave differently, and the nature of their research problems changes.[11]

We will consider why the authors have chosen this particular angle of Kuhn's theory as a sticking, but for now let us elaborate on what this passage means for *Telling the Truth.*

What Kuhn hypothesizes here is an internal impetus towards accumulating new theories. Appleby et al. elaborate this point further in their notion that historical schools contain within themselves the seeds of their own destruction. Therefore, the authors transform what Kuhn saw as an impulse to solve anomaly into the notion that the paradigm contains within itself the seeds of its crisis. There is what appears to be a subtle shift here, but the overall effect is that, upon Kuhn's already deterministic formula for scientific development, the authors heap more structural determinism: each historical school is seen as deriving directly from the anomalies present within its predecessor. For example, Appleby et al. attribute the contemporary trend towards historical relativism to certain aspects of the Enlightenment model of "heroic science":

Perhaps, in a curious way, the heroic model of science helped to breed contemporary relativism because its heroic conception of scientific rationality served so many masters, because it was used to undergird standards of right and wrong, along with the self-serving and imperial belief in Western and

8. Appleby, 164.
9. Appleby, 308.
10. Appleby, 236.
    It should be noted here that it is a common conceit of conventional historians to insist that their normal practices exist in a theoretical void.
11. Kuhn, 24.

male superiority. The absolutist defenders of scientific truth thought that if heroic science did not hold up, then relativism would be the only position logically available.[12]

Using the same formula as above, Appleby et al. draw a tidy causal relationship between the rise and fall of Marxism, social history, and cultural studies. Increasingly the authors' underlying aim becomes clear: to build up their opposition towards recent challenges to conventional historical methods. Cultural Studies, in particular, receives a drubbing as a dangerous fad that has sunk the practice of history into a quagmire of Cartesian semiotics.[13]

This causal relationship between the practices of normal science and the production of anomaly is no doubt inspired by Kuhn's hypothesis that "research under a paradigm must be a particularly effective way of inducing paradigm change."[14] This seems to be the only area of Kuhn's theory that Appleby et al. do not oversimplify or gloss over. In fact, it is a fundamental cog in their analysis despite being a rather understated part of Kuhn's. This is a curious fact. Why would the authors reduce paradigms to theories and scientists to ideologues and revolutions to intellectual yawns, yet forcibly maintain this detail as a central tenet of their argument? The answer lies in Appleby et al.'s real agenda, which is to shore up the credentials of western historiography and validate its method while simultaneously confronting its greatest contemporary threat, postmodernism. This is where the authors' use of Kuhn's theory is problematic. For, if Kuhn intended to bring sociology into the philosophy of science to include the ideological dimensions of scientific research, then the use of his model to dismiss the import of ideology in historical research constitutes a reversal, if not a betrayal, of the organizing idea behind his work—that scientists do not possess, or have access to, empirical truths.

This conventional fixation on rational empiricism explains why Appleby et al. find postmodernism to be an inassimilable radicalism. If anything, the postmodernist critique is an attack on objectivity. Predictably, given their stake in the matter, the authors assail postmodernism as an effort to "undermine the traditional foundations of knowledge claims in both the natural and the human sciences."[15] Their apparent fear is that if all knowledge is considered to be socially constructed, then there can be no "fact," no "truth," and no "reality." If this holds true, then the historian's claim to represent these structures is severely undermined. On this point, Kuhn would have agreed with the postmodernists, as the assumed social construction of reality is a fundamental aspect of Kuhn's theory. This is not to say that a rejection of postmodernism is a rejection of Kuhn; however, the rejection of socially constructed "facts," "truth," and "reality," is indeed.

This is the final effect of *Telling the Truth about History:* the premise that historical analysis has grown, through successive paradigmatic revolutions—reduced to "theoretical interventions"—into a discipline that, "[w]ith diligence and good faith," is capable of constructing "reasonably, if partially, true accounts of the distant and recent past."[16] This was not Kuhn's intent, to foster an understanding of science as a cumulative enterprise progressing towards even partial truths. If anything, Kuhn believed the acquisition of truths to be beside the point.

It is certainly not beside the point to Appleby, et al. The rejection of a knowable universe is a position that lies considerable outside of mainstream historical research; it is an idea that cannot be absorbed into the disci-

12. Appleby, 191.
13. Appleby, 223.
See the discussion of Cultural History.
14. Kuhn, 52.
15. Appleby, 225.
16. Appleby, 230 and 229.

pline as it has been practiced throughout modernity. This is why Appleby et al. can characterize Marxism, Social History, and even the despised Cultural Studies as mere paradigmatic shifts that eventually allow normal science to continue in an enriched form. Postmodernism, however, means the end of normal science. Thus, the book appears to take a progressive leap forward by admitting the important contributions of Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Clifford Geertz; yet it becomes mired in a prosaic (if humorous) roast of Foucault, Derrida, and Lyotard, who are largely characterized as dangerous infidels and anti-Semites by intellectual association with the works of Nietzsche and Heidegger.

After they discover that they are unable to find true synthesis with this last, most unrepentant theoretical revolution, Appleby et al. embark on a rhetorically elevated paean to the aims of conventional history:

> We are highlighting the need for the most objective possible explanations as the only way to move forward, perhaps not on a straight line of progress into the future, but forward toward a more intellectually alive, democratic community, toward the kind of society in which we would like to live.[17]

This prescription is enchanting, perhaps noble, but ideologically loaded, conventionally grounded, and certainly not Kuhnian. Moreover, it begs the question of whether or not Kuhn's theory is sufficiently stable to serve as the basis for historiographic inquiry, if it can be twisted around to support logical empiricism in this way. On the other hand, the way that conventional historians and postmodernists interact seems to support Kuhn's theory, specifically his assertions concerning how "the proponents of different theories are like the members of different language-culture communities," who cannot agree upon the terms of debate because of a gestalt shift that renders them blind to each other.[18] For example, conventional historians speak the language of dichotomies that no longer exist for postmodernists: fact/fiction, truth/falsehood, and reality/myth. When postmodernists challenge these categories, they are accused of moral relativism, nihilism, even holocaust denial, when in fact postmodernism is a often a deeply moral enterprise whose sometimes relativistic outlook is meant to expose, not perpetuate the secret workings of power and inhumanity that practitioners believe are part an parcel of Enlightenment thinking.

Nevertheless, when postmodernism is reconfigured in the language of Enlightenment rationalism, the following permutations occur: first, de-centering the classical liberal subject means somehow a denial of personhood; second, Questioning the line between reality and unreality becomes a denial of existence; and finally, Remarking upon the social construction of knowledge is transformed into implying that there are overt ideological agendas in every action. As Telling the Truth demonstrates, the two sides are fundamentally unintelligible to each other. Using Appleby et al.'s interpretation of Kuhn's theory, then, postmodernism does not signify a paradigm shift, for if the function of anomaly within historical thinking is to enrich and further the cause of conventional historiography, and then postmodernism is not an anomaly. It functions completely outside the paradigm.

This may be true, but the fact that Appleby et al. attempt to construe postmodernism as a historical methodology at all should make us skeptical about their claims to understanding it. Postmodernism cannot be a method because it is a critique of method; it cannot be assimilated because it exists on a different analytical plane, one that steps back from history and questions its very existence. How could postmodernism be a method of analyzing an entity in whose existence it does

17. Appleby, 229.

18. Kuhn, 205.

not quite believe? Yet Telling the Truth approaches postmodernist theory as an anomaly of the same type as social history, cultural studies, and Marxism. This error in categorizing postmodernism and mis-reading its threat is a direct result of the book's reduction of Kuhn's rather complex concept of paradigm change to a simple theoretical shift. It is a grave misuse of Kuhn's book, and it begs the question of whether or not he was right about the appropriateness of his theories for the social sciences. For the only thing Telling the Truth about History legitimizes in the end is the rational empiricist thinking that Kuhn spent his life questioning.

Author's Biography

Nicole Peeples

Nicole Peeples is a graduate student majoring in American Studies at Cal State Fullerton. She earned her bachelor's degree from this department in 1995 and, after a semester of graduate studies at the University of Wyoming, decided to return to sunny Orange County. In 2002 she was awarded the Earl James Weaver Graduate Essay Prize and served as an editor for American Papers. This April, she will be presenting a paper at a joint conference of the California American Studies Association and the American Folklore Society.

Nicole plans to pursue a Ph.D. in American Studies with an emphasis in the material culture of western mining towns. She currently lives in Fullerton where she runs a non-profit animal rescue organization.

Homes of Their Own: African Americans and Housing Discrimination in OrangeCounty

By Lori Iacovelli

Edited and Introduced by Charlene Riggins

Discrimination is defined in civil rights law as unfavorable or unfair treatment of a person or class of persons in comparison to others who are not members of the protected class because of race, sex, color, religion, national origin, age, physical/mental handicap, sexual harassment, sexual orientation. However, it was not until the late 1960's that these laws developed real teeth.

Housing: Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 is also known as the Fair Housing Act. It made it unlawful to refuse to rent or sell a house or rent an apartment to someone because of his or her children, disability, national origin, race, color, sex or religion. It also made it unlawful to discriminate against anyone in the furnishing of services related to housing, such as those provided by real estate agents, managers or brokers.

Author, Lori Iacovelli, provides a narrative from an oral interview of a gentleman that spent most of the early and late 1960's fighting for the civil rights of others to rent or by in areas of there choice. He fought to help minorities, mainly African Americans, to have what everyone wanted; a home of their own.

In 1967, a young African American woman crouched out of sight in the back seat of a car outside of an Anaheim apartment complex. The white couple from the Orange County Fair Housing Council had gone into the office to help her and her husband obtain housing close to her husband's place of employment. The manager conceded the availability of an apartment, until the couple summoned the black woman in and revealed her as the actual renter. This was the experience of Pat Cardenal, wife of Jose Cardenal who had been contracted to play for the California Angels.[1] The white man and his wife were Bob and Lois Johnson. Discrimination was alive and well in Orange County throughout the 1960's and 1970's, but overlooked because of the strikingly small number of African Americans living in the county, making its eradication a very difficult job. Mr. Johnson was involved in helping African Americans and other minorities overcome housing discrimination and maintain fair relations as tenants with their landlords in Orange County from 1966 to the late 1990's.

Orange County's history of housing discrimination is rooted in the wider history of discrimination in the United States. Detroit experienced a housing riot in 1943 and again in 1967.[2] As African American soldiers returned from World War II they flooded the west. They were increasingly crammed into inner city neighborhoods in cities like Los Angeles, where African Americans were restricted to the south-central area since the 1920's.[3] In 1960, only one quarter of African Americans lived in "urban fringe communities." Creating what the Kerner Commission called "two societies; one... Negro and poor,... in the central cities, the other... white and affluent,... in the suburbs and outlying areas."[4]

Discrimination took different forms in the 1960's and 1970's. The Federal Housing Administration refused to give mortgages to African Americans calling them an "inharmonious group" to introduce to a neighborhood.[5] Developers of housing tracts in the 1950's and 1960's agreed with realtors to exclude African Americans from the new neighborhoods.[6] As more African Americans moved from the South into western cities, "white flight" increased to the outlying areas.[7] Many African American students who were studying at Orange County colleges and universities were driven to live in other counties due to harassment by the police.[8]

To combat housing restrictions on African Americans, several pieces of legislation were passed during the late 1950's and throughout the 1960's. The Unruh Act and the Hawkins Publicly Assisted Act were both passed in 1959. The Unruh Act amended Section 51 of the California Civil Rights Act to include businesses and therefore brought developers and real estate businesses into its sphere.[9] The Hawkins Act banned discrimination in public housing.[10] In 1963, the Rumford

1. Bob Johnson, interview by author, tape recording, Tustin, Ca., 18 October 2002
2. Robert Griffith and Paula Baker, ed., *Major Problems in American History since 1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), 272.
3. Emory J. Tolbert and Lawrence B de Graaf, " 'The Unseen Minority': Blacks in Orange County," *Journal of Orange County Studies* num. 3/ 4 (fall 1989/spring 1990): 56.
4. Lawrence B. de Graaf, Kevin Mulroy, and Quintard Taylor, ed., *Seeking El Dorado: African Americans in California* (Los Angeles: Autry Museum of Western Heritage, 2001), 408.
5. Ibid., 409.
6. Ibid., 409.
7. Ibid., 411.
8. Emory J. Tolbert and Lawrence B de Graaf, " 'The Unseen Minority': Blacks in Orange County," *Journal of Orange County Studies* num. 3/ 4 (fall 1989/spring 1990): 56.
9. de Graaf, *Seeking El Dorado*, 414.

Act expanded on the Hawkins Act by prohibiting landlords from discrimination on their rental properties.[11] It also gave the Fair Employment Practices Commission the authority to handle complaints.[12] In reaction, the California voters enacted Proposition 14 in 1964. This proposition appeared to take a step backwards by prohibiting the State from denying a property owner to sell, lease or rent to whomever they chose.[13]

Bob Johnson's journey towards championing fair housing for minorities began with his experiences during the 1950's.[14] Born on Chicago's northwest side, Mr. Johnson only remembers seeing two African Americans in his neighborhood during his childhood. His family moved to Glendale, California when he was nine. Upon arrival he saw no African Americans at all. This lack of interracial experience persisted until he was drafted into the Army. At that time he met an African American fellow draftee on his first day and they became fast friends.[15] During 1955 to 1956 Mr. Johnson was stationed in Maryland. That is where his real experience with discrimination began. He relates an experience that he, an African American friend named Ross, and two other white friends had at a restaurant, "... we sit down and they don't serve us, so we ask about that. Well, I can't remember what they said; except that they weren't gonna serve us. So the three of us, you know, immediately 'let's cause a ruckus' or something like that." Ross restrained them knowing he would be the one to suffer when the police came.[16]

10.Ibid., 414.
11."Coming Apart At Home" Lecture, 8 October 2002.
12.de Graaf, *Seeking El Dorado*, 414.
13."Coming Apart At Home" Lecture, 8 October 2002.
14.Bob Johnson, interview by author, 18 October 2002.
15.Ibid.
16.Ibid.

The Southern Baptist church Mr. Johnson and his wife, Lois, attended was also full of prejudiced whites. He remembers the congregants as "warm, relaxed and biased." He recalls how he would, "argue about civil rights and black people and segregation", with the choir director. Mr. Johnson moved to Tustin, California with his wife and infant daughter, after being discharged from the service with a new understanding of race relations in the United States.[17]

In early 1966, Mr. Johnson's wife became involved in working with Orange County Fair Housing Council. Mr. Johnson was an engineer for Collins Radio at the time and within a few months he decided to volunteer his time to the council as well. In 1967, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson were hosting foreign students from Chapman College and they received a phone call from the college. The call was about a young East African named Bob Choto who was attending Chapman and could not get an apartment off the campus. Mrs. Johnson made many phone calls and no apartments in the area that rented to students would rent to a black student. So together, Bob Choto and the Johnsons met Chapman College administrators. The administrators first claimed not to have a solution, then after a long confrontation, they remembered that Chapman had units off campus. Mr. Choto was able to move into one of those units.[18] Members of the Citizens Against Prop 14 campaign organized the Orange County Fair Housing Council in 1965.[19] Mr. Johnson joined in 1966 and rose to chair the organization in both 1969 and again in the 1970's. He also served as secretary, treasurer, and checker during his thirty years with the council.[20]

In the early 1960's Orange County was a rapidly growing suburb with a surprisingly

17.Ibid.
18.Ibid.
19.Ibid.
20.Ibid.

low number of minority residents. The growth in the electronics and aerospace industries generated numerous new jobs that African Americans were eager to obtain.[21] Mr. Johnson remembers some of them being forced to move into the African American "ghetto" of southwest Santa Ana due to housing discrimination throughout the county.[22] However, Mr. Johnson and the Orange County Fair Housing Council helped many African American families. African Americans wanted what everyone wanted, safe neighborhoods with good schools for their children.

Mr. Johnson recalls many African American families were apprehensive about moving into white neighborhoods. They recalled the violence that was perpetrated in the past such as when a Mr. Joshua White rented an Anaheim apartment and received threats. He was later shot at, from the outside, while he was in his bedroom.[23] According to Mr. Johnson, African Americans' worst fears were never realized. There had not been any serious violence against African Americans since the late 1950's.[24] Whites' and African Americans' fears of ghetto expansion were unfounded when the ghetto simply withered away over time.[25]

As legislation made it more difficult to discriminate against African Americans, landlords and developers became more deceptive in their attempts to keep African Americans out of their neighborhoods. The Orange County Fair Housing Council used "checkers" to uncover discriminating landlords. African Americans that were turned away from apartments they knew were available would complain to the Council. The Council then sent white volunteers to inquire about the same apartment. If the landlord was found to be guilty of discrimination, the original African American person or couple could sue the landlord if they chose. Mr. Johnson remembers a very dark Haitian man named Dumas Simeus, a design engineer and volunteer for the Fair Housing Council, who went to a number of apartments that turned him away. He sued them all and received $250 from each landlord in small claims court.[26] Housing developers were more difficult to pin down. Mr. Johnson recalls an encounter with the Irvine Company's public relations man, Gil Ferguson. During a talk given to a Newport Beach church group Mr. Johnson and Newport Beach's mayor spoke of the need for integration. Gil Ferguson replied "we at the Irvine Company are not social engineers." Irvine had made it clear in its first eight years that it did not want any minorities in its city. The Irvine Company was finally sued for discriminating in their housing advertisements. Not a single minority appeared in one of the Irvine Company's ads or any other marketing literature in Irvine's first eight years.[27] Mr. Johnson, and others like him, faced huge obstacles in their drive for equality in housing. Not the least of which was "N. I. M. B. Y.", or "Not In My Back Yard". Many whites simply did not want to share their neighborhoods with African Americans. Mr. Johnson recalls a Tustin realtor who publicly supported fair housing. When Mr. Johnson received a discrimination complaint from a potential renter of one of this realtor's apartments, he called his office. The realtor's partner bluntly told Mr. Johnson that he would discriminate whenever he chose too. This occurred well after the Civil Rights Act of 1968 and Mr. Johnson concedes that when legislation is blatantly ignored the only other

21.de Graaf, *Seeking El Dorado*, 410.
22.Bob Johnson, interview by author, 18 October 2002.
23.Tolbert, "The Unseen Minority", 58.
24.Bob Johnson, interview by author, 18 October 2002.
25.Ibid.
26.Ibid.
27.Ibid.

weapon is to shame discriminators into compliance.[28]

In the mid 1970's the Council began a shift towards tenant and landlord rights. The Black Power movement had a smothering influence on progress toward racial integration of housing. Therefore, the emphasis of the council shifted toward responding to discrimination, of all types, and a concern for housing low-income people. In addition, the council began receiving a large portion of its funding for resolving tenant-landlord disputes. It was easier to get elected officials and city managers to support tenants' and landlords' rights, as this was not as confrontational an issue as integration or discrimination. Mr. Johnson recalls that by 1970 many people were, "going into environmental causes and... just sort of dropped out of the integration process and in fact, integration now started having a negative connotation."[29]Conditions improved for African Americans in the late 1970's. By 1977 discrimination complaints filed with the Council dropped to only eight percent of the total number of cases.[30] The African American community remained, however, a very small part of Orange County's population by the mid 1980's, amounting to only about one percent.[31] Many African Americans, in the 1990's, were able to move into suburban neighborhoods, thereby escaping the ever-growing crime and violence of inner city Los Angeles.[32]

Housing discrimination was and still is a contentious issue in Orange County. African Americans have made significant progress towards integration, but many still choose to live outside of Orange County due to continuing racial tension. Bob Johnson was a significant contributor to the integration progress, along with the five hundred volunteers at the Orange County Fair Housing Council, for over thirty years. There is still; however, a long way to go.

28.Ibid.
29.Ibid.
30.Tolbert, "The Unseen Minority", 60.
31.Ibid., 60.
32.de Graaf, *Seeking El Dorado*, 436.

Author's Biography

Lori S. Iacovelli

Lori S. Iacovelli was born in Long Beach, California. She graduated from Lakewood High School, Goldenwest Community College and California State University, Fullerton.

She is continuing to studying history with a particular interest in women's history and oral history.Over the years she has participated in Phi Alpha Theta, historical reenactment groups and community service involving museum and archival volunteer work in both Orange and Los Angeles counties. This is her first submission to the *Welebaethan.*

Welebaethan 2003 Prize Winning Papers

Each year the Theta Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta recognizes the authors of the best papers in the following four categories: Best Overall Paper, United States History, European History, and Western/Local History. After an Awards Committee selects from the final edited versions of all papers printed in this edition of the *Welebaethan*, the Theta Pi Chapter awards a total of $150 in prize money to the recipients. The 2003 prize winning papers are:

Lawrence B. de Graaf Prize for Best Overall Paper

Nedda Black

When Conflicted with Evil: Israel Puts Itself on Trial

Best United States History Paper

Karen Rosa

Attacking Anarchism: The Impact of President McKinley's Assassination on Anarchism

Ric Miller Prize for Best European History Paper

Charles Gray

From Commodity to Brother: The Popular Movement to Abolish of the Slave Trade

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

Lori Iacovelli

Homes of Their Own African-Americans and Housing Discrimination in Orange County

In September 1957, the California State Legislature authorized the establishment of an Orange County state college campus. Within two years later, the college had 452 full-time and part-time students attending classes in temporary classrooms. The State Board of Education purchased a permanent site and appointed Dr. William B. Langsdorf President of Orange County State College. Throughout the 1960s, the college went through four name changes while experiencing continued growth and expansion. In 1972, with an enrollment of almost 20,000 students, the name changed to California State University, Fullerton. Continued growth led to the addition of a satellite campus in Mission Viejo in 1989, and the recent construction of new buildings on the main campus. In 1993, CSUF reached a milestone when it awarded its one hundred thousandth degrees. In the last year, a satellite campus came to the El Toro Marine Corps Air Station in Irvine to serve the continuing educational needs of Orange County and its exploding South County population. Today, enrollment is surpassing 30,000.

Phi Alpha Theta came to the California State University, Fullerton campus in 1962. In 1974, the *Welebaethan* began as a simple, staple-bound compilation of student history papers. In 1992, the *Welebaethan* staff began an effort to professionalize the quality of the copy, editing, and layout of the journal. The Welebaethan, as it is presented today, represents the result of the past twenty-nine years of learning experiences, advances in technology, and commitment on the part of the History Department students, staff, and faculty.

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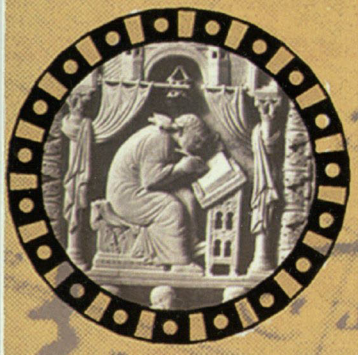

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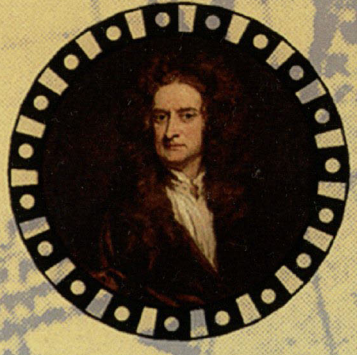
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