Journal of History 2007

WELEBAETHAN

JOURNAL OF HISTORY 2007

A TRADITION OF EXCELLENCE SINCE 1973

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

Letter from the Editor

It is conventional and normal at this point for the Editor-in-Chief to praise the students, faculty members, and alumni for their efforts—and why not? The process of creating this journal—from the Review Board's critique of over sixty submissions, to the efforts of two History and Editing classes working with the articles' authors, to the design-and-layout process, and finally, to securing the funding to print the journal—is a collaborative enterprise at all turns, a point one cannot stress enough. This year, we instituted a new triple-blind review system that required extra meetings in our efforts to improve the quality of the end product.

The publication of the 2007 *Welebaethan,* a student-produced journal, brought team work to new heights. Along with the advisors, editors, and authors, I would like to thank several outstanding individuals for their contributions—not the least of which was putting up with me.

Eduardo "Eddie" Barrios helped prepare every article and gave enormous amounts of time to coordinating the efforts of editors, authors, and the layout/production team. We added a new member to the *Welebaethan* staff this year: Layout, Production/Graphic Designer Steve Gonsowski, whose scholarly abilities, artistic talent, and seemingly limitless patience never ceased to amaze me. Susan Uyemura Shoho photographed all the editors and authors and served as liaison for the new layout person. Special thanks to Carolyn Smuts-Hass for her outstanding role as part of the review team and advisor-at-large. Also, thanks to Claudia Suzanne for her substantive editing seminars and her participation on the *Welebaethan* Review Board.

Thank you to Dr. Gordon Bakken and Dr. William Haddad for securing the funding that made this publication possible. Thanks to Dr. Jonathan B. Markley for giving *Welebaethan* staff additional editing time necessary to meet deadlines. Thanks to Dr. Jochen Burgtorf for suggestions that improved the appearance of this year's journal and for his continuing role as advisor to Phi Alpha Theta and History Students Association. I especially thank Dr. Seymour Scheinberg for his continuing role as *Welebaethan* Review Committee's most gracious host and referee. And finally, in the honored last-but-not-least position, an enormous, sincere thank you to Dr. Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, who instructed the History and Editing Class for the five semesters I worked as a student and editor. The quality of the product reflects her dedication.

My principal goal as Editor-in-Chief was to improve an already award-winning journal—not an easy task—but I believe we accomplished just that. We created a new, improved review process, student production team, and editing process; these changes reflect what we hope has resulted in another outstanding journal. Along with a large variety of topics evident in the research articles, oral histories, historiographies, theory papers, and book reviews, the 2007 *Welebaethan* highlights the efforts, abilities, and professionalism of all those involved in its publication.

Thomas A. Stein
Editor-in-Chief

In Appreciation

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Did you know...

The *Welebaethan* is named in honor of Professor Shirley Weleba, who died in 1973. She arrived at California State University, Fullerton in 1970 as the first staff member to specialize in African 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.

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Tipping the Balance: The Laboratory's Transition to Legitimacy, 1600–1900

Gail Marlow Taylor

During the last 400 years, the scientific laboratory gradually transitioned from the workplace of mystical and disreputable European alchemists to an authoritative space for research and analysis. Gail Marlow Taylor deconstructs the word "laboratory" since 1600 in Europe and suggests that while modern populations implicitly trust laboratory studies, this reputation did not fully solidify until the early twentieth century. With effective analysis, she demonstrates the necessary steps through which the laboratory achieved the theoretical foundation and reliable track record to emerge as an integral component of the modern world.

Figure 1. Alchemist at Work in His Laboratory–1677. The paired image of sun and moon represents the goal of the spiritual quest. Above the pair of roses is a geometric reduction of the Double-Serpent; the modern symbol of the chemical element Mercury or quicksilver. *Practica Cum Duodecim Clavibus* (1677), Public Domain, FG 130; *Living Myths: Nature, Woman, Man: An Introduction to World Mythology*. Http://www.humboldt.edu/~storage/goddess/protected/public_html/CH/christianity.html.

> On MONDAY, the 22nd, and EVERY EVENING, until further notice, the Great Wizard will appear in his Mystic Laboratory and perform all his ASTONISHING WONDERS which are universally admitted by the Press of New York to have NO PARALLEL IN THE WORLD. (*New York Daily Times,* 1851).[1]

> Open your doors to all who desire to learn, and keep your teachers employed each and every day in full and practical teachings in the recitation rooms and laboratories of science. (*New York Daily Times*, 1851).[2]

The laboratory has a split image. Today, just as in 1851, there is the laboratory with white counter tops and scientists presiding over an orderly realm of calibrated instruments, and there is the laboratory behind closed doors, mysterious and suspect, where potent forces are unleashed. Laboratories have evoked both suspicion and awe ever since the word first appeared around 1600.[3] Yet in only a few hundred years, the laboratory successfully overcame its disreputable past and emerged as a legitimate source of information.

Today the word *laboratory* suggests an enclosed area where information is produced by experiment and analysis in a controlled environment. It is an authoritative space for medical diagnostics, pharmaceuticals, science education, forensics and an enormous range of research and development activities in areas from seismic testing to bioengineering. Although headlines occasionally announce an ethical breach or an expensive failure as a shocking anomaly, the fact remains that modern populations trust laboratory analysis implicitly every day; whether drinking water, filling a gas tank, or swallowing a pill.

In contrast, four hundred years ago people viewed laboratories with more suspicion than trust, and associated them with alchemy, superstition, and fraud. Controversy, conflicting results, and lack of standardization continued to undermine confidence in laboratory conclusions well into the nineteenth century. Although conceptual theory of the experimental method postulated by Francis Bacon and Robert Boyle gained many supporters during the seventeenth century, experimental outcomes remained inconsistent and their practical applications, debatable. At a time when physicians disputed the efficacy of medicine and chemists could not agree on the basic elements, public acceptance of the laboratory's utility would require a new consensus on the causes of disease and the nature of matter itself.

Public acceptance did not come about easily. In a series of turning points, laboratory sciences achieved the standardized theoretical base and track record of practical applications which combined to make the laboratory a vital part of universities, industries, and the state. Challenges to legitimacy confronted laboratories in Europe from the first occurrence of the word *laboratory* in 1605, to 1840 when a new word *scientist* emerged to dignify those who worked in laboratories.[4] Five turning points marked

[1] "Astor-Place Opera House: Classified Ad 3," *New York Daily Times,* 23 Sept. 1851 [online newspaper]; available from http://proquest.umi.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/pqdweb?index=0&did =87821736&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=10&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=HNP&TS=1146747356&clientId=17846.

[2] Charles T. Jackson, "Science and the Useful Arts," *New York Daily Times*, 18 Oct. 1851, 1 [online newspaper]; available from http://proquest.umi.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/pqdweb?index=1&did =87822594&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=10&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=HNP&TS=1146747704&clientId=17846.

[3] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "laboratory;" available from http://dictionary.oed.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/cgi/entry/50128550?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=LABORATORY&first=1&max_to_show=10.

[4] Ibid., s.v. "laboratory" and s.v. "scientist;" available

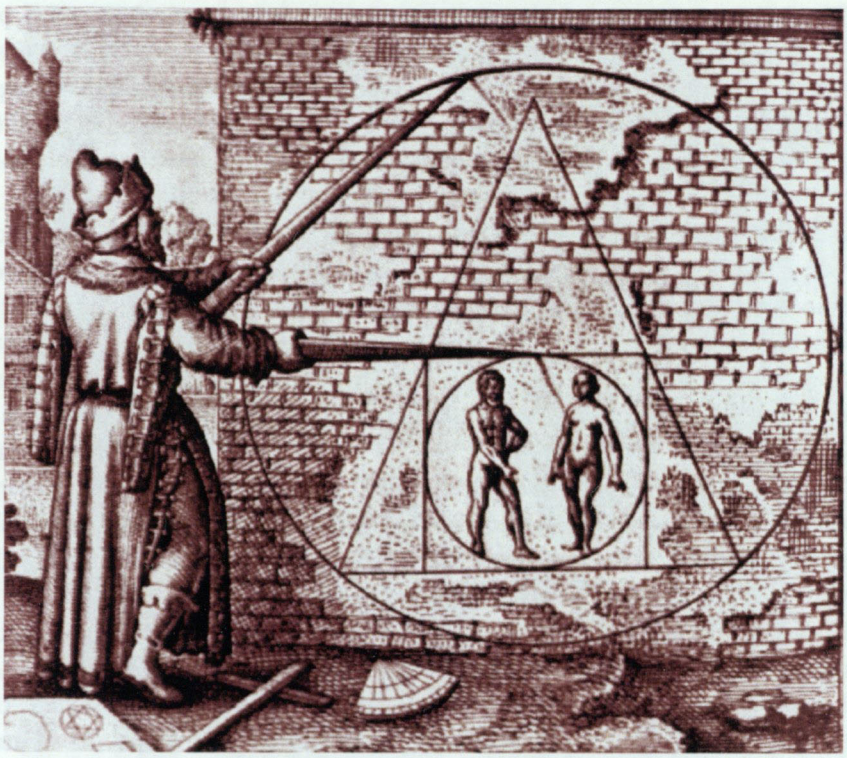

Figure 2. Alchemist Inscribing a Mandala–1618. Pictured in Michael Maier's treatise on alchemy, a mandala is a chart, or geometric pattern which represents the cosmos metaphysically or symbolically as a microcosm of the universe from human perspective. Micheal Maier, *Atlantia Fugiens* (1618), Public Domain FG 42, *Living Myths: Nature, Woman, Man: An Introduction to World Mythology.* Http://www.humboldt.edu/~storage/goddess/protected/public_html/CH/christianity.html.

this process: separation of chemistry and medicine from alchemy, establishment of laboratory science in education, development of a scientific community, investment of government and industry in large-scale laboratories and the application of laboratory science to therapeutic and diagnostic medicine. Developments which solidified the laboratory's gains in legitimacy over time included achievement of consensus on causes of disease and the nature of matter, the enabling role of the printing press in information sharing, development of standard quantification and instrumentation, professionalization of pharmacy, medicine, engineering and chemistry, and requirements of the industrial state. When the word *laboratory* first appeared in the early seventeenth century however, it simply evoked the alchemist's workshop.[5]

ALCHEMY AND CHYMESTRY

> Emoung other thinges the same Sir Thomas Lestrange and Mr. Hoges dyd there fynd a secrete privye place within the howse dyd ever come, as they saye, in wiche there were instrewmentes, pottes, bellowes, flyes of suche strange colors as the lick none of us had seene, with poyses and other thinges to sorte, and dewyd gould and silver, nothing there wantinge that should belonge to the arrte of multyplying. [Letter excerpt from Richard Southwell to Cromwell.][6]

from http://dictionary.oed.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/cgi/entry/50215824?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=scientist&first=1&max_to_show=10.

[5] Ibid., s.v. "laboratory."

[6] *'Houses of Austin Canons: The Priory of Walsingham', A History of the County of Norfolk:* vol. 2 (1906), 394-401; available from http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?

The 1906 commentary which accompanies Southwell's letter of 25 July 1536 states that the writer probably thought "that someone in Walsingham Priory followed some black art or made use of the philosopher's stone, whereas the discovery was probably a mere chemist's laboratory."[7] The commentary assumes that the twentieth-century reader will naturally differentiate between chemistry, the scientific investigation of matter, and alchemy, medieval "chemistry" applied to mystical pursuits.[8] Sixteenth century Europeans however, made no distinction between these terms.

The renowned chemist Robert Boyle (1627-1691), author of the *Sceptical Chymist*, worked in a room similar to the one described in Southwell's letter, which Boyle set up in his sister's house. Writing of Boyle, his friend John Aubrey, stated: "His greatest delight is Chymistrey. He haz at his sister's a noble Laboratory and severall servants (Prentices to him) to looke to it."[9] Boyle, a methodical investigator whose observations on the relationship of pressure and volume in gases are immortalized in textbooks today as Boyle's law, believed that he demonstrated the transmutation of matter in his own laboratory.[10] Transmutation, a fundamental tenet of alchemy, involved the conversion of one element into another, particularly of a base metal into gold.[11] Boyle's personal laboratory served as his own private alchemist's workshop equipped with the specialized apparatus required to measure, combine, and purify chemicals under controlled conditions.

Identification of alchemy as a distinct trade began by the fourteenth century. In the late Middle Ages, trades which used chemical processes, such as dyeing textiles, metallurgy, and glassmaking, all utilized specialized equipment. Similarly, the alchemist's workshop required mixing vessels, measuring implements, heat to facilitate combining or purifying, and water for cooling and diluting. Figure 3, a 1698 engraving, shows the usage of several methods of controlled heat in alchemy.[12]

Early alchemic practices in Europe developed from translated Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew texts whose authors included Aristotle, Avicenna, and writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus.[13] While the philosophical foundations of alchemy were complex and diverse, one common thread involved the fundamental unity of matter. This theory implied that events in the heavens affect events on earth and that, under the proper conditions, matter could be converted from one element to another. Alchemists attributed a spiritual dimension to the elemental properties of matter. The macrocosm of the universe and the microcosm of the inner person were connected and interactive. To the alchemist, as Carl Sagan said in the 1980 television series *Cosmos*, "We are star stuff."

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compid=38291&strquery= laboratory.

[7] Ibid.

[8] "The Chemistry of the Middle Ages and 16th c.; now applied distinctively to the pursuit of the transmutation of baser metals into gold, which (with the search for the alkahest or universal solvent, and the panacea or universal remedy) constituted the chief practical object of early chemistry." *Oxford English Dictionary Online* s.v. "alchemy;" available from http://dictionary.oed.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/cgi/entry/50005304?query_type=word&queryword=alchemy&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=9wEk-9BIl3E-13371&hilite=50005304 and s.v. "chemistry" http://dictionary.oed.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/cgi/entry/50037683? single=1&query_type=word&queryword=chemistry&first=1&max_to_show=10.

[9] Oliver Lawson Dick, ed., *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1958), 37.

[10] Bruce T. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 146-7.

[11] *Oxford English Dictionary Online* s.v. "transmutation;" available from http://dictionary.oed.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/cgi/entry/50256414?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=transmutation&first=1&max_to_show=10.

[12] "Engraving of Goldmakers from 1698," *The Alchemy Web Site*; available from http://www.levity.com/alchemy/alchemy_laboratories_engravings.html.

[13] Hermes, revered as an ancient philosopher whose mysterious history still inspires much speculation today, is the subject of many Web sites ranging from the skeptical to the reverent. Moran, 68.

Figure 3. Engraving of Goldmakers–1698. The apprentice on the right is heating a small amount of a reactive chemical in a beaker, while a burner on the left supplies moderate heat to a distilling apparatus and a large furnace billows smoke in the back. The master is reaching for his balance as he separates particles of solid matter on his workbench. Http://www.levity.com/alchemy/alchemy_laboratories_engravings.html.

Two quests which brought alchemists both supporters and enemies included producing gold and prolonging life. Heads of state found both of these goals intriguing and alchemists often acquired highly-placed patrons. One of the earliest recognized practical applications of the alchemist's transformative art included the ability to stretch the amount of gold or silver needed for coinage. Edward III (1312-1377) of England considered it timely financing for the Hundred Years' War, while Pope John XXII deemed it forgery. The papal bull "Spondent quas non exhibent" (They promise that which they do not produce), condemning alchemists, did nothing to improve the reputation of laboratory practices.[14]

Prolonging life on the other hand, brought alchemic practitioners into direct conflict with the medical establishment. One such practitioner, the energetic Swiss firebrand Paracelsus (1493-1541), contributed to a widespread, but by no means united movement against Galenism, the accepted orthodoxy of the medical establishment. Paracelsus openly criticized Galen, who posited that sickness originated internally from an imbalance of blood, phlegm, bile, and black bile in the human body: "If your artists only knew that their prince Galen . . . was sticking in hell, from whence he has sent letters to me, they would make the sign of the cross

[14] Ibid., 31-3. *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "alchemy;" available from http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01272b.htm.

upon themselves with a fox's tail."[15] Paracelsus insisted that diseases had external causes and could be cured with appropriate chemical elements. This diametrically opposed the Galenic approach which aimed to readjust the body fluids, either by bleeding or the skilled medical administration of purges, emetics or diuretics. The revolutionary approach of Paracelsans involved the use of chemical medicinal preparations, often metallic, produced by heating, distilling, and purification processes carried out in a laboratory.[16]

Although other sixteenth-century physicians challenged Galenism, Paracelsus promoted his ideas effectively, by making them accessible. He lectured in the vernacular Swiss German rather than Latin, and drew attention by publicly burning Avicenna's *Canon* (a medical school text) during his understandably brief teaching career at Basel. Moreover, he knew how to use the media. Elizabeth Eisenstein, in her history of printing, wrote of Paracelsus: "He frequented the company of Basel printers, took full advantage of the new publicity system, and turned out a stream of publications . . ."[17] Print enabled the reader to consider, compare, and discuss controversial views. The very process of deciding to read and openly discuss a published work, incited readers to take sides.

Books became powerful symbols which could embody conventional or radical views. Just as book burning publicly expressed individual protest, book banning asserted the institutional disapproval of church and state. In an attempt to keep the Reformation out of Spain, Phillip II (1527-1598) banned imports of subversive books. The Spanish Inquisition considered the writings of Paracelsus so dangerous that it placed his works on the *Index of Prohibited Books* in 1632, ninety years after his death.[18] The works of Paracelsus were associated with the Reformation because many Protestant activists considered his chemical approach to medicine a Christian alternative to the pre-Christian medicine of Galen and Aristotle.

Print could either associate the alchemist's laboratory with controversy and subversion or elevate its value as an environment for legitimate research. Remarkably, some scholars found that alchemic practices revealed intriguing information about predictable behaviors and properties of common metals, salts, and acids. In a scholarly work called *Alchemia*, Andreas Libavius, a German doctor of medicine and philosophy, claimed that these properties deserved systematic study. Science historian Owen Hannaway maintains that Libavius deliberately staged chemistry as the first laboratory science; a new discipline separate from both its medical and metaphysical applications. Libavius' analysis of chemistry, first published in 1597, is sometimes called the first chemistry textbook.[19] Written in academic Latin, it contained chemical tables and detailed diagrams of chemical apparatus. The publication of additional chemical texts, including the popular *Tyrocinium*

Books became powerful symbols which could embody conventional or radical views.

[15] Paracelsus – the Treasure of Treasures for Alchemists," *The Alchemy Web Site*; available from: http://www.levity.com/alchemy/paracel1.html.

[16] Cathy Cobb and Harold Goldwhite, *Creations of Fire: Chemistry's Lively History from Alchemy to the Atomic Age* (New York: Plenum Press, 1995), 99.

[17] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 474.

[18] Allen G. Debus, "Chemists, Physicians, and Changing Perspectives on the Scientific Revolution," *Isis* 89, no. 1 (March 1998), 77.

[19] Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 81, 89.

Chymicum by Jean Beguin (1610) and *Cours de Chymie* by Nicolas Lemery (1675) virtually assured the emergence of the word *scientist* in Europe.[20]

Paracelsans regarded the laboratory as a workshop equipped to purify and mix medicines. However, a growing number of academicians envisioned the laboratory as an ideal environment for students to learn first hand about chemical reactions and the properties of matter. One hundred years after Paracelsus, the academic reformer John Webster quoted the medical rebel, urging students to learn by getting their hands dirty distilling and extracting chemicals rather than merely reading the classic texts. "Neither despise this counsel because the author [Paracelsus] is no friend to Aristotle, nor be ashamed to cast off thy fine clothes to work in a laboratory," he advised, but he was only one voice in a growing acrimonious debate on academic reform.[21]

CURRICULUM REFORM

> Add to this . . . his extolling of Chymistry, and preferring it before Aristotelian Philosophy, and advising schollars to leave their Libraries and fall to Laboratories, putting their hands to the coales and the Furnace . . . this is Mr. Webster's short cut, a quick way to bring men to the Devill or the Devill to them.[22]

Thomas Hall, a graduate of Oxford University, wrote these words in 1654 in a rebuttal to Webster's proposal to take the students into the laboratory. Earlier attempts to introduce alchemy into the universities, such as Joseph Duchesne's efforts at the University of Paris, focused on learning alchemy itself.[23] But Webster's proposals failed even when he tried to separate the educational benefits of the laboratory from the disreputable practice of alchemy: "But shall the art of medicine or Chymistry by condemned, and rejected, because many ignorant Empericks and false Alcumists do profess them?"[24] Webster's failure to get chemistry into the curriculum is scarcely surprising in light of what the word *laboratory* conveyed in the middle 1600s. Remote from the world of academia, it embodied both the mundane and the mysterious; a place for preparing remedies and a haven of the diabolical arts. The Oxford English Dictionary represents the former meaning in a 1605 reference: "Wee commonly prouide that they bee prepared in our laboratorie."[25] The latter meaning is demonstrated in the stage directions for Ben Johnson's 1637 play, *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists*: "Loud music. After which the Scene is discovered; being a Laboratory or Alchemist's workhouse: VULCAN looking to the registers, while a CYCLOPE, tending the fire, to the cornets began to sing."[26]

Why would anyone want a laboratory of either description in a school? The very word *laboratory* conjured up a malodorous chamber, full of mysterious apparatus, smoke, and noxious chemicals, while chemistry itself remained a murky concept with a debatable theoretical base and controversial practical applications. Not that practicality alone lent support to academic acceptance of chemistry at elite universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge. An opponent to the curriculum reform movement asked in 1654: "Which of the Nobility or Gentry, desire when they send their Sonnes hither, that they should be set to Chymistry, or Agriculture, or Mechanicks?"[27]

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[20] Hannaway, 153.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Allen G. Debus, ed., *Science and Education in the Seventeenth Century: The Webster-Ward Debate* (New York: American Elsevier, 1970), 264.

[23] Moran, 31.

[24] Debus, 133.

[25] *Oxford English Dictionary* online s.v. "laboratory;" available from http://dictionary.oed.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/cgi/entry/50128550?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=laboratory&first=1&max_to_show=10.

[26] Ben Johnson, *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists*, (1637); available from http://www.luminarium.org/editions/mercury.htm.

[27] Debus, 244.

Despite resistance, a few wealthy patrons of alchemy built university laboratories before 1700. For example, the Landgrave Moritz of Hesse created the first European chair in chemistry at the University of Marburg in 1609, complete with an equipped *laboratorium* and gave the post to Johannes Hartmann, one of his court alchemists and a follower of Paracelsus.[28] Hartmann taught laboratory medicine as part of the medical faculty. Some student notebooks from 1615 still survive, and his rules for student conduct give evidence that they participated fully in laboratory activities. His notes instruct students to protect their clothing with an apron, to ask questions, and to record their procedures: the ingredients, the amount and duration of heat required, and the timing for each step in the process.[29] This dedicated space for university students to actually carry out chemical processes may qualify Marburg as the first teaching laboratory.

During the seventeenth century, the university laboratory remained a novelty rather than a standard part of higher education. The Marburg laboratory only stayed in operation until 1730 and the administration did not institute a permanent laboratory until 1793.[30] Although too early to establish the beginning of a laboratory science curriculum, the first laboratory at Marburg gives tangible evidence of early support by influential individuals. Previously invisible to the public in an alchemist's workshop or a modified room in the home of a private enthusiast, the University of Marburg brought the laboratory into an association with higher education for the first time.

By the 1720s, German and Italian educational reformers succeeded in getting chemical lectures into many university medical schools. Advocates of separating the study of chemistry from medicine, such as Georg Ernst Stahl at Halle University, promoted chemistry as an area of theoretical and practical knowledge about the physical world.[31] Although chemistry lectures became respectable in medical schools, universities did not immediately accept the laboratory into the academic setting. Finding it difficult to explain chemical reactions without showing them, some professors began to bring in their own apparatus and perform chemical experiments in front of the class. Demonstrations of physical properties, such as conductivity, gravity, and optics worked better than words. In 1719, Giovanni Poleni, teaching at the University of Padua, asked for an equipped laboratory to enable his students to observe and even participate in his physics demonstrations. The administration rejected his request on the basis of expense, but following the installation of laboratories in other institutions, the University reversed its decision, built the laboratory, and awarded Poleni the newly formed chair of professor of experimental philosophy in 1738.[32]

Like Poleni, most chemists found it difficult to teach from texts alone. The interactive nature of the discipline stimulated chemists to examine and analyze. They needed specialized space, equipment, and a budget both to test and to teach, and if necessary they improvised. Rudolph Augustus Vogel came to the University of Göttingen in 1753 when there was no budget for a laboratory. The administration offered to build him a laboratory if he and his students could support it by making and selling medicinal products. Refusing, Vogel taught in a laboratory in his own home.[33] Thirty years later when labora-

[28] Moran, 109-10; William Eamon, "Chemical Pharmacy Enters the University: Johannes Hartmann and the Didactic Care of Chymiatria in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Isis* 84, no. 1 (1993): 145-6.

[29] Ibid.

[30] *History of Marburger Chemistry, University of Marburg*; available from http://www.chemie.uni-marburg.de/en/haupt_historie.html#Lit2.

[31] Karl Hufbauer, *The Formation of the German Chemical Community: 1720-1795* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982), 8, 20-1.

[32] Brendan Dooley, *Science and the Marketplace in Early Modern Italy* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2001), 99-100.

[33] Hufbauer, 35, 187.

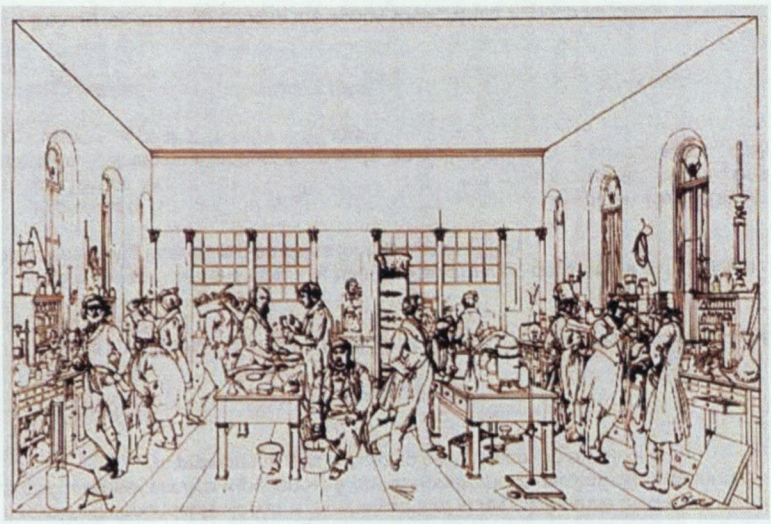

Figure 4. Liebig's Laboratory at Giessen–1842. Justis von Liebig, master of the laboratory, maintains an authoritative stance in the center, and on his bench stands a small distilling apparatus. *University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, Life Sciences.* Http://www.life.uiuc.edu/ib/494/liebig.htm.

tory teaching began to be acceptable, the university provided his successor, Johann Friedrich Gmelin, with a large laboratory plus operating budget, a lecture hall, and a residence. [34] But Justis von Liebig's laboratory at the University of Giessen provided the real turning point.[35] Liebig studied with great success at Joseph Gay-Lussac's private laboratory in Paris, and determined that he would have his own laboratory for his first teaching position at Giessen. Financing laboratories continually plagued the early chemists. In 1824, at the age of 21, he wrote to a friend, "Just think, to equip a laboratory with instruments, reagents, and materials, after much insistence they finally gave me 100 gulden."[36]

The opening of Liebig's first research laboratory in 1826 virtually locked in the laboratory's academic credentials. In his 1842 laboratory pictured in Figure 4, a dozen students are working on separate projects in groups of two or three.[37] Liebig advocated for combining theory and experimental method to get practical results: "These are the paths of knowledge and research for which we have Francis Bacon and Galileo to thank," he proclaimed in an essay describing how chemistry led to more effective fertilizers and medicines.[38] According to historian Frederic Holmes, the reputation of the laboratory at Giessen advanced the establishment of university laboratories throughout Europe: "By the 1840s over fifty students at a time worked in the enlarged laboratory, and the Liebig school of chemistry was internationally famous."[39] Liebig himself

[34] Ibid., 202, 244.

[35] "This marks the definitive beginnings in Germany of laboratory instruction in chemistry." Paul Bockstaele, "The Mathematical and the Exact Sciences" in Walter Ruegg, ed., *A History of the University in Europe,* vol. 3, *Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: 1800-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 504.

[36] Gail Marlow Taylor, trans., "Letter written 23 Sept. 1824 by Justis Libieg to August Walloth," Ernst Berl, ed., *Briefe von Justus Lieben: nach neuen Funden* (Giessen: Gesellschaft Liebig-Museum, 1928), 75.

[37] *University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, Life Sciences*; available from http://www.life.uiuc.edu/ib/494/liebig.html.

[38] Justis von Liebig, "On the Study of the Natural Sciences," in Wolfgang Schirmacher,ed., *German Essays on Science in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Continuum, 1996), 49.

[39] Frederic L. Holmes, "The Complementarity of Teaching and Research in Liebig's Laboratory," *Osiris* 5 (1989), 121; PubMed Central, Medical History; available from http://www.pubmedcentral .nih.gov/articlerender.fcgi?artid=546298.

became an influential advocate of state funding for large-scale laboratories in the university setting by demonstrating the application of advanced theoretical knowledge to practical goals.[40]

In both France and England, the laboratory first entered education through technical schools rather than universities. Although both British universities, Oxford and Cambridge, strongly resisted installing laboratories, Liebig's 1840 book on chemical fertilizers had impressed some British landowners on the need for trained chemists in England. Prince Albert asked August Wilhelm von Hofmann, a student of Liebig's, to head a new College of Chemistry which opened as a private institution in London in 1843 and soon had its own building with laboratories and a lecture hall.[41] University educators, however, considered laboratory science a trade school application to benefit industry and agriculture, and not as a relevant part of higher education. By the 1880s when Cambridge University built the Cavendish Laboratory and Oxford University, the Clarendon Laboratory, the laboratory had long been a normal part of the university setting in Germany.[42]

In France, the Revolutionary National Assembly closed the universities by decree in 1793 and Napoleon placed their faculties under the central administration of the Imperial University in Paris.[43] Technical schools rather than university faculties, maintained responsibility for teaching theoretical and applied laboratory science, beginning with the establishment of the École Polytechnique in 1794. In time, the French government founded decentralized laboratories in the provinces, often as a cooperative venture between local industries and technical institutes. France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War gave impetus to educational reform, which resulted in reestablishment of many universities with new professorships in laboratory sciences. There is no doubt that national competition played a role in bringing the laboratory into the university, but it took international acceptance of common terms and standards to really confirm the laboratory as a credible source of useful knowledge.

APPROACHING A SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY

> One of our joys was to go in our workroom at night; we then perceived on all sides the feebly luminous silhouettes of the bottles or capsules containing all our products. It was really a lovely sight and one always new to us. The glowing tubes looked like faint, fairy lights. (Marie Sklodowska Curie, 1923).[44]

Madame Curie expressed the passion of researchers who loved the combination of intellectual theoretical approach and hands-on problem solving. Robert Boyle, the great seventeenth-century chemist, not only spent many hours in his home laboratory, but published prolifically and enthusiastically. In the eighteenth century, Antoine Laurent Lavoisier spent a fortune to obtain the best custom-made precision instruments possible. In 1854, after hours of studying inflamed frogs' feet under the microscope, Joseph Lister "wrote to his father, 'Yesterday I carried out an experiment that kept me up a whole wonderful night.'"[45] Justis von Liebig wrote to a friend in 1826, "Nothing in the world would make me happier than when I can spend the whole day around the laboratory."[46] Louis Pasteur lived next to

[40] Arleen Marcia Tuchman, *Science, Medicine, and the State in Germany: The Case of Baden 1815-1871* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 100.

[41] Bockstaele, 507-8.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Charles Coulston Gillispie, *Science and Polity in France: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 110, 124, 161.

[44] Marie Curie, *Pierre Curie with Autobiographical Notes*, trans. Charlotte and Vernon Kellogg (New York: MacMillan, 1923), 167-8; available from http://www.aip.org/history/curie/brief/ 06_quotes/quotes_03.html.

[45] Patrice Debré, *Louis Pasteur* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 273.

[46] Gail Marlow Taylor, trans., "Letter written 16 February, 1826 by Justis Libieg to Scheiermacher." Ernst Berl, ed., *Briefe von Justus Lieben: nach neuen Funden* (Giessen:

his laboratory so that he could spend every waking minute in it. Both Pasteur and Liebig lobbied their governments vigorously throughout the mid-nineteenth century for more funding for laboratories. Out of mutual support and shared interests, chemists like these created a scientific community.

Chemistry enthusiasts began to organize and communicate in the late-seventeenth century. At a time when many still experimented with alchemy/chemistry in a blissfully undifferentiated manner in their personal laboratories, they also organized common interest societies to discuss, promote, and publicize their findings. Long before Giovanni Poleni asked for a teaching laboratory in 1719, chemists formed academies in France, England, and Germany. One of the first, The Royal Society in London, started meeting in the 1640s "to discuss the ideas of Francis Bacon" and received a charter from Charles II in 1661, as the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge.[47] In 1666, when Louis XIV founded the Académie Royale des Sciences, he provided his élite group of scientists with chemical laboratories and an order to develop new medicines to improve his health.[48] The first German academy, the Society of Sciences founded in Berlin in 1700, was followed by similar societies in Munich and Mannheim. In 1753, Frederick II reorganized the Berlin Academy and gave it a new laboratory, salaried staff and annual funding for research. Scientific societies were also established in Sweden, Italy, Russia, Spain, Mexico, and the United States.[49]

Figure 5. Marie and Pierre Curie–1902. " The famous scientists isolate radioactive radium salts from pitchblende in Paris," *Poor William's Almanac*. Http://www.poorwilliam.net/al-042005.html.

Among the earliest scientific publications issued by these academies were: *Le Journal des Sçavans* (Denis de Sallo, Paris, 1665), *Philosophical Transactions* (Royal Society of London, 1665), *Miscellanea Curiosa* (Collegium Naturae, Germany, 1670), *Acta eruditorum* (Leipzig, 1682), and the *Giornale di Litterati d'Italia* (Italy, 1668), to name only a few.[50] Science historian A. J. Meadows argues that laboratory sciences such as chemistry, physics, and physiology became professionalized before observation-based sciences like astronomy, zoology, and geology because the requirements for a laboratory, specialized equipment, and knowledge of current research, encouraged the development of

Gesellschaft Liebig-Museum, 1928), 81.

[47] *The Royal Society*, available from http://www.royalsoc.ac.uk/page.asp?id=2176.

[48] *Institut de France, Académie des Sciences*; available from http://www.institut-de-france.fr/institut/acasc.htm; Lawrence I. Conrad, Michael Neve, Vivian Nutton, Roy Porter, and Andrew Wear, *The Western Medical Tradition, 800 BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 342.

[49] Cathy Cobb and Harold Goldwhite, *Creations of Fire: Chemistry's Lively History from Alchemy to the Atomic Age* (New York: Plenum, 1995), 171.

[50] A. J. Meadows, *Development of Science Publishing in Europe* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers, 1980), 6-8.

a scientific community. As researchers built on each other's work, the level of journal articles in laboratory sciences became too specialized to be understood by the general public, whereas the interested layman could still enjoy an article on astronomy or geology.[51] This inward turn of the laboratory scientists contributed to their sense of community.

In the eighteenth century, scientists became increasingly concerned about standard international nomenclature and quantification. Chemists took a keen interest in validating their own experiments and those of their peers, which resulted in attempts to standardize systems of measurement such as temperature. Cromwell Mortimer, a contributor to *Philosophical Transactions*, expressed a common frustration in 1737: "in many Cases the Chemists complain that, having once accidentally light on a curious Experiment, upon endeavoring to repeat it, they have never been able to make their Process succeed exactly, as it did the first time."[52] Convinced of the necessity to measure heat accurately, he described his proposal for a thermometer. It was not Mortimer's thermometer that gained wide acceptance, however, but one developed by a Swedish scientist, Anders Celsius in 1742, graded from 100 degrees at the freezing point of water to zero at the boiling point. In 1744, another Swede, Carl Linnaeus, the developer of standard botanical and zoological nomenclature, recommended reversing the scale so that zero would be freezing and 100 boiling, and scientists gradually adopted this system.[53]

Public confidence in the experimental method, and the credibility of the scientific community, necessitated consistent laboratory results. Confidence remained particularly precarious in England where laboratories lacked government support and universities themselves did not teach laboratory sciences until the 1860s. Even when applied science began to produce practical results, chemists still did not have professional status. This situation escalated into a crisis in the 1820 court case that Severn, King and Company sugar bakers brought against the Imperial Insurance Company, for refusing to reimburse them for massive fire damage.

In the Severn case, both sides brought in well-known chemists as witnesses in order to show whether or not the fire resulted from a new sugar refining process which required bringing a large quantity of whale oil to a high temperature. The chemists disagreed with each other openly in court about terminology, theory, and the validity of each other's experiments in which they attempted to duplicate the questionable process on a smaller scale in order to prove it safe or unsafe. The judge, disturbed that "they had seen the same experiments producing opposite results," stated that as to science, "all that belonged to the theory is doubtful, and all that rested on experiment was new."[54] The final embarrassment to the chemists came when the judge decided that they were not entitled to be compensated for expert testimony because they were simply "persons of skill," not professional witnesses like physicians and attorneys.[55]

The Severn case illustrated the importance of standardization for facilitating communication among chemists, and earning public trust and support. By the early nineteenth century, national organizations of chemists in Germany, England, France, and the Scandinavian countries held regular meetings. In

[51] Ibid., 14.

[52] Cromwell Mortimer, "A Discourse Concerning the Usefulness of Thermometers in Chemical Experiments; and Concerning the Principles on Which the Thermometers Now in Use Have Been Constructed; Together with the Description and Uses of a Metalline Thermometer, Newly Invented by Cromwell Mortimer, M.D.," *Philosophical Transactions (1683-1775)* 44, (1746-1747): 672.

[53] "A Brief History of Temperature Measurement;" available from http://thermodynamics-information.net/celsium.html.

[54] June Z. Fullmer, "Technology, Chemistry, and the Law in Early Nineteenth—Century England," *Technology and Culture* 21 (January 1980): 23-4.

[55] Ibid., 25.

Figure 6. 18th Century Representation of a Chemist at Work. Representations of early chemistry laboratories are often fanciful. In the eighteenth century, artists often pictured the laboratory as dirty, smoky, and cluttered. "The Chemist," *University of Oklahoma, History of Science Department.* Http://hsci.cas.ou.edu/images/jpg-100dpi-10in/18thCentury/Chemistry/Laboratory/chimiste.jpg.

September of 1860, a distinguished group of chemists met at Karlsruhe in Baden to reach an agreement on basic definitions such as atoms, molecules, equivalents. This first International Congress of Chemists included representatives from Belgium, Germany, England, France, Italy, Mexico, Austria, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland and Spain.[56] The discussion of distinguishing between physical and chemical molecules reveals the problems they faced: "Mr. Kekulé emphasizes the need to distinguish between . . . the physical molecule and the chemical molecule. . . [whereas] Mr. Cannizzaro is unable to conceive of the notion of the chemical molecule. For him there are only physical molecules."[57] The session chairman, renowned French chemist Jean-Baptiste-André Dumas, spoke of his concern that chemistry not lose its hard-earned credibility: "He points out that this state of affairs, were it to continue, would be such as to undermine not only the proper direction of teaching and advances in science, but the reliability of industrial work as well."[58]

The 1860 Karlsruhe Conference helped chemists achieve both a consensus on nomenclature and a place in industry. The growing number of successful applications of science to industry brought a need for large expensive laboratories, which in turn needed qualified researchers and technicians who could work together from common assumptions. Success and credibility reinforced each other. According to Kuhn, "Men whose research is based on shared paradigms are committed to the same rules and standards for scientific practice."[59] The development of chemistry and experimental science reached a more mature stage as late-eighteenth cen-

[56] Selected Classic Papers from the History of Chemistry, Charles Adolphe-Wurtz on the Karlsruhe Congress, 1860; available from http://web.lemoyne.edu/~giunta/karlsruhe.html.

[57] Ibid. Cobb, 210 and 249.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 11.

tury education, government, and industry became increasingly committed to standardization of terms and theories.

INDUSTRIAL STRENGTH

> There is no such thing as a special category of science called applied science; there is science and there are its applications, which are related to one another as the fruit is related to the tree that has borne it. (Louis Pasteur, 1854)[60]

For Louis Pasteur and his peers, no boundaries existed between theoretical and practical science. When he was assigned to the science faculty at Lille, his area of concentration involved the study of crystalline structure. When the father of one of his pupils came to him about a problem with controlling the fermentation process in the manufacture of beet root alcohol, Pasteur investigated the process methodically. He traced the fermentation issue to its origin, and for the first time, enabled the manufacturers of Lille to produce a consistently predictable batch. In doing so, he found that yeast, a living organism, caused fermentation. Pasteur combined physics, chemistry, and biology to solve problems threatening the French silk and wine industries, and to develop a vaccine against rabies.[61]

The late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries saw an increased recognition of the application of science to agriculture and industry, and brought the founding of technical schools and institutes with laboratories for hands-on experience. An early example included the *Bergakademie*, founded in 1770 in Berlin, which along with teaching mathematics, chemistry, and hydraulics, provided laboratory practice for mining professionals. [62] The École Polytechnique, founded in 1794 in Paris, became a basic technical educational institution, where graduates could go on to attend more specialized engineering schools. France underwent a renewed proliferation of technical education in the 1880s after defeat in the Franco-Prussian war, evidenced by the opening of the *Institut Industriel du Nord* in Lille and the *École Municipale de Physique et de Chimie Industrielles.*[63]

The scientific community of the 1880s also benefited from the opening of industry-associated technical engineering schools in Germany. These schools established teaching laboratories designed for mechanical, electrical, and civil engineering, and provided controlled conditions for processes such as stress-testing materials, gauging engine performance, and calibrating electrical currents.[64] Industrial engineering schools in Turin and Milan opened with teaching laboratories and established electrical engineering as a discipline by the 1890s. Employment positions increased for graduates in the power stations, government, and military.[65] Opportunities for laboratory-educated people expanded in other areas as well. The Zoological Station in Naples, the first marine science institute in Europe, opened in 1872 with 30 fully equipped research laboratories leased by governments and scientific associations from Italy, Prussia, Holland, Belgium, Russia, Switzerland, and Britain.[66] Marine biology laboratories flourished in France, forming a cooperative venture of government, education, and the fishing industry.[67]

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[60] Debré, 84.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Anna Guagnini, "Technology," in Rüegg, 598.

[63] Ibid., 616.

[64] Guagnini, 620.

[65] Anna Guagnini, "The Formation of Italian Electrical Engineers: The Teaching Laboratories of the Politecnici of Turin and Milan, 1887-1914," in *1880-1980: Un Siécle d'Électricité dans le Monde,* ed. Fabienne Cardot (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), 291-2.

[66] Harry W. Paul, *From Knowledge to Power: The Rise of the Science Empire in France:1860-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 104.

[67] Ibid.

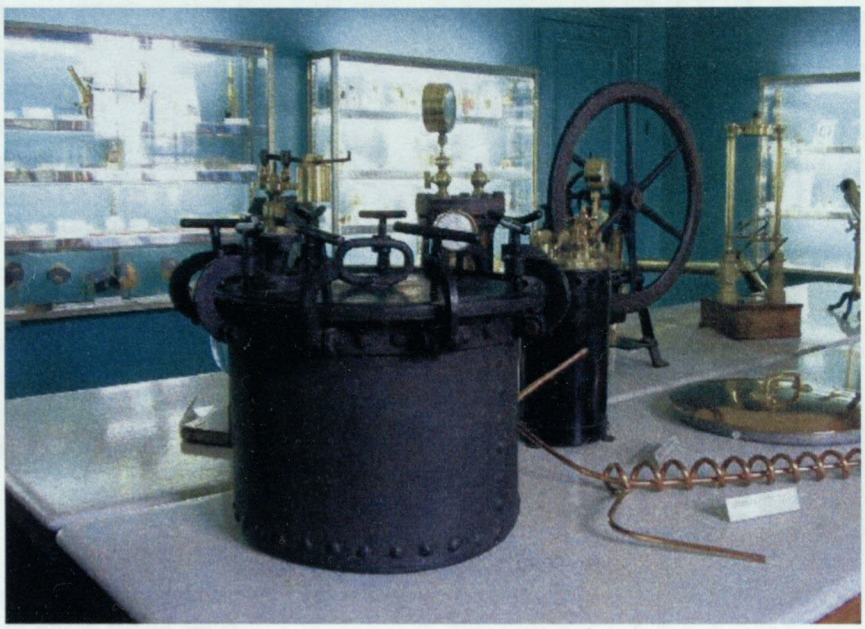

Figure 7. Pasteur Lab Autoclave–1879. The Pasteur Institute opened in Paris, France, 1888, for Louis Pasteur's work in developing a rabies vaccine. His living quarters and research laboratory are in the building. (Photo by Gail Marlow Taylor, March 2005).

Both France and Germany established agricultural stations with chemical laboratories where government, university, and industry partnered to support agricultural industries which produced goods such as dairy products, wine, sugar, and fruit. According to an 1880 article in the *New York Times*, their research included entymology and marshland reclamation. "In short, there are today in Europe over 170 institutions in which not less than 250 chemists and physiologists are devoting their labor to scientific researches for the benefit of farming."[68] Routine functions of the agricultural stations included analysis of irrigation water and quality testing of fertilizers, to insure that the farmers did not buy worthless fertilizers.[69]

Larger university laboratories and growing commercial funding for research proliferated in the 1880s as industrial applications for science increased. In 1887, industrialists Carl Zeiss and Werner Siemens helped establish the Physikalisch-*Technische Reichsanstalt* in Germany for physical and technical research.[70] J. C. Jacobsen, founder of the Carlsburg Breweries, established the foundation-supported Carlsberg Laboratory in 1875, with chemistry and physiology divisions, to do pure research as well as industry-related research.[71] The Wellcome Trust in England originated with research laboratories associated with the Burroughs Wellcome & Company founded in 1880. Its Web page today proudly announces that it is the "world's largest medical research charity."[72] By 1900, the laboratory no lon-

[68] "Progress in Agriculture: Our Inefficient Department: The Valuable Scientific Work done in European Institutions compared with the Political Agricultural Machine at Washington," *The New York Times*, 19 April 1880, 5; available from http://proquest.umi.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/pqdweb?index=0&did=98896205&SrchMode=1&sid=4&Fmt=10&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=HNP&TS=1146747925&clientId=17846.

[69] Paul, 182.

[70] Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society, and University in Germany:1700-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 301.

[71] August Krogh, "Biology and Industry in Cooperation," *Science 88* (November 1938): 418; *Carlsberg Research Center History*; available from http://www.crc.dk/history.shtml.

[72] Krogh, 418; *Wellcome Research Center History*; avail-

ger served as just one kind of workshop, like those housing glassmakers, metallurgists, and ceramic makers. It emerged as the workshop of origination that trained prime researchers and gave them a space to develop and test manufacturing processes for all other trades.

LABORATORIES AND LIVING THINGS

> The next morning, at daybreak, I summoned sufficient courage and unlocked the door of my laboratory. The remains of the half-finished creature, whom I had destroyed, lay scattered on the floor, and I almost felt as if I had mangled the living flesh of a human being. (*Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus*, 1818)[73]

William Harvey, in his 1628 work "On the motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals," pointed out that other investigators failed to understand circulation because, "they plainly do amiss who, pretending to speak of the parts of animals generally, as anatomists for the most part do, confine their researches to the human body alone, and that when it is dead."[74] Applying principles of chemistry to functions of life interested physiologists as much as testing the elements fascinated chemists. The study of anatomy clarified structures of the body, but functions of organs such as the pancreas and liver remained a mystery. Researchers probed the unknown in the space of the physiology laboratory. Some made medical breakthroughs, some did not, and some seemed to combine curiosity with a vague hope of finding an application.

A 1665 article in *Philosophical Transactions* reports an experiment in which Robert Boyle administered intravenous opium and "an infusion of *Crocus Metallorum*" to two dogs.[75] After discussing the results with a "foreign Ambassador, that was Curious," they tried the experiment on a servant of his, who "did, either really or craftily, fall into a swoon; whereby . . . they desisted."[76] The entire procedure was duly written up in the journal of the Royal Society, with the observation that it might someday have medical applications.[77] Anesthesia, if that is what these researchers attempted, did not become a medical application for another 200 years.

By the nineteenth century, the discoveries of physiology eclipsed Galenism. With help of the microscope, investigators reached new conclusions about organ functions and disease processes. In spite of growing interest in public health, physicians and researchers still did not understand how diseases spread. Even after Louis Pasteur published his treatise on germ theory in 1878, many practitioners maintained that air and environment influenced disease more than such invisible agents. In his 1871 medical text, Theodor Billroth speculated about possible reasons why wounds become infected in the hospital, and hypothesized that perhaps, "the injuriously-acting agents are of a molecular dust-like nature."[78] He could, however, confidently explain to his medical students, effective treatments and expected outcomes of different types of infections, using increasingly significant results of animal experimentation.[79]

able from http://www.wellcome.ac.uk/.

[73] Mary Wollstonecraft (Godwin) Shelley, *Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus*; available from http://www.gutenberg. org/dirs/etext93/frank15.txt.

[74] William Harvey, "On the motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals," (1628) in Charles W. Eliot, ed., *Scientific Papers: Physiology, Medicine, Surgery, Geology* (1861) (New York: P. F. Collier, 1910), 90.

[75] "An Account of the Rise and Attempts of a Way to Conveigh Liquors Immediately into the Mass of Blood," *Philosophical Transactions* 1 (1665-6): 129. Although the author is unknown, the article states that Dr. Christopher Wren and Mr. Robert Boyle proposed and carried out the experiment.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Theodor Billroth, *General Surgical Pathology and Therapeutics, in Fifty Lectures: A Text-book for Students and Physicians* (New York: Appleton, 1871), 151.

[79] Ibid.

Figure 8. Naples Marine Laboratory. The Zoological Station on the Gulf of Naples, Italy, opened in 1873. (Photo by Gail Marlow Taylor, March 2006).

Louis Pasteur extracted saliva samples from rabid dogs at great personal risk in his studies on rabies, and Claude Bernard used animals in his studies on digestion and functions of the liver and the pancreas, and causes of diabetes. Controversy and protest surrounded all their research. Bernard's wife and daughters left him to support the antivivisectionist movement in France. Supporters of Pasteur's rabies research, opposing the antivivisectionists, volunteered themselves as test subjects for his new vaccine. Antivivisectionist legislation came into effect in England by 1876 and Germany by 1881.[80] The issue of animal experimentation evoked strong emotions on both sides.

By the late-nineteenth century, physiologic research began to change the practice of medicine. Karl Ludwig, appointed in 1865 to the new position of professor of physiology at Leipzig, wrote a physiology textbook explaining how chemical and physical principles apply to biologic organisms. He devised a method to obtain continuous tracings of blood pressure readings with a stylus resting on the smoked surface of a revolving drum called a kymograph.[81] This became the first readable, portable recording of physiologic functions and began the kind of documentation that medical practitioners now routinely place on a patient's chart. Although Ludwig successfully showed a correlation between blood pressure and health, it took time and the development of portable blood pressure readers to convince the medical community of its utility in diagnosis. Many physicians felt, with some justification, that no instrumentation could replace the combination of skilled clinical assessment and their finger on the patient's pulse. But quantitative records proved their value, especially in the hospital setting where the physician might see many patients in a day. It is evident in Billroth's 1871 medical textbook that graphing of temperatures had become a routine hospital practice and an accurate guide to the course of infection.[82]

[80] Debré, 432-3.

[81] Tuchman, 115.

[82] Billroth, 330.

CONCLUSION

> May the good that you hope for be the outcome of work in the laboratories which with suitable solemnity and earnest purpose you have set apart and consecrated to a special service to-day![83]

Lelwellys F. Barker, director of medicine at Johns Hopkins Hospital, delivered this reverent dedication at the opening of the new Medical Laboratories Building at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada in 1908.[84] By the early twentieth century, the laboratory maintained an almost holy aura in world of academia, government and commerce, revered for its role in the discovery of solutions to humanity's dilemmas whether related to disease, production, or defense. Today it may seem obvious that universities, hospitals, corporations and government agencies utilize laboratories and that the public expects laboratories to test practically everything: whether blood, water, or seat belts. But it is a long way from individual alchemists' workshops to society's expectations of laboratories today, and this kind of confidence was by no means an obvious outcome. Galenists and Paracelsans, for example, did not agree on the need for diagnostic laboratory testing because they lacked a consensus on the nature of disease. August Wilhelm von Hofmann could not teach at the College of Chemistry in London in the mid-nineteenth century without an accepted international understanding of how chemicals interact. The chemists needed to find common ground.

In the terms of Thomas Kuhn, author of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, it took the formation of a scientific community which accepted shared foundations, or paradigms, that it could build on.[85] A laboratory is not just a room; it is itself a paradigm, based on a fundamental assumption that when all conditions are the same, a predictable outcome will be produced, and that any difference in the outcome is due to a variation in the conditions. The very language of science must be able to communicate the conditions and the outcome in very precise terms. The early chemistry texts by Libavius, Beguin, and Lemery began a process of standardization fundamental to the validation of laboratory-acquired knowledge. Scientific journals conveyed the details of experiments on which an international community of scientists could build, and the printing press served as an essential vehicle for the conceptualization of the laboratory.

A university discipline is not an intuitive concept, and in the early days of their association, universities first placed chemistry teaching under the medical faculty and then under the expanded umbrella of the philosophy department. New professorships developed in the fields of physics and physiology, and then, stimulated by new discoveries and the needs of industry and government, the specialties took new directions: biochemistry, pharmacology, nuclear physics, cell physiology, genetics, and fluid mechanics. The interactive and cumulative nature of laboratory activity, expanded into new arenas that nevertheless maintained a common approach to theory, observation and experimentation. In 1840, William Whewell, professor of minerology and of moral philosophy at Cambridge, suggested a general term: "We need very much a name to describe a cultivator of science in general. I should incline to call him a Scientist."[86] The obsessed investigator in the white lab coat at last had a name.

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[83] "An address delivered at the formal opening of the Medical Laboratories Building, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, January 14, 1908." Lelwellys F. Barker, "Medical Laboratories: Their Relation to Medical Practise and to Medical Discovery," *Science* 27 (April 1908): 611. Barker studied at Karl Ludwig's physiology laboratory in Leipzig and built extensive new laboratories as director of Johns Hopkins Hospital.

[84] *The Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives of the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions;* available from http://www.medicalarchives.jhmi.edu/sgml/barker.html.

[85] Kuhn, 10.

[86] *Oxford English Dictionary Online* s.v. "scientist;" available from http://dictionary.oed.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/cgi/entry/50215824? single=1&query_type=word&quer

By the time Lelwellys F. Barker dedicated the laboratories at Queen's University in 1908, the laboratory had become synonymous with progress and technological achievement. Yet, the split image persists as popular science fiction is filled with the unintended consequences of laboratories out of control, inspiring fascinating stories like *The Island of Dr. Moreau*, *Blade Runner*, and *Jurassic Park*. The press provides us with headlines about fabricated stem cell research results and medical laboratories under investigation by the Food and Drug Administration. Today, laboratories produce designer drugs and nuclear weapons. But, unlike the seventeenth century, the laboratory is interwoven tightly and inextricably into medical, educational, and industrial institutions. The modern consumer expects reassurance of efficacy, safety, and quality to accompany innovation. We live in a world of continuous methodical testing. By the end of the nineteenth century, the laboratory no longer gained credibility by being associated with a hospital, university, or industry. Rather it conferred credibility to these institutions as an essential component to the image of modernity.

yword=scientist&first=1&max_to_show=10. The *OED* cites William Whewell's *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*. Information about Whewell is from the Cambridge University website; available from http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/index.php?pageid=546&display=84.

> We National Socialists carried on our struggle for the sake of the German people and its future. The future of the people is its children—which is you. We thought about you as [we] fought, risking life and health and all we had to help the swastika to victory. You will be spared what the German people had to experience before 1933.[1]
>
> Hauptamt für Erzieher

This excerpt from the Hitler Youth magazine, *Du und dein Volk* (You and Your People), describes the future of Germany as a nation that once struggled, but will soon rise again to its former prominence. In the two decades before 1933, the German people experienced troubles of alliances, warfare, and a failing economy, leading to monumental changes within the government and the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party. The new government established programs to restore the greatness of the German nation. The formation of the Hitler Youth, an organization for the youth of Germany, established a strong sense of national identity, which represented the Nazi vision of age, religion, gender, family roles, and race in the German nation

Hans Kohn defined nationalism as "a State of Mind, permeating the large majority of a people and claiming to permeate all its members; it recognizes the nation-state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality as the source of all creative cultural energy and of economic well-being."[2] The Hitler Youth represents this form of nationalism as it created a large majority of people through ethnicity by allowing only Aryans to join the organization. That majority then recognized the Nazi German government as the ideal political structure to re-establish the German culture through gender, age, and religion. The Nazi regime used the theme of common suffering to create this cultural renaissance, which brought economic growth and a stable future for the German people Many pieces of Hitler Youth propaganda show the Nazi elite's use of the recent suffering of the German people after World War I as a reminder of the optimistic future promised by the Nazi government. This persuaded the German population to unite under one cause and follow the Nazi vision of Germany's future.

The Hitler Youth organization remains one of the most fascinating aspects of the Nazi party's control of Germany. Many scholars studied the Hitler Youth in an attempt to discover German children's attraction to the organization. In Michael H. Kater's *Hitler Youth*, a former member, Hermann Gramel, explains, "he was attracted by the spiritual and national hymns they sang and by the cult-like activities that initiated young people into the movement."[3] This quote speaks to the larger issue of whether responsibility for the Hitler Youth's role in Germany lay with the Nazi Party or with Hitler Youth members. H.W. Koch, who wrote *The Hitler Youth: Origins and Development 1922-1945,* attempted to find out who was responsible for the Hitler Youth by determining its origins and development. Through his research he understood that the concept of the German identity offered an "alternative approach to popular democracy from that provided by 'the ideas of the French Revolution; changed-in fact mutated-year by year and decade by decade until it became one of the component strands of National Socialism'."[4] Koch concluded that the social conditions

[1] Hauptamt für Erzieher, *Du und dein Volk* (Munich: Deutscher Volksuerlag, 1940), trans. Randall Bytwerk, http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/du.htm.

[2] Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), 10.

[3] Hermann Graml, "Integration und Entrendung: Inanspruchnahme durch Staatsjugend und Dienstpflicht," in Ute Benz and Wolfgang Benz, eds., *Socialisation und Traumatisierung: Kinder in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 72-79, quoted in Michael Kater, Hitler Youth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 1.

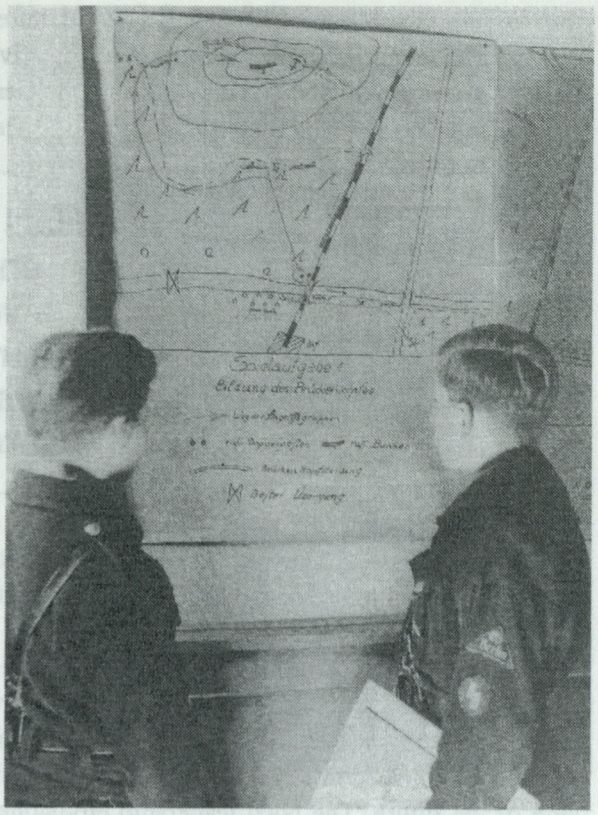
[4] H.W. Koch, *The Hitler Youth: Origins and Developments 1922-1945* (New York: Stein and Day, 1975), vii.

of Nazi Germany produced the Hitler Youth, which drew children to the organization without complete understanding or ignorance of the Nazi Party's real politics.

In determining these conclusions, scholars used an array of primary resources that are in both German and English: newspapers, periodicals, memoirs, diaries, speeches, trial testimony, oral history, as well as many autobiographies from Hitler Youth members. Although these scholars ably write a substantial amount of work on the Hitler Youth, a definite weakness is that there are mostly detailed accounts from former members of the Hitler Youth, but minimal paper documents. As Koch noted, "For one thing the sources are far from satisfactory…although the bureaucratic apparatus of the Hitler Youth was as inflated as that on any other NSDAP organization, its administrative methods, certainly at the regional and local level, left much to be desired."[5] Historians of the Nazi Party posses a wealth of intact, untranslated, primary sources to draw on to support their theses, but they collectively lack specialization on the Hitler Youth's relationship to Nazi visions of the identity of the perfect German and the future of Germany. Through the research of primary sources including pamphlets, magazines, textbooks, speeches, and memoirs, and by treating them with a methodical, cultural approach, one may finally conclude the Nazi vision of identity in the Hitler Youth.

COMING OF AGE IN NAZI GERMANY

The Hitler Youth represented the Nazi government's ideal vision of age in the German nation; this organization contained children from the ages of eight to seventeen. The *Führer*, Adolf Hitler, and his colleagues viewed the youth of Germany as supremely important, as they would one day take control of the nation and its Europe possessions. An article in the German girl's magazine, *Das deutsche Mädel* (The German Girl), explains that past generations of



In addition to social values, Hitler Youth members learned the arts of war. Guido Knopp, *Hitler's Children*, trans. Angus McGeoch (Phoenix Mill, U.K.: Sutton, 2002).

youth enjoyed more fulfilling childhoods. This generation, however, would have the pleasure of being more useful in its society. As the magazine noted, "There may have been times in the past when the life of the youth seemed easier because they had more outward pleasures. But you have the joy of participating in the early years that will decide the fate of the nation."[6] The Nazi party never strayed from this view because it knew that the present leaders would eventually die, leaving the youth to rule the German nation. A booklet for fourteen-year-old children, *Du und dein Volk* (You and Your People), stated, "it is true that cultures perish because the peoples

[5] Koch, *Hitler Youth*, vii.

[6] Hilde Breitfeld, "Ihr habt die besten Vorbilder," *Das deustche Mädel*, March-April, 1943, trans. Randall Bytwerk, http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/dm3-43a.htm.

that sustain them grow old and die, for cultures that are no longer given new content by creative peoples are empty shells. It is also true that the German people shows signs of age and decline."[7] The Hitler Youth provided the solution to this growing issue among Nazi leaders. Adolf Hitler expressed his interest in the success of the youth at the Rally of the German Women's League in 1936. He preached, "I measure our success by the effect we have on the German child, the German youth. If they succeed, I know our people will not perish and our work will not have been in vain."[8] The Nazi vision of the Hitler Youth's importance rested solely on the Party organizer's need to create new leaders to direct the future German nation.

Nazi leadership envisioned a young boy transforming into a productive German adult.

One textbook, the *Fibel fur die Volksschulen Württembergs* (Primer for the Wurttemberg Public Schools), published in 1941, expresses this ideal vision of the future. The Nazi leadership envisioned a young boy transforming into a productive German adult, such as a soldier in the German army. "Rumble, rumble, march, march, march! Hurray! Music! Music! Those are soldiers. They march in columns of three with steel helmets and weapons."[9] This piece of propaganda suggests that the youth of the German nation celebrated the army and joined the force when they came of age. Another example surfaces in the same elementary textbook; towards the end of the book the main character Karl wanted to join the Hitler Youth and *Jungvolk,* the organization for boys aged ten to fourteen. "Karl wanted to join his brother Alfred in the ranks and march with them. But he was too little. He had to leave. He cried, but not for long. The command came: March! The flag and banners were in front. Everyone sang a song. Karl marched behind all by himself and sang along."[10] This excerpt shows the same type of propaganda used on the German boy as the previous example with the German army marching; it differs in that "Karl" wanted to join the more attainable Hitler Youth. While a young child saw the joy of being a full-grown German soldier, it seemed out of reach. The Hitler Youth proved more attainable because a child perceived them as big brothers or teenagers, something that could happen in the near future. Propaganda like this encouraged the German adolescent to join the Hitler Youth, to train for the German army, and to move up the ranks to become the future leaders of Nazi Germany.

The Nazi regime also created the Hitler Youth to establish optimism for the future German nation; they believed that optimistic qualities began at home. A German youth booklet, *Du und dein Volk*, shows this quest for optimism: "A home! Unity and cheerfulness must prevail in the home so that growing children are happy to be 'at home'. Love must shine through strict discipline so that trust remains and advice can be asked for and given. Family customs strengthen the sense of community, encouraging creativity and an artistic sense."[11] This excerpt describes how to keep the youth of the nation positive to prevent future defections or rebellions against Germany. Adolf Hitler believed in the necessity of optimism in a child's life and its effects on the German youth. The Nazi regime expressed this in a 1936 speech for women: "One needs optimism

[7] Erzieher, *Du und dein Volk.*

[8] "Die Tagung der deutschen Frauenschaft," *Der Parteitag der Ehre vom 8. bis 14.* September 1936. *Offizieller Bericht über den Verlauf des Reichsparteitages mit sämtlichen Kongreßreden* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1936), 161-169, trans. Randall Bytwerk, http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/pt36frau.htm.

[9] *Fibel für die Volksschulen Württembergs* (Stuttgart: Verlag der Union Deutshe Verlagsgesellschaft, 1941), trans. Randall Bytwerk, http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/textbk03.htm.

[10] Ibid.

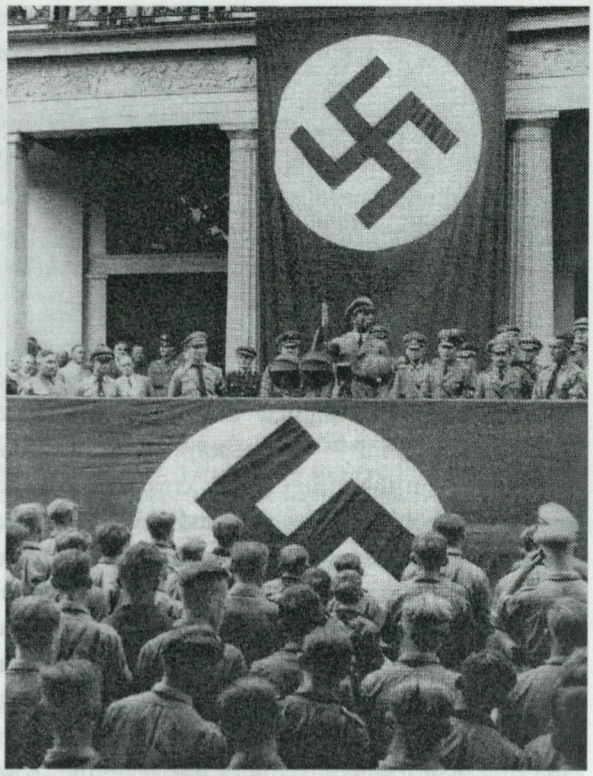
[11] Erzieher, *Du und dein Volk.*

in order to live. It begins with children. It takes optimism to bring a child into the world! What can it become? What will it become? Every mother believes her child is the best. This is a healthy optimism. When a child is born, the mother receives it with joy. She worships this small creature!"[12] Through the importance of youth, the vision for the future, and the need for optimism, the Hitler Youth represented the Nazi vision of age in Germany.

SACRED AND PROFANE: THE HITLER YOUTH AND RELIGION

The Hitler Youth also represented the Nazi vision of religion in Germany. The Hitler Youth taught that the Roman Catholic Church marked a political, not religious, organization that limited the possibilities of the German population's connection with God. During the rise of the Nazi regime, Adolf Hitler, "could comprehend opposition from clergymen only in terms of their probable greed, self interest, or fanaticism, never in terms of an opposition based on a fundamental disagreement about the purpose of man on earth."[13] According to Hitler, the Catholic Church believed in biases that favored the population who denied the moral and religious importance of national solidarity. As Lawrence Walker, author of *Hitler Youth and Catholic Youth: 1933-1936*, noted, "[Hitler] saw no reason why the churches could not confine themselves to 'spiritual' matters, and have alone all other questions, which to him were 'political'."[14] The Hitler Youth organization followed the viewpoint of the Nazi regime when Hitler Youth leader, Baulder Von Schirach, resisted any attempt by the organized Catholic youths to coexist with the Hitler Youth.

The Hitler Youth represented the Nazi vision of the German nation when it embraced separation from the Roman Catholics and established a new Chris-



Hitler Youth members listen closely to Joseph Goebbles at a ceremony in Berlin. Hal Buell, ed. *World War II Album: The Complete Chronicle of the World's Greatest Conflict* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 2002), 12.

tianity. The organization supported the idea that the German people wanted "no shallow and superficial piety, but rather a deep faith that God guides the world, that he controls it, and a consciousness of the relationship between God and each individual, and between God and the lives of the people and the fatherland."[15] The Hitler Youth separated itself from the Roman Catholic Church and moved toward a more personal relationship with God, without the interference by the Catholic leaders.

The Nazi state attempted to create morals that conflicted with those of the Catholic Church. Walker believes that, "Nazism was an inversion of Chris-

[12] "Die Tagung der deutschen Frauenschaft".

[13] Lawrence Walker, *Hilter Youth and Catholic Youth 1933-1936* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1970), 33.

[14] Walker, *Hitler Youth*, 33.

[15] "Die Erziehungsgrundsätze des neuen Deutschlands", *Frauen-Warte*, #22 (1936/37), 692-693, trans. Randall Bytwerk, http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/frau01.htm.

tianity, a devil's mass with Christian values turned upside down. In place of love was hate, in place of humility, racial pride; in place of gentleness, brutality."[16] Although his description of the new morality seems unethical, the Hitler Youth and most of the population, with the support of Nazi scientists and leaders, perceived it as the true word of God. Through this new morality the Hitler Youth represented the Nazi vision of religion in the German nation.

The Hitler Youth followed the Nazi images and became nationally unified under this newfound look at Christianity. The absorption of national Christianity in the Hitler Youth created a circular movement between God, the individual, and the German people as a whole. According to an article in the Nazi magazine for women, *The Educational Principles of the New Germany*, the Nazi regime wanted "the German youth to again recognize the religious nature of life. They must realize that God wants the individual as well as the whole people, and that they lose contact with life when they lose contact [with] God!"[17] This kept God as the creator of the world, but granted remaining authority to the Nazi regime, allowing the Nazis to establish their own Biblical interpretations and teachings for the future generations. In a 1936 speech, Adolf Hitler stated, "peoples-by which we mean the generations of ancient families and tribes-have always been a part in the most varied past events. We are therefore justified in thinking there is a larger meaning to them, that a unified people will always be necessary under the laws established by a higher power."[18] In this passage, Hitler insinuated that God's will included a unified German people. The Hitler Youth embraced this idea and empowered future generations to uphold this belief in the next Nazi regime. Through the Hitler Youth's negative outlook on the Roman Catholic Church, and subsequent separation and creation of a new "National Christianity," the Hitler Youth represented the Nazi government's vision of religion in the German nation.

GENDER IN GERMANY

Gender also proved important to the Nazi regime in creating the Hitler Youth. They reached this vision of gender through the expression of the ideal role for the father in the German nation. During Nazi rule, Hitler Youth leaders thought young males of Germany should "provide for the economic security of the family."[19] This security provided by the future generations also created an economic stability for the entire nation. The male adult also played the role of protector of the German state. At a Nazi Rally in 1936, Adolf Hitler stated, "nature has rightly ordained that men head the family and are burdened with the task of protecting their people, the community."[20] Although the Hitler Youth taught young men rhetoric, they also exemplified this rhetoric when called to protect Germany from its opponents in World War II. While the German male played the role of protector and provider, he played the ideal role of a male as represented by the Nazi regime's vision of fatherhood in the German nation.

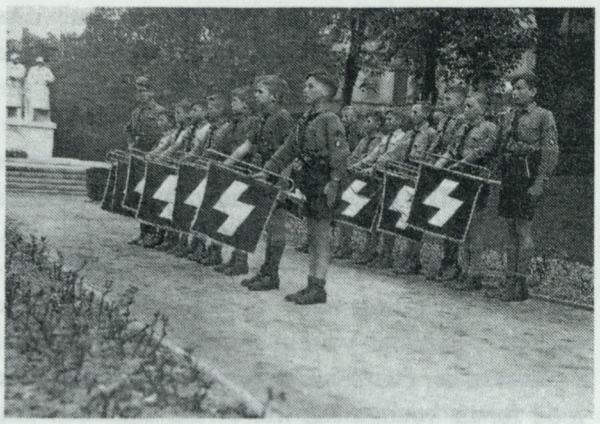
The Nazi government perceived the German female as the ideal mother. For the women of Germany, motherhood implied true German-hood. In *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler writes, "the goal of female education must be to prepare them for motherhood."[21] Other political systems such as Communism scrutinized this goal, questioning Hitler's real intentions for keeping women in the households and hindering their progress into the labor force. Hitler believed the opposite. As stated at a rally of the German Women's League, "Women have boundless opportunities to work. For us the woman has always been the loyal companion of the men in work and life. People often tell me: You want to drive women out of the

[16] Walker, *Hitler Youth*, 40.
[17] "Die Erziehungsgrundsätze des neuen Deutschlands".
[18] "Die Tagung der deutschen Frauenschaft".
[19] Erzieher, *Du und dein Volk*.
[20] "Die Tagung der deutschen Frauenschaft".
[21] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), 460.

professions. No, I only want to make it possible for her to found her own family and to have children, for that is how she can best serve our people."[22] Nazis perceived mothers in Germany as a productive workforce, but their work took place at home, not in the male-dominated labor force. Also, these mothers were regarded very highly. For instance, "National Socialist women call[ed] on all women [to be] loyal to their people to join in an unwritten but strong community as servants of the good in the battle against evil in the world."[23] Once a young woman completed the goal of becoming a mother, she found herself at the core of the family system. These young mothers discovered that they needed to sacrifice their own lives to care for their children, just as Hitler Youth males did for their families. The German woman constructed the family, "often sacrificing herself completely-in particular, for her children."[24] The Hitler Youth embraced an idea of a German nation where women did their part by becoming mothers and maintaining their role as head of the household. In doing this, they fulfilled the Nazis' vision of a "true" German woman.

RULING THE FAMILY FORTRESS

Although the roles of a German father and a mother proved important aspects of gender for the Nazi government, the result of marriage and the beginning of a family became a more important aspect of the security of the Germany. Hitler stated that "marriage cannot be an end in itself, but rather it must have the larger goal of increasing and maintaining the species and the race."[25] The Hitler Youth believed that by creating a marriage and sustaining a family the German people contributed to the German race and nation. A Hitler Youth biology textbook for fifth grade girls clearly displays this belief. As the text instructs, the "more threatened a creature is in the struggle for survival, the more offspring it must produce. The greater number of



Corps of Hitler Youth trumpeters, a common sight at Nazi Party functions, practice drill under the supervision of an older member. Guido Knopp, *Hitler's Children*, trans. Angus McGeoch (Phoenix Mill, U.K.: Sutton, 2002).

offspring is a necessary means of responding to the hard struggle for survival. Each habitat can disappear from one day to the next."[26] Through the use of scientific propaganda, the Nazi regime encouraged Hitler Youth females to carry out Nazi views on marriage for the greater gain of Germany.

In the eyes of the Nazi regime, the most important issue in the subject of gender rested with the father and mother not as provider and caretaker, but as rulers of a family fortress. "The thought of the family, above all of the noble mother, is the test for genuineness and morality. It should be a fortress in which each member of the family, the children above all, but also the mother and father, should find understanding and support in their distress and real protection against outside enemies."[27] The Nazis implemented this concept into most of their organizations, including the Hitler Youth. The Nazi elite understood that the German race needed to grow to support the ambitious goals of its leaders by creating stable marriages, large German families, and

[22] "Die Tagung der deutschen Frauenschaft".
[23] "Die Tagung der deutschen Frauenschaft".
[24] Erzieher, *Du und dein Volk.*
[25] Hitler, *Mein Kampf,* 275.
[26] Marie Harm and Hermann Wiehle, Lebenskunde für Mittelschulen. Fünfter Teil. Klasse 5 für Mädchen (halle: Hermann Schroedel Verlag, 1942), 168-173, trans. Randall Bytwerk, http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa.textbk01.htm.
[27] Erzieher, *Du und dein Volk.*

raising those children in a stable Nazi family. As previously mentioned the German family made many sacrifices. Both males and females in the Hitler Youth understood this as words of science, as essentially being the truth. According to one textbook, "The drive for maintaining the species is stronger than the instinct for self preservation. Plants sacrifice themselves for their seeds. Most insects die when they have reproduced. The female rabbit defends her young against hawks, often at the cost of her own life. A fox risks its life to secure food for its young. The life of the individual can be sacrificed to assure the continuation of the species."[28] This excerpt expresses Hitler Youth ideas on family and self-sacrifice, through which the Hitler Youth accomplished Nazi visions of Germany.

RACIAL THEORIES IN THE HITLER YOUTH

During Nazi control of Germany, race proved a central issue. The Hitler Youth implemented its racial goals, as the Nazis foresaw a grand future of a "pure" Germany. *The Nazi Primer: The Handbook for the Hitler Youth* provides this definition of race: "a collection of individuals differentiated from every other group by its unique combination of bodily characteristics and soul attributes and continually reproduces its own kind."[29] The Hitler Youth embraced this definition of race and structured the organization around the spiritual and physical attributes of a true German. The Hitler Youth established its racial enemies, the Jews, Gypsies, and Blacks, and showed German superiority over each of them. The organization believed that "such creatures are to be regretted not only because of their physical deformity. Their souls also suffer under the mixture of spiritual characteristics that do not fit together, but rather contradict each other."[30] This idea kept the organization purely Aryan and separated the "true German" from the "ethnically degenerate". To do this, the Hitler Youth physically accounted for "all things size and shape of the body, skull, color of hair, the eyes and the skin, as well as the texture of the hair."[31] These attributes not only determined a true German, but also helped separate them from their ethnic enemies. The Hitler Youth understood that by maintaining the purity of the nation, the German people kept a, "certain distance to things and people, keeping everything far from [their] soul that is foreign to its nature that threatens its purity."[32] Through the use of racial separation, the Hitler Youth represented the vision of race in the German nation.

The Nazi regime attacked its "ethnic invaders" by blaming the German's bleak past on these enemies. The Nazi government argued that during World War I Germany was, "overcome by superior forces, weakened by hunger, [and] stabbed in the back by traitors at home and aboard."[33] The Jewish population proved the most threatening of these forces, which uprooted the German economy and financially dominated the international market. Additionally Hitler stated the Jewish population, "always [had] the same secret thoughts and clear aims of ruining the hated white race."[34] According to H. W. Koch, writer of *The Hitler Youth: Origins and Development 1922-1945*,

> The impact of industrialization favoring big business and pushing the artisan and the small trader against the wall, the depersonalization of an industrial society-all that could be blamed on 'international financers': and the fact that some of them were indeed Jews meant that [they had] minds incapable of understanding and account-

[28] Lebenskunde für Mittelschulen. Fűnfter Teil. Klasse 5 für Mädchen.

[29] Fritz Brennecke, *The Nazi Primer: The Hitler Youth Handbook*, trans. Hardwood L. Childs (New York, London: Harper & Brothers, 1938), 14.

[30] Erzieher, *Du und dein Volk.*

[31] Brennecke, *Nazi Primer*, 15.

[32] Erzieher ,*Du und dein Volk.*

[33] Erzieher ,*Du und dein Volk.*

[34] Lynn Nicholas, *Cruel World: The Children of Europe in the Nazi Web* (New York: Borzoi Books, 2005), 20.

Adolf Hitler, Rudolph Hess, and Baldur von Schirach inspect Hitler Youth at the Nuremburg Nazi Party Rally, 1936. Guido Knopp, *Hitler's Children*, trans. Angus McGeoch (Phoenix Mill, U.K.: Sutton, 2002).

> ing for the complexity of socio-economic changes and the consequences involved in them an 'international Jewish conspiracy' provided a plausible enough explanation.[35]

The Hitler Youth adopted this idea of the Jewish community. The organization used standard physical measurements of a true Aryan to determine potential membership in the Hitler Youth, ultimately creating a future "Jewish-free" German nation.

The Hitler Youth separated itself racially from the Gypsies of Europe. In discussing the separation of the Germans and the Gypsies, one must understand the use of eugenics in the German nation. Germans used eugenics to help the "prevention of the increase of those bearing characteristics considered 'irremediable' at that time, such as epilepsy, tuberculosis, alcoholism, insanity, and sexual promiscuity. To these, some thinkers would add the rather less well-defined conditions of 'shiftlessness', 'a social activity', and 'feeblemindedness'."[36] This marked yet another cleansing process implemented by the Hitler Youth to create a pure Germany. In Lynn Nicholas's book, *Cruel World: The Children of Europe in the Nazi Web*, the Gypsy question became, "awkward for Nazi theorists, because, technically speaking, the Gypsies were 'Aryans'. That was balanced by their itinerant and, to the bourgeois European, unacceptably unsanitary lifestyle, not to mention their frequent lack of formal education, which made it easy to label them as 'work-shy', 'asocial', and 'feebleminded'."[37] The Gypsies contained qualities that the Hitler Youth leaders did not deem acceptable for the organization because Gypsies did not represent the "pure" Germany of the Nazi government's envisioned future.

The Hitler Youth embraced the hatred and discrimination of these "alien" races— Jews and Gypsies—and furthered plans for a stronger, unified Germany. One way to tie the youth together included instilling a racial consciousness so that every boy and girl became a valuable member of the national community. It began at the educational level, especially in science classes, where propaganda met knowledge and together brought forth a unified German people. In these classrooms, the youth learned that, "all the various habitats are heavily populated; every creature has to fight for its survival and wants to be a winner in this battle. This is summarized in the principle: Each individual wants to maintain its existence in the struggle for survival."[38] This type of rhetoric laid the foundation for the Hitler Youth to understand the world as racially unequal and that enemies struggle against one another for dominance. This common struggle between races eventually led to a unified organization under one race with the goal of survival and domination over all other races—especially the Jews and Gypsies. In a Hitler Youth magazine for males, this German national pride and Aryan racial purity continued together for the future of the Ger-

[35] Koch, *Hitler Youth*, 117.

[36] Nicholas, *Cruel World*, 13.

[37] Nicholas, *Cruel World*, 24.

[38] Lebenskunde für Mittelschulen. Fünfter Teil. Klasse 5 für Mädchen.

man nation and to forget the recent, dismal past remaining in the minds of the people. To forget the past, the Hitler Youth often attempted to re-write it; the youth magazine *Pimpf im Dienst* offered a new noble history intertwining the Nazi party and the German race. "When this flag flies, it is a parable of our desires: We think of national freedom and social justice, of racial purity and the victory of Nordic humanity. The swastika reminds us of the time when Nordic farmers and warriors marched to Italy and Greece. It was borne at the front of the soldiers as a holy symbol of the Germanic-German spirit."[39] The youth of Germany attained this prideful German spirit by unifying themselves racially, by separating themselves from their ethnical enemies, and by cleansing themselves of un-pure people in the hope of creating a nation of pure Germans.

Through these aspects of age, gender, religion, and race, the Nazi party achieved its goal of constructing a German national identity. The Nazi regime created the Hitler Youth to gather the majority of the German population; excluding minorities and using ideology of a common struggle to bond the German people under one political organization. The Hitler Youth became the main source of cultural energy and economic well being, as future leaders of Germany. This plan brought a long lasting future to the Third Reich in Germany and maintained the power already established in the Western world. Unfortunately, after World War II, these once-proud people possessed nothing but the nightmares of their powerful nation, led by, as some would say, a madman Although Nazi theories tainted the accomplishments of the Hitler Youth, their contributions to national identity and their role in advancing Germany out of depression remain among the Hitler Youth's positive aspects. When negatively observed, the qualities of age, gender, religion, and race in the Hitler Youth appear young, brutal, racist, sexist, and immoral. On the other hand, if viewed as an innocent, intelligent, strong, and unified group, one can argue that they raised the flag of their nation higher then any group of people in history. Whether or not one agrees with Nazi morals, the Hitler Youth embodied the Nazi government's vision through the aspects of age, religion, gender, the role of family, and race.

[39] Reichsjugendführang, Pimpf im Dienst (Potsdam: Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1938), trans. Randall Bytwerk, http://calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/pimpfhitler.htm.

A D-Day at the Movies

Blake McWhorter

The author compares and contrasts two significant films covering the D-Day invasion of Normandy: *The Longest Day* (1962) and *Saving Private Ryan* (1998). Produced in different eras, both movies reflect differing perspectives on the pivotal battles in June 1944 and on the war as a whole. Blake McWhorter's short review gives a new perspective on the films' contributions to a complete understanding of the trials of war.

Cropped image from *The Longest Day* DVD cover. *The Longest Day*, dir. Ken Annakin, Andrew Marton and Bernhard Wicki, Beverly Hills, Calif.: Twentieth Century Fox, 2006, DVD.

The sixth of June holds special meaning for World War II (WWII) veterans, many Americans, and freedom-loving people all over the world. In 1944, D-Day, punctuated by valor, bravery, and personal sacrifice, marked the beginning of the end for the Third Reich. Not surprisingly, the events of that momentous and historic day manifested themselves in the popular culture of those societies that finally cracked the Atlantic Wall and began the slow march of liberty across fortress Europe. Two films in particular give D-Day special treatment: *The Longest Day* (1962),[1] produced by Darryl F. Zanuck, and *Saving Private Ryan* (1998),[2] directed by Steven Spielberg. While these movies differ due to change over time in areas of realism, scope, and effects of war on soldiers, their shared message resonates clearly with viewers: the courage and sacrifice of men who stormed Normandy's beaches that fateful day should not go unnoticed. Each film represents a function of its place in time. The historical context of both movies drives the ways in which realism, scope, and the "war is hell" motif develop and transmit themselves to viewers.

Realism, especially in a war movie, impacts both viewers and the message of the film as a whole. Naturally, it takes many forms, which is certainly the case with *Saving Private Ryan* and *The Longest Day*. In both, historical accuracy and honest recreation of the early invasion battles appear realistic. *The Longest Day* unfurls much like a historian's account of D-Day, beginning with the Allies' delay due to bad weather and German preemptive fortification of the Pas-de-Calais, through disastrous airborne landings and the Ranger assault on Point du Hoc. The director pays particular attention to decisions that made the Allied invasion successful and German defense of occupied France all the more difficult. Moreover, the director's commitment to the use of real (or duplicate) weapons, uniforms, and vehicles greatly adds to the believability of the landing and combat sequences.

Director Spielberg utilizes similar techniques to create a sense of reality in *Saving Private Ryan's* combat sequences, with one significant addition: special gore effects. Anyone who watched the Omaha sequence at the beginning of *Saving Private Ryan* can attest to it being much more realistic about horrors of war. A soldier's typical reaction to being shot in *The Longest Day* involves dramatically throwing his weapon, grasping his chest, and slowly slinking to the ground. In *Saving Private Ryan*, explosive blood packets, realistic-looking severed limbs, and exposed entrails paint the painful story of death on the battlefield in bold, unavoidable colors. These differences result from changing movie technology and social mores. When *The Longest Day* debuted in 1962, explicit gore effects remained forbidden by the production code. By *Ryan's* release in 1998, graphic violence in films had become so commonplace that the average moviegoer expected this type of realism.

The Longest Day and *Saving Private Ryan* differ in another key aspect: scope of narrative. The producers of *The Longest Day* spared no expense to approach D-Day from all possible angles; the film includes German, French, British, and American points of view. An opening scene in which Rommel stands on Normandy's cliffs and discusses defensive measures with his subordinates marks a prime example of the breadth of *The Longest Day*'s scope. Nowhere in *Ryan* are viewers shown Germany's strategic perspective; the lone German character in *Ryan* shows only fear of Allied soldiers and loyalty to his cause in both his appearances. Even the French contribute to the war effort in *The Longest Day*, a subject not covered in *Ryan's* story.

[1] *The Longest Day*, directed by Ken Annakin, Andrew Marton, Bernhard Wicki. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Twentieth Century Fox, 1962.

[2] *Saving Private Ryan*, directed by Steven Spielberg. Universal City, Calif.: Dreamworks LLC, Paramount Pictures, and Amblin Entertainment, 1998.

The Invasion of Omaha Beach. *Saving Private Ryan*, dir. Steven Spielberg, Universal City, Calif.: Dreamworks LLC and Paramount Pictures and Amblin Entertainment, 2004, DVD.

Saving Private Ryan does not measure up to this level of objectivity, primarily because its main focus centers on a squad of men rather than actions of entire armies. This small focal area, however, proves its greatest strength; because of *Ryan's* narrow scope of narrative, viewers learn about the main characters as people rather than simply agents of larger forces. What they do in terms of the war seems less important than who they are as humans and how the hellish nature of warfare forces them to come to grips with their situation. The squad's translator displays both fear and inexperience throughout the movie, finally standing frozen with terror while his comrade dies in the next room. Later in the final scene, he finds the strength to execute an enemy soldier.

Combat stress and its effects on soldiers remains an underappreciated facet of any war. While *The Longest Day* does a remarkable job displaying the great triumphs and tragedies of D-Day on all sides of the conflict, it lacks the depth of emotion and psychological hardships evident in the characters in *Saving Private Ryan*, where, following the successful Allied ascent of the cliffs at Omaha Beach, one soldier breaks down and cries. In another *Ryan* example, the squad's morale completely collapses following their medic's fatal wounding during an assault on a German strongpoint. The squad members not only nearly mutiny but seriously contemplate murdering a prisoner of war to avenge their fallen comrade. Only after their captain relates his peacetime occupation (the subject of a company pool) does some semblance of order return to the squad. *The Longest Day* never reveals these common occurrences among fighting men; the film depicts its soldiers only in their most patriotic and heroic states. While fear certainly displays prominently among characters in *The Longest Day*, the film never showcases the kind of mental or emotional breakdown suffered by characters in *Saving Private Ryan*.

Context, once again, accounts for this difference. While memories of WWII remained fresh in the minds of viewers, *The Longest Day* burst into theaters at a time when America desperately needed nostalgic memories of her greatest heroes. Hence, it comes across almost as a "western" version of D-Day. Good guys, dressed in green, unfailingly answer the call of duty without a second thought, while bad guys, dressed in black, exemplify arrogance and unquestioning belief in the Führer which becomes their downfall. Furthermore, *The Longest Day* came out early in the Cold War; at that time,

Field Marshall Erwin Rommel (Werner Hinz) standing on the beach. *The Longest Day*, dir. Ken Annakin, Andrew Marton and Bernhard Wicki, Beverly Hills, Calif.: Twentieth Century Fox, 2006, DVD.

no one could criticize America's role in WWII. In contrast, *Saving Private Ryan* debuted when society better understood the harsh realities of war: after Vietnam. By this time in America's history, historians and the public widely acknowledged both that war was not always "good" and that it can have terrible, permanent effects on those who fight. Passage of time led the public to search for a measure of the truth even in its greatest mythologies. Despite the contextual aims of these films, undoubtedly they both call viewers to remember and honor those who paid the ultimate price in freeing Europe from Nazi tyranny.

Pope Innocent III: Control of the Papacy and Society, 1198–1216

Michelle Deschamp

In examining Pope Innocent III's reevaluation of the papacy's societal role between 1198 and 1216, Michelle Deschamp demonstrates why he is considered one of the most influential and important popes in Christian as well as medieval history.

Illumination of Innocent III with text. John Riley-Smith, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 116.

Pope Innocent III: Control of the Papacy and Society, 1198 - 1216

Michelle Deschamp

> He was strong and firm, magnanimous and wise, a defender of faith, a foe of heresy, strict in justice, but compassionate in mercy, humble in good times and patient in bad, somewhat impatient by nature but easily forgiving
>
> Unknown

How did Pope Innocent III become thought of "as one of the greatest of medieval popes," as described by historian Jane Sayers?[1] According to R. Dean Peterson, Lothar of Segni, elected Pope Innocent III on 8 January 1198 at age thirty-seven, quickly became one of the most influential and important leaders in Christian history.[2] The first pope to use the title "Vicar of Christ,"[3] he began his reign as quite possibly the youngest cardinal to enter the pontificate and at his death in 1216 left a legacy of major accomplishments worthy of imitation for centuries to come:[4] the Fourth Crusade, an attempt to regain Jerusalem, and the Fourth Lateran Council, used to extend his power not only over the churches, but their members, and a claim of "universal responsibility for the maintenance of good government."[5] By reevaluating the social structure, religious order, and finances of medieval Europe, Pope Innocent III changed the church and European society as a whole under his leadership between 1198 and 1216 C.E.

Although many translations exist of letters and proclamations of Pope Innocent III, the main sources of primary material come from *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III,* which comprises a compilation text of letters and correspondence between the Pope and members of the political elite during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries as well as text written by an anonymous person described as a contemporary of and someone quite close to Pope Innocent III ,[6] and the translation of the canons from the Fourth Lateran Council,[7] which the pope organized to introduce changes to the Church and secular society.[8] Both texts describe the role Innocent III created for the papacy and define what he thought as important in forming a more powerful papal seat.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Pope Innocent III's role far exceeded his pontificate. He felt it important to examine relations existing between sexes, the upholding of vows, and land ownership. "We see that you have turned away from the purity of your vow though you had no power or jurisdiction" are the first words of anger Pope Innocent III wrote in a letter to the Marquis of Monteferrat in 1205. The letter, reproduced in its entirety in *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III* lists some of the crimes committed by the Marquis: raping widows, wives, and even virgins dedicated to God. Interestingly, the letter concludes with a statement of forgiveness: "you should act with firm commitment to your vow so that you may prudently and effectively support the Holy Land." Of further importance is the precedent this letter had on the future actions of men within medieval Europe. Although the demand is religious in nature, Pope Innocent III defined actions unsuitable for a man to commit, such as "seizing silver tablets from the altars" or sparing "neither religion, nor age, nor sex" from death. The Pope ultimately granted for-

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[1] Jane Sayers, *Innocent III* (London: Longman, 1994), 1.

[2] R. Dean Peterson, *A Concise History of Christianity* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 2004), 144.

[3] A ruler on earth representing Christ to Catholics.

[4] Peterson, 145.

[5] Collin Morris, *The Papal Monarch: The Western Church from 1050-1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 426.

[6] *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III,* trans. James M Powell (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), xiii.

[7] Paul Halsall, "Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV," *Internet Medieval Sourcebook* (Fordham University); available from http://www. fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.html, and *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III.*

[8] Peterson, 145.

giveness to the Marquis of Monteferrat, however, under the assumption that the Marquis passed Innocent III's declaration of unacceptable acts along to the crusaders.[9]

Pope Innocent III also reclaimed and redistributed land within Europe. According to the unknown author of *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III,* "...he (Markward) offered the Pope a substantial amount of money with the promise of an annual payment, if he would receive his fidelity and grant the land to him."[10] Pope Innocent III refused to accept any bribes or make any accommodations to help this man and instead took the land for the Christian Church to own.[11] Another instance concerned reclamation of the land in which other land holders, such as Conrad of Swabia and the Duke of Spoleto, "tried in as many ways as [they] could to find favor with the pope, offering him ten thousand pounds without restriction."[12] This new power of claiming land for the church, never before wielded by a pope, had a large impact on the structure of society and thus contributed to Pope Innocent III's legacy.

Finally, a declaration in the decrees from the Fourth Lateran Council[13] relates to interfamily marriages, more specifically cousins marrying cousins, or third cousins marrying third cousins, etc. The previous standard, as stated within the canon, allowed marriages within bloodlines as long as the line of the degree was three or more. The Fourth Lateran Council, under the leadership of Pope Innocent III, raised that difference in blood to four degrees or more. "Although the prohibition of marriage is now restricted to the fourth degree, we wish the prohibition to be perpetual, notwithstanding earlier

IBlack and white image of Innocent III. L. Elliot Binns, *Innocent III* (Archon, 1968), frontispiece.

decrees on this subject issued by others or by us."[14] Not only did Pope Innocent III set the standard for acceptable marriage, he further stated that regardless of any decisions made prior to his pontificate, his decree was eternal. Although yet another religious-context example, this decree impacted much of medieval European society.

In describing the medieval European papacy, Historian James Ross Sweeney stated, "during the twelfth century the papacy in the interest of peace within the Christian community took a more active part in the mediation and settlements of secular disputes."[15] Interestingly, Pope Innocent III not only had expectations of people, meaning he wanted the Europeans to act a certain way, but he also, as described by R. Dean Peterson, set a very high precedent for all future popes to follow.[16] Colin Morris stated that "Innocent was the creator of the Papal

[9] Author Unknown, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III,* 168, 170.

[10] Ibid., 10.

[11] The land referred to throughout this paragraph is described as the Marches by the author of *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III.*

[12] Author Unknown, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III,* 10.

[13] Halsall, "Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV."

[14] Halsall, "Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV," Canon 50.

[15] James Ross Sweeney, "Innocent III, Hungary, and the Bulgarian Coronations," *Church History* 42, no. 3 (1973): 320.

[16] Peterson, 145.

State";[17] Innocent used that creation to extend his control over not only the church, but, more importantly, over society.

RELIGIOUS ORDER

David Knowles and Dimitri Obolensky wrote, "The fourth Lateran council, convoked in 1213 and held at Lateran in November 1215, contained in its agenda the crusade and a wide programme of reform covering every department of the life of the Church."[18] Through the Fourth Lateran Council, Pope Innocent III created new powers for himself and papacy in an effort to centralize the church, rather than allow individual churches to decide what might be right or allowed. Three of those areas focused on the clergy: bishop consecration, entering the priesthood, and the practice of penance.

Pope Innocent III decreed that "all the bishops should receive the sacred anointing, and thenceforward no priests should be ordained or bishops consecrated without anointing."[19] This decree referred to the consecration of priests not in the Christian churches of the West, but of the churches of Bulgaria, emphasizing Pope Innocent III's ongoing effort to create a unified church under the control of the papacy. Leonard Elliot-Binns describes this phenomenon as "in almost every kingdom in Europe Innocent found it necessary, for one cause or another, to interfere."[20] Requiring priests be anointed, rather than appointed, constituted a new change within the function of the church. Innocent III not only enforced rules on other regions and sects of Christianity, such as the churches of the East but also changed the status quo of those in Western Europe.

Innocent followed his new ways of consecrating priests with new instructions on how to train men entering the priesthood. "We therefore strictly order bishops carefully to prepare those who are to be promoted to the priesthood and to instruct them, either by themselves or through suitable persons, in the divine services and the sacraments of the church, so that they may be able to celebrate them correctly."[21] Without speculating on the past practices of individual churches, this canon provided evidence of the changes Pope Innocent III made to the Christian church. He wanted a centralized power, preferably under the leadership of the pope, to control the actions of the churches, described best by Helena Tillmann as "the immediate concern for pastoral care."[22] By ordering proper training for men entering the priesthood under the leadership of the individual bishops, Innocent represented one who wanted to help all, specifically the clergy, while doing his best for the church as a whole. Without his central leadership, individual churches could have continued to do as they pleased and the papacy's unified power would not have formed.

According to Peterson, Pope Innocent III "recognized the power of sacraments to control behavior."[23] Although unable to control all contributors to society, Innocent used the Fourth Lateran Council to proclaim to the Christian laity the necessity and importance of penance. "All the faithful of either sex, after they have reached the age of discernment, should individually confess all their sins in a faithful manner to their own priest at least once a year, and...perform the penance imposed on them."[24] Pope Innocent III saw the advantage of ordering the laity to practice confession and penance as not only asking for forgiveness from God but as solidifying his power over the laity and, again, the

[17] Morris, 421.

[18] David Knowles and Dimitri Obolensky, *The Christian Centuries: The Middle Ages* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), 219.

[19] Author Unknown, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, 113.

[20] Binns, 68.

[21] Halsall, "Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV," Canon 27.

[22] Tillmann, 189.

[23] Peterson, 145.

[24] Halsall, "Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV," Canon 21.

From Venice to Constantinople: the route of the Fourth Crusade. Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 96.

individual churches. Prior to Pope Innocent III, the pope's power equaled that of a bishop in any other region; his only difference lay in being the Bishop of Rome. Pope Innocent III created an entity, the papacy, which demanded obedience not only from the individual churches but their members as well.

Charles M. Radding stated in his article, "Evolution of Medieval Mentalities," that "to demand high standard of asceticism or spirituality was hardly possible in these circumstances," and the love of God was commonly conceived as "the due and regular performance of external obligations.""[25] When Pope Innocent III convinced the priests, bishops, and laity of the need to follow such structures and regulations as proper training, the practice of penance, and the proper procedure for consecrating priests and bishops, he centralized the power and control of the Christian church. Christianity became a system of organization and coherence across Western Europe.

FINANCES

Transforming the papacy into a financial institution stands as one of Innocent III's greatest achievements. "Until the thirteenth century income tax was not tried by the popes. Such taxes begin with the levies imposed by lay rulers to raise money for the crusades. Innocent was the first pope to try such a scheme,"[26] Sayer states. According to Lynch, "Traditionally the pope had no right to tax directly the other churches of Christendom. But that obstacle was overcome in indirect ways during the High Middle Ages. The popes turned their leadership of the crusades to financial advantage."[27] Pope Innocent III transformed the papacy into what R. Dean Peterson called "a powerful economic and trading force."[28] He reorganized the papacy as a financial entity through new taxes and tithes, the power to coin money, the crusades, and his use of the crusades as a means to collect taxes.

[25] Charles M. Radding, "The Evolution of Medieval Mentalities," *American Historical Review* 83, no. 3 (1978): 578.

[26] Sayers, 73.

[27] Lynch, 180.

[28] Peterson, 145.

Pope Innocent III forced the clergy and individual churches to pay tithes to the papacy as a means of paying for the Fourth Crusade. According to the anonymous author of *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, "he ordered that all clerics in major and minor orders should pay 1/40 of their ecclesiastical incomes in support of the Holy Land. The cardinals, moreover, should pay 1/10 of their incomes."[29] The pope served only as the bishop of Rome; however, by forcing members of the church to pay taxes and tithes to the papacy, he consolidated the powers of the church under one person: himself, the pope. Furthermore, Pope Innocent III used the money obtained from the churches for the Fourth Crusade. "The papacy not only organized one of the earliest and the best of the medieval financial systems, but by means of its operations influenced profoundly the general economic development of Europe."[30] Hence, Pope Innocent III contributed to the financial security of the papacy and created an entity worthy of imitation within medieval Europe by collecting tithes and taxes from individual churches.

Transforming the papacy into a financial institution stands as [his]...greatest achievement.

In another act of centralization, Pope Innocent III wrote a letter granting Bulgaria the right to coin money within the country. "We grant you the right of coining public money in your kingdom with your image on it."[31] This highlighted the relationship that existed between religious and secular powers in medieval Europe. As Leonard Elliot Binns states, "in the sermon preached at the time of his consecration Innocent claimed that, by his position, he was the superior of kings."[32] Pope Innocent III claimed absolute power over all other members of society in medieval Europe, both political figures and religious followers. Without the assumption of complete control over both Western and Eastern Europe, the papacy could not have conveyed advice or demanded secular powers. By overcoming this obstacle, Pope Innocent III solidified his role in European politics and economics.

All of which raised the question: who, in society, got paid first by the debtors? "But since the Lord, as a sign of his Universal dominion, formerly reserved tithes to Himself by a special tithe, we, wishing to safeguard the churches against loss...decree that by the prerogative of general dominion the payment of tithes precedes the payment of taxes and other expense."[33] Pope Innocent III made this decision at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 when he declared that all tithes owed to the churches and papacy, based on income, were to be paid first, prior to repaying debt to landowners or taxes to rulers, and thus took a large step in the direction of complete control over the members of society in medieval Europe. Innocent declared that in an effort to "safeguard souls against danger" the tithes needed to be paid to the church.[34] He used fear to force church members to pay money to the church and to the papacy. His declaration essentially stated that regardless of any money due to any other entity, the church came first, not only to protect the tither but also to protect the church against debt. One of the most demanding expectations the pope had of the citizens of Europe, this displayed Pope Innocent III's effort to create a unified and powerful papal seat.

[29] Author Unknown, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III,* 62.

[30] W. E. Lund, "The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in Light of Recent Literature," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 23, no.2 (1909): 251.

[31] Author Unknown, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III,* 109.

[32] Binns, 68.

[33] Halsall, "Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV," Canon 54.

[34] Ibid.

According to Lund, papal taxing of individuals in medieval Europe was "the first great step in the up-building of the papal financial system."[35] Without Innocent's assertion of power and control over Europe during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the papacy could not have financed the Fourth Crusade or, arguably, created a centralized church.

CONCLUSION

Ekelund states, "theories of church behavior may be categorized as either spiritual or economic."[36] Pope Innocent III became and still is considered as one of the greatest and most influential popes to sit in Rome. During his pontificate between 1198 and 1216, Pope Innocent III's reevaluation of the role of the papacy within Europe changed society, religion, and economics to create a centralized and powerful pontificate that became a guide for future popes. He changed European society with regards to marriage laws, adherence to vows, and respect of people, and land reclamation and redistribution. He changed the religious sphere, specifically the clergy and individual churches, by altering the practice of consecrating priests and bishops, the act of penance, and the training of men entering the priesthood. He created a financial system that included the expectation of taxes and tithes payable to the church and the enforcement of that money actually getting to the church, and asserted control over the ability to coin public money in secular regions of Europe.

In "Taxation and Morality," Elizabeth Brown states that "in 1179 the Third Lateran Council decreed that bishops should not burden their subjects with taxes and exactions."[37] Pope Innocent III obviously became one of the first popes to demand taxes from church members; he did so successfully and thus financed the Fourth Crusade. Future research could include studying Christian history to examine how the changes Pope Innocent III made during his pontificate affected the church over the years. Did his decrees have a lasting effect on the Christian church? What changes made after his death disregarded the statements made before 1216? And, although not examined herein, what changes made prior to Pope Innocent III's election might have had an impact on his decisions forcing taxation, changing the marriage laws, and ordering penance at least once a year?

The Deeds of Pope Innocent III describe Innocent as "a man of penetrating mind and tenacious memory, learned in Divine and secular literature, eloquent in both the vernacular and in Latin, skilled in change and psalmody."[38] He used his talent for communication to create a papacy in complete control, even if for just a short while. He sought to create a united church in which all practices, sacraments, and rituals became equal and grand. Through Pope Innocent III's secular and religious changes of medieval Europe, he stands in Christian as well as medieval history as "one of the greatest of medieval popes; indeed, one of the greatest of all popes."[39]

[35] Lund, 256.

[36] Ekelund, 308.

[37] Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Taxation and Morality in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *French Historical Studies* 8, no.1 (1973): 3.

[38] Author Unknown, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, 3.

[39] Sayers, 1.

CAL STATE
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Women and British Propaganda during World War I

Tracee Voeltz

During World War I, British propaganda targeted women as well as men, encouraging both to serve their country and fulfill their national duty. Women, viewing their wartime contribution differently from the way the government viewed it, successfully broke through social barriers to become female soldiers.

Septimus Scott, Propaganda poster, "These Women are Doing Their Bit-Learn to Make Munitions. No. 189, " as reproduced in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards, (New York: Walker, 1968), 106.

> I was very pleased at getting into a Serbian hospital again in spite of all difficulties, as the opinion in Salonica seemed to be that it was impossible; but I must say I felt rather lost when the cars went back that evening and I was left alone, the only Englishwoman in Prilip.[1]
>
> Flora Sandes

Today, the idea of an independent woman is not hard to imagine. During World War I, these ideas began to break through a barrier that existed for centuries. Flora Sandes, a British female sergeant in the Serbian army during WWI, defied traditional women's work. With the outbreak of war in 1914, the British government looked to its people for support. When urged to the frontlines by various forms of propaganda, men enlisted.[2] The British government incorporated propaganda to call women to serve their country and feel some sense of national duty, but women did more. It is through personal narratives of women from this period that show how they viewed their wartime contributions and how these ideals differed from those of the British government. The feelings and experiences of these women reflected a different view of society than that of the British government during its propaganda campaign.

Susan Grayzel and Nicoletta Gullace wrote extensively on the role of women in the British war effort and stated, "While motherhood formed the basis for no coherent, natural politics-- both pacifists and patrons alike spoke for and with the voice of mothers-- it became a primary way to talk about women during the war since it allowed for appeals to women across region, ethnicity, class, and even nation."[3] Thus, according to Grayzel, the perception of women at that time stemmed from the theme of motherhood, and it seemed a woman's primary responsibility to provide and take care of the next generation of soldiers. This became their way to contribute to the war effort. She argued that women in British culture have seen as a way to recruit men to the war by instilling a concern for hearth, home, and family. However, many women chose careers outside the home that did not correlate with maternal ideas. This is where Grayzel leaves a gap in her analysis.

Nicoletta Gullace in *The Blood of Our Sons: Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War* states that, at times, a woman's role is to recruit men into the army through guilt. One of the best examples of this guilt campaign waged by British women is mentioned in Gullace's article, "White Feathers and Wounded Men: Female Patriotism and the Memory of the Great War."[4] She looks at how groups of women gathered in their towns and passed out white feathers to men who had not enlisted in the army, therefore bringing shame and ridicule upon them. "The white feather campaign originated within a system of voluntary recruiting that vociferously called on women to send their men to war."[5] This government accomplished a similar goal with its propaganda posters. A woman's job involved making sure her man enlisted in the army and nothing else, this being her patriotic duty. The government showed atrocities against women on posters to enrage men enough to enlist in the service (since drafts did not exist).

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[1] Flora Sandes, *An English Woman-Sergeant in the Serbian Army* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916), 7.

[2] For more information about how the British government organized its propaganda campaign, see: Michael L. Sanders, "Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-18," *Historical Journal* 18 (March 1975): 119-46.

[3] Susan Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 2.

[4] Nicoletta Gullace, "White Feathers and Wounded Men: Female Patriotism and the Memory of the Great War," *Journal of British History* 36 (April 1997): 178-206.

[5] Ibid., 182.

These images, according to Gullace, gave women the opportunity to contribute to the war effort and obtain a sense of patriotic duty.

Neither Grayzel nor Gullace examines the discrepancies between state images and women's real life experiences. How women determined their place in society is directly linked to how their portrayal in British war propaganda. But the views of women themselves, through personal narratives, show another side of this story. The combination of the views of the women and the views of the British government lead to a clearer picture of how the roles of women changed and how women influenced wartime society.

Propaganda poster, "Young Women of London. No. 23," as reproduced in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards, (New York: Walker, 1968), 40.

The British government used many tools to get its citizens to participate in the war. Propaganda being the main tool, often demonstrated in the form of posters made for different purposes which focused on different groups of the population, including women. Women are able to see through these posters on how they could be the most helpful.

The first poster begins with the words, "TO THE YOUNG WOMEN OF LONDON"[6], leading the reader to believe that the intended audience was women in London. The poster then questions of women, whether or not the men in their families are enlisted and to decide whether or not they feel they are worthy enough to be fought for. The decisions of both men and women involved duty to home and family as reason enough to go to war. The main government objective being that one should not pity a woman who is alone because her husband is in the army supporting his country. The last line reveals the true intended audience, "JOIN THE ARMY TO-DAY."[7] The poster gives women something to do towards the war effort, namely to assist in a guilt campaign against men. Although this poster is ostensibly trying to help women contribute to the war effort, it is more likely intended to catch the eye of men and produce feelings of shame that possibly led to more men enlisting. It shows the traditional roles of men and women: men go to fight the war and women become the reason to fight it. This is an example of Gullace's argument that women are portrayed as victims and are used to make men feel guilty.

In British propaganda, women are at times represented with masculine imagery. The theme of women doing domestic tasks is common, despite the fact that this image conflicted with those ideas presented by women themselves. The second propaganda poster shows a man in a suit next to a woman holding a rifle and pointing to a city that is on fire.[8] The main idea is stated at the bottom of the poster with the words, "Will You Go or Must I?"[9] This poster is yet another step in the government's guilt campaign to get men to enlist in the army. Targeting men's fear that their masculinity might be threatened, the poster presents the idea of women willing to go to war if men fail to do so. The inclusion of the woman hold-

[6] Propaganda poster, "Young Women of London. No. 23," as reproduced in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards (New York: Walker, 1968), 40.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Propaganda poster, "Will You Go or Must I" no. 39, in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards (New York: Walker, 1968), 45.

[9] Ibid.

ing a rifle is an image that does not fit the normal view of British women during this time. Although her attire is completely feminine, the addition of the rifle in her hands gives a masculine feel to the poster. This shows a picture of a new woman on the edge of a new horizon who is willing to do what is needed to in order to prove that she is worthy of her country.

Propaganda poster, "Will You Go or Must I? No. 39," as reproduced in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards, (New York: Walker, 1968), 45.

However, propaganda used varied images of women by also presenting them in traditional domestic settings. E. V. Kealey's poster shows a woman looking out a window clutching her two children as she watches a group of uniformed soldiers walk away through the country.[10] The words "Women of Britain Say – Go!" are written in large letters across the top of the poster.[11] The overall message of this poster is to tell men to enlist in the army by depicting an image of what they value most in their lives, families. It also shows the typical British woman of this time, wearing a dress with her hair up and her arms clutching her children, the image of a mother. This poster depicts the characteristics of what the British government wanted a woman to encompass; the protection of children and support of soldiers. The idea of a woman giving her permission to a man is another notion that shows the government's perspective on the role of women. It is their role to keep the home fires burning in preparation for the return of their men.

Women took on many roles during WWI. The British government used this next poster to find jobs for women in traditional fields of work, but changes began to occur. This poster shows how women were portrayed in British war propaganda: three women in nurse's uniforms call for volunteers and workers in certain areas of society.[12] These women's skirts almost reached the floor, giving them a feminine and maternal look. The poster announces "V.A.D. Nursing Members, Cooks, Kitchen-maids, Clerks, House-maids, Ward-maids, Laundresses, Motor-Drivers, etc., are urgently needed."[13] This poster describes the many domestic jobs women held during WWI. These linked women to a feminine ideal. Most dealt with domestic activities occurring in the home, like cooking, cleaning, and taking care of the sick. Interestingly, the list included the task of "Motor-Drivers."[14] Motor-driving were not a typical domestic task. If war did not occur than women would not have had the opportunity to do this kind of work. With the men away fighting battles, it seemed only natural that women would eventually take their places in more masculine fields of work.

Despite the emphasis on domesticity, government propaganda also featured women contributing to the wartime effort outside the home. The next poster shows a British woman getting ready for work.[15] She is pulling some kind of cloak or coverall over her dress and is waving good-bye to a soldier who is also waving as he is exiting through a door. In the background is a group of women in a factory setting. Written across the top of the poster is "THESE WOMEN ARE DOING THEIR BIT," and the words "LEARN TO MAKE MUNITIONS," follows in the bottom left-hand corner.[16] Although working

[10] When researching this poster, the author found little information on E. V. Kealey. He designed many different posters including some for Australian travel.

[11] E. V. Kealey, *Propaganda Poster,* in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards (New York: Walker, 1968), 45.

[12] Joyce Dennys, Propaganda Poster, in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards (New York: Walker, 1968), 81.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Septimus Scott, Propaganda Poster, in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards (New York: Walker, 1968), 106.

[16] Ibid.

in munitions factories is not the type of work that stemmed from the home, the government still tried to make women more feminine by showing them in dresses and not completely masculine in look. While the government's goal to keep women as feminine and motherly as possible, it still used women to supply the workforce.

E.V. Kealey, Propaganda poster, "Women of Britain Say-Go! No. 40," as reproduced in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards, (New York: Walker, 1968), 45.

Propaganda posters illustrate the British government's perspective of women's wartime roles. As women began to hold jobs outside of the home, traditional roles of women and men began to blur and people became defined more by what type of job they did. The theme of the woman as a mother is prevalent throughout these posters. The government called women to the workforce as a way of making a contribution to their country without departing too much from traditional images of femininity. They wanted women to be "feminine" by taking on domestic tasks in society and men to be "masculine" by protecting those that could not (or should not have to) do so themselves, even though these lines were becoming slowly less about gender and more about the kind of work in which one participated.

In contrast, women's actual writings illustrate a far greater diversity of wartime occupations; we will look at two women who had separate experiences during this turbulent time, Muriel Dayrell-Browning and Flora Sandes. Both took on roles that were not typically domestic in nature, and represent the contradicting images of the British government's propaganda campaign, either as a woman who worked in the government, or as a woman soldier in the Serbian Army. Their examples show how working women at this time also contributed to the war effort.

To begin with we will look at Muriel Dayrell-Browning, an interpreter in the British War Office. Muriel Dayrell-Browning was born in Clifton, England, to a novelist/historian mother. She attended a German finishing school and married a gold mining engineer and traveled abroad. She returned to London, left her husband, and had to find a way to support her family. Being excellent at languages, including two African languages, she managed to get a job in the War Office. These letters to her mother were her way of proving that she was doing something that was worth-while with her life.[17] "I am very nearly brilliant! What do you think of me at the War Office saving the Empire? Yes, really. I went there on Sat. to pass my tests on French German Dutch Flemish and being very full of swank put 'Matabele' and 'Zulu' on my paper."[18] Here we can see the excitement that Dayrell-Browning felt working for the government. In writing, "Yes, really" it is as if she is talking directly to her mother and saying "yes, I did go to the War Office and even though I am only a woman, I was very nearly brilliant." It is these new experiences that demonstrate that many women during this time became concerned not only with motherhood and traditional notions of femininity. Dayrell-Browning is a woman proud of her job and her independent status in society. "There was not a soul in the War Office who could do it and all squeaked in the test room when they saw 'Zulu' on my paper."[19] This image of a woman in a room full of men taking a test gives us a picture of a normal schoolhouse full of children who are trying to prove themselves. By referring to men as having "squeaked," Dayrell-Browning suggests that these

[17] Muriel Dayrell-Browning, "Letters to Her Mother," in *Lines of Fire: Women Writers of World War I* (New York: Plume/Penguin, 1999), 254-6.

[18] Ibid., 256.

[19] Ibid.

men are acting like women with their admiration and probably envious of her. It shows a role reversal in this type of job. "Guy Eden said to me that 'You have a great claim on the Gov't even if you had not passed the other language tests and I shall want you in my department.'"[20] Contrary to much of the government's war propaganda, this letter shows that not all women in Great Britain were forced to work in the home or in the domestic field. Although Dayrell-Browning is the exception to the rule, she becomes important because of her role in the British War Office, and she contradicts the images of women that were put forth by the British government at this time.

Joyce Dennys, Propaganda poster, "V.A.D. Nursing Members, Cooks, Kitchen-Maids, Clerks, House-maids, Ward-maids, Laundresses, Motor-Drivers, Etc: Are Urgently Needed. No. 122, " as reproduced in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards, (New York: Walker, 1968), 81.

There are other women who defied traditional roles, and one of the best examples is Flora Sandes: "I was an object of great curiosity to the inhabitants, especially the women, and they always asked Lieut. Jovitch whether I was a woman or a soldier, and seemed very puzzled when he said I was an Englishwoman but a Serbian soldier."[21] Flora Sandes began her career as a nurse and eventually became a part of the Fourth Regiment of the Serbian Army. After the war broke out, Sandes, age thirty-eight, joined the St. John's Ambulance Brigade that was commissioned by the American wife of a Serbian minister.[22] It is this early career as a nurse that brought her back to Serbia as first a nurse, then as a soldier. Her experience gives us information about how armies traveled. One interesting note is that Sandes was on very good terms with many of the officers of the army and became privy to a lot of information to which even male soldiers did not have access. In her writings we see the nurturing of a mother but also the commitment of a soldier. "The next day the Director came back, and brought with him papers whereby I was officially attached to the ambulance of the Second Regiment; and it was part of my extraordinary luck to have just hit on this particular regiment, which is acknowledged to be the finest in the Serbian Army."[23] The term "ambulance" does not refer to the type of ambulance we have today. An ambulance refers to a mobile unit that moved with a regiment to take care of their wounded. This is the first job that Flora Sandes held in the army. She joined the men at the front and tended to the wounded according to what seemed appropriate to her position.

To properly understand Sandes and her work we must understand that it was not her intention to join the army as anything more than a nurse. She was very happy to be attached to one of the best units of the Serbian Army. Sandes had previous experience on the front under the Serbian Red Cross, and this was actually her second trip to Serbia to help with the battle against the advancing Bulgarians.[24] "We all turned in prepared that evening, and I was cautioned to take not even my boots off. Later on, sleeping in one's clothes didn't strike me as anything unusual; in fact, two months later, when we

[20] Ibid.

[21] Flora Sandes, *An English Woman-Sergeant in the Serbian Army* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916), 154.

[22] Flora Sandes, "Fighting on Mount Chukus," in *Lines of Fire: Women Writers of World War I* (New York: Plume/Penguin Press, 1999), 152.

[23] Sandes, *Woman-Sergeant,* 15.

[24] Sandes, "Fighting on Mount Chukus," 152.

had finished marching...it was some time before I remembered that it was usual to undress when you went to bed."[25] Here we see the transition of a woman to a soldier.

Sandes gives us a good example of a non-traditional woman, even if she is not in Great Britain. She still is considered an Englishwoman by her comrades and her regiment, which shows Sandes and her fellow soldiers having tea.[26] "He used to love teasing me, calling me 'Napoleon' because I rode a white horse and we were constantly sparring."[27] Sandes' experiences represent a significant departure from the images seen in propaganda posters of women. Sandes treatment in the army bordered on fragility and respect and honor. While in the service of the army, she enjoyed her life as a soldier and was given the utmost respect from her fellow soldiers. She also had a unique place in the army because she had a dual role of soldier and woman. Sometimes this respect would be used by the officers to promote the welfare of their troops. At the same time, she performed many of the responsibilities of a normal soldier. "We did not need any trenches, as there were heaps of rocks for cover, and we laid behind them firing by volley. I had only a revolver and no rifle of my own at that time, but one of my comrades was quite satisfied to lend me his and curl himself up and smoke."[28] This was not the typical role of a woman during WWI.

From these primary sources we see that some women's jobs and roles in society that defied the preconceived notions of women during this time. Flora Sandes is one of the most important sources for studying the actual lives of women who worked and contributed to the war effort in non-traditional ways. As Flora Sandes wrote, "I lay on my back looking up at the stars, and, when one of them asked me what I was thinking about, I told him that when

Propaganda poster, "California House for Belgian Soldiers. No 125," as reproduced in *Posters of the First World War,* ed. Maurice Rickards, (New York: Walker, 1968), 82.

I was old and decrepit and done for, and had to stay in a house and not go about any more, I should remember my first night with the Fourth Company on the top of Mount Chukus."[29] These experiences became special to her because she was participating in something she deemed important. Hers was an activity very much out of the domestic sphere she had left in Britain.

In Dayrell-Browning, we also see an image of women that contradicted representations of women in British war propaganda. Women's narratives show images of women that were very different from the domestic and feminine representations that were held by the British government. When

[25] Sandes, *Woman-Sergeant*, 28.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., 97.
[28] Ibid., 139.
[29] Ibid., 143.

we look at British propaganda and personal narratives, we get a clearer picture of the roles of women during WWI. From a governmental point of view, women were supposed to stay on the home front and contribute to the war effort by doing largely domestic tasks. The British government used women to recruit men by showing how important it was to protect them from the atrocities happening at the hands of the "enemy." Government posters also provided an example of how life could or should be if everyone did their part. For women, it was extremely important to feel active and patriotic, even if it was only by supporting a father, husband or son that had been sent to war.

Most of the posters show images of women with families or women who are very feminine in nature. This possibly was the government's attempt to keep women grounded in the home so there would be less turmoil when the men come home and life could return to normal. Some images produced by the government, did find their way into everyday society. Many women took the roles pushed on them gladly because they did have families that they had to worry about. Nonetheless, it is the exceptions to this image that must be considered before we get a comprehensive picture of the women of Britain during WWI. Although it likely was not the intention of the British government, showing a woman willing to go to war was ironically not very far off from what occasionally did happen.

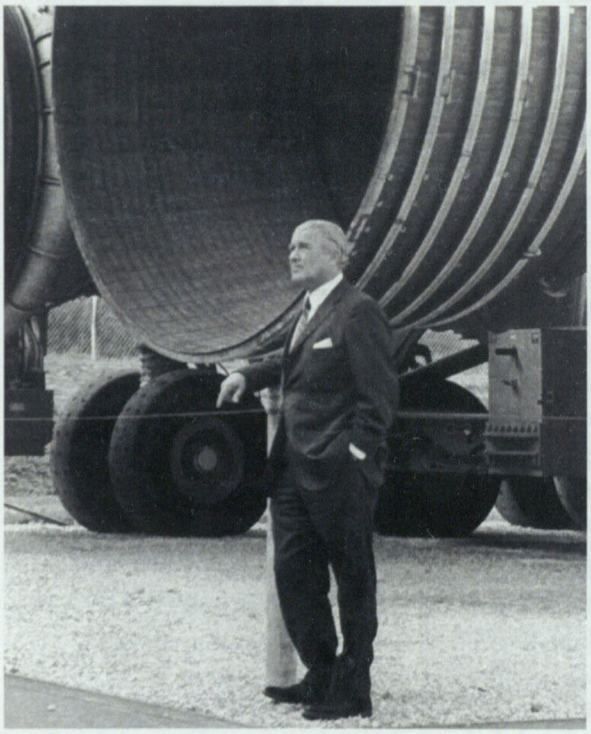
The roles of women during World War I as shown through their own writings must be considered for the interpretation of the role of women during this time. By looking at Muriel Dayrell-Browning and Flora Sandes, we get to see the extraordinary experiences of women. Muriel Dayrell-Browning came from a higher class of society. By working in the War Office, she became more than just a mother and achieved personal pride. Dayrell-Browning is an example of a woman who put her skills to use for a higher purpose-her patriotic duty. Although the role of Dayrell-Browning was non-typical and challenged some gender stereotypes, she still largely conformed to the government's perception of a woman.

British propaganda and the actual views of women differed depending upon who provides the information. The view of a woman's primary goals of motherhood and femininity is one that was widely spread by the British government even through images of women in the workforce. However, personal narratives demonstrate women's contrasting experiences. They did not stay in the home and protecting their children. These women were physically out on the frontlines contradicting the very images the British government was thrusting on society. Current scholarship leans to one side or the other, motherhood or independence. The ideas of both Gullace and Grayzel can be justified in certain areas of British propaganda as traditional woman and victim, but by looking at the personal narratives of women as well as propaganda we see a change in how women viewed themselves that was contradictory to these two authors' views. A woman was either at home protecting her family by working in the domestic sphere or a victim who was used to convince men to fight in battle. There was a sphere that existed between these two very different perceptions and those women's experiences that contradicted the images of women presented by British wartime propaganda.

Hunting for the Secrets of Vengeance Weapon 2

Daniel Schwabe

The author's investigation of the reaction to the V2 rocket examines Britain's commitment to civil defense and actions taken to defeat a new threat in modern warfare. Daniel Schwabe reviews information gathered by the British government and the defensive and offensive steps taken to prevent a full-scale revival of the Blitz.



Wernher von Braun, at the U.S. Space Rocket Center, Huntsville, Alabama, standing by the F-1 engines of the Saturn V launch vehicle he helped develop. NASA Marshall Space Flight Center. Courtesy of http://mix.msfc.nasa.gov/IMAGES/MEDIUM/0201422.jpg.

On 7 September 1944 Duncan Sandys, British Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Supply as well as head of the secret "Crossbow" committee tasked with investigating all of Germany's long range weapons, stood in front of a press conference and announced to the people of London, England, that threats from the Vengeance Weapon 1 (V1) flying bomb had ended. The next day a new phase of the assault on London opened when a rocket carrying a bomb slammed into the city. The Vengeance Weapon 2 (V2) campaign opened and with it the era of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM). What surprised the people of London and the world over was hardly news to the British government. For several years the British had studied and prepared for taking action against German rocket programs. Starting with casual investigation, leading to specific raids, and culminating in the literal piecing together of the rockets, the British were far from unaware when Vengeance Weapon 2 came raining down on their shores.

A NEW THREAT

The V2 program's roots began with German interests in rocketry after World War I. The German military funded the pursuit of science, for idealistic rocket designers in hopes of using the rocket for long range artillery purposes. Under the direction of Walter Dornberger and Wernher von Braun, Germans built a series of rockets that culminated in a design dubbed the V2 (originally called the A4, it was later named the V2 when it went into military service). The German rocket team set up its operations at Peenemunde, along the northern coast of Germany on the Baltic Sea; there, development and testing of the rockets occurred through the late 1930s and into the 1940s.

The first hint the British received that something new and dangerous was in the works came in letters delivered to the British Naval Attaché in Oslo, Norway, in 1939. While the author of the letters remained a mystery, they did provide an ominous warning of long range rocket development happening near the Baltic Coast. The dawning war's pressing danger to Britain in the form of conventional German bombing plus a dearth of additional evidence put the rocket issue on the backburner, but not for long. As rocket development proceeded, the number of test firings rose, and soon reports filtered into the British from Danish intelligence of fishermen seeing strange objects with "flaming tails" streaking across the night sky.[1] To investigate the reports the British sent reconnaissance flights over Peenemunde on 15 May 1942, which revealed odd structures. In April 1943 Major-General Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defense, warned British Prime Minister Winston Churchill of German "experiments with long-range rockets," citing five reports since the end of 1942. The warning concluded with the suggestion to set up a committee to investigate the rocket issue.[2]

This committee, called Crossbow,[3] came under the control of Duncan Sandys, who immediately commenced his work. Sandys received information from Polish Home Army Intelligence, working under occupation conditions, of reports fed back from workers inside Peenemunde of a "torpedo-shaped object with wings."[4] Polish intelligence quickly abandoned thoughts of putting a dedicated spy at the site due to tight security. A month after taking the job Sandys reported to the War Cabinet that Germans were "trying to develop a heavy rocket capable of bombarding an area from very long range." He added, "Very little information is available about the progress of this development…it may be far ad-

[1] James McGovern, *Crossbow and Overcast* (New York: William Morrow, 1964), 8.

[2] Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War: Closing the Ring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951), 226-7.

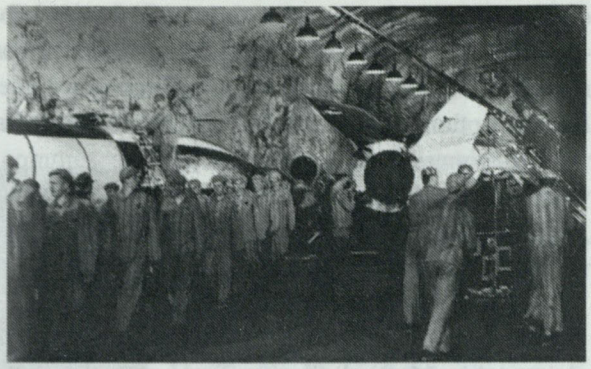
[3] Frequently, the Crossbow committee seemed part of a bureaucratic mess. Under Deputy Chief of the Air Staff, the committee coordinated with the Joint Intelligence Committee and the Ministry of Home Security.

[4] McGovern, 8.

vanced. London…is much the most likely target."[5] With Peenemunde the confirmed target, plans for a raid against it began.

RECONNIASSANCE

The first step, since an agent on the ground was not an option, was to again take pictures from the air. Photographs brought back on 23 June 1943 provided the evidence Sandys needed, confirming the presence of "torpedo-like objects about forty feet long," which, after further analysis, gave an estimated range of 130 miles.[6] Sandys' report, with photographic evidence, prompted the Defense Committee to take several decisive actions on 28 June 1943. First, the committee ordered a surveillance of possible launch sites in Northern France.[7] This included, upon Sandys's recommendation, radar stations monitoring rocket launches on the European continent. Second, plans were "prepared for immediate air attack on rocket firing points in Northern France as soon as these are located."[8] Finally, bombers flew to attack Peenemunde. "Operation Hydra" launched the night of 17 August 1943, when 597 bombers attacked the Peenemunde rocket works. While the British knew little of the details concerning German efforts, they knew who did. From the start, "the RAF had quite consciously decided to try to catch the leading engineering personnel in their beds,"[9] and focused their attack on the residential community housing the rocket-building scientists. As often happened with precision bombing, low accuracy and limited visibility at night kept bombs from wiping out the scientists, but the bombs destroyed equipment and killed 130 scientists, engineers, and technical staff including propulsion expert Dr. Walter Thiel.[10] The brain trust



The A4 Rocket produced by slave labor at the Mittelwerk factory, in Germany during 1945. Photograph from Russian public domain materials, January 1950. Courtesy of http://www.answers.com/topic/mittelwerk.

of von Braun and his team, however, remained intact. With the loss of forty-one bombers, the British declared the raid a success and believed they had set German rocket efforts back several months. After the war, though, the British admitted in their Strategic Bombing Survey: "This attack did considerable damage, but was hardly so successful as was thought to be the case in London."[11] If the bombers did not destroy the ability to manufacture rockets, they did drive efforts underground. Since Peenemunde showed itself vulnerable to attack, Germans split the rocket effort apart, with testing functions moved to Blizna, Poland, and the main manufacturing center moved to Nordhausen in the Harz mountains. Blizna found safety far out of range of England-based bombers, while Nordhausen, home of the famous Mittelwerk complex, consisted of a pair of mile-long tunnels drilled into the mountainside, impervious to bombing.

Bomber Command, the most useful arm of the offensive war against rocket attacks, remained concerned with the V1 and V2's potential but had bigger issues on its collective mind. The continued strategic bombing campaign against Germany, as well as

[5] Ibid., 12.

[6] Ibid., 13.

[7] Churchill, *Closing the Ring,* 229.

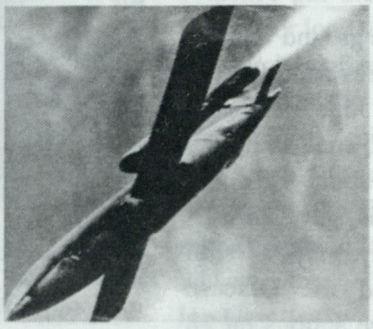
[8] Ibid., 230.

[9] Michael J. Neufeld, *The Rocket and the Reich* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 197.

[10] Martin Gilbert, *The Second World War: A Complete History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1989), 453.

[11] Noble Frankland and Sir Charles Webster, *The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany 1939-1945.* vol 2*: Endeavour Part 4* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1961), 283.

preparations for Operation Overlord, the invasion of Europe, divided priorities of the bomber forces. Aerial reconnaissance of the French coast revealed construction of two types of peculiar installations, concrete ramps (ski-sites), and larger structures resembling bunkers. Intelligence attributed the ramps to the rocket-bombs (V1s), with the larger buildings believed to be rocket-launching sites. Air Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory took the proactive step and had 'V' sites constructed in Eglin, Florida, at the Army Air Base to conduct bombing tests.[12] The outcome proved rather shocking when they showed low-level fighter-bombers or medium bombers with 2,000 pound bombs achieved the most effective results against the sites.[13] Incredulous, Leigh-Mallory insisted on heavy bombers as the weapon of choice. It took the intervention of General Henry Arnold, Chief of the U.S. Army Air Forces, to get the tactics brought back to the style tested in Florida.[14] Even with this forethought the campaign against rocket-launching sites remained a low priority. The ski-sites held precedence over any other sites being built.[15]



V-1 flying rocket, developed for the German military by Wernher von Braun. Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Poland, 2005. Courtesy of http://www.ww2.pl/apps/?command=fotografie/szczegoly&id=156&did=26.

ASSESSING THE THREAT

The famous, or rather infamous head of the British Bomber Command, Sir Arthur "Bomber" Harris, remained critical overall of the attacks on the "Crossbow" targets, passing them off as in "many cases a deliberately engineered A.R.P. [Air Raid Precautions] manoeuvre initiated by enemy sources."[16] Harris saw the rockets and V1s as a hoax perpetrated by the Germans to draw bombers away from strategic targets in the heart of Germany, where the Nazi industrial war machine forged onward. Regardless of these beliefs, the British bombed selected V-weapon production targets, code named "Bodyline," and installations on the French coast.

As D-day approached the V-weapon threat loomed larger. The directive by the Supreme Commander to United States Strategic Air Forces (USSTAF) and Bomber Command for support of "Overlord" during the preparatory period mentioned "Crossbow" targets and neutralizing the threats from them.[17] After D-day passed, the Allied air forces became greatly freed from supporting the invasion of the continent, yet the full-scale strategic air offensive against Germany did not resume because among other diversions, the V-weapons "at times [were] elevated to the position of first priority."[18]

INCREASED DEFENSIVE POSTURE

Back in Britain work began on more practical responses to the rocket attack potential. Utilizing lessons from the Blitz, just a few years earlier, the British began planning for civil defense. Through July and into late summer of 1943, the Brittish Home Office worked hard to produce plans "for the removal when the time came of a hundred thousand persons in priority classes, such as school-children

[12] Wilbur H. Morrison, *Fortress without a Roof: The Allied Bombing of the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin, 1982), 240.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] John Ehrman, *Grand Strategy:* vol. 5, *August 1943-September 1944* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1956), 313.

[16] Frankland and Webster, 2:67.

[17] Noble Frankland and Sir Charles Webster, *The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany 1939-1945.* vol. 4: *Annexes and Appendice* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1961), 169-70.

[18] Noble Frankland and Sir Charles Webster, *The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany 1939-1945.* vol. 3*: Victory, Part 5* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1961), 45.

and pregnant mothers, at the rate of ten thousand a day." Expanded evacuation plans included towns in the south-east of England; consideration was even given to "a wholesale evacuation of the capital itself."[19] Planning went as far as to anticipate the move avoided during the Blitz, and preparations began for the "transfer of Government departments from London."[20] As an extra measure, the government brought in 30,000 Morrison table shelters just in case.[21]

While planning and attacking offered fine ways to fight back against the rockets, knowledge of the rocket's capabilities remained the most important tool for defense, and in late summer of 1943, those details remained critically lacking. Patience paid off for the British as inevitably test launches became test failures, or at least lost rockets recovered by friendly forces. The first such incident came on 22 August 1943 when a V2 landed on the Danish island of Bornholm instead of in the sea as intended. While actual parts remained unobtainable, photographs and sketches smuggled to England gave some up-close idea of what the Germans produced.

Lightning struck again ten months later, this time in Bachebo, Sweden. Once again the rocket missed its intended target in the sea and landed high and dry. Germany requested the return of the "Kalmar specimen," as it became known, but was denied. The Swedish government, on the other hand, allowed the Brittish to pick up the remaining parts and fly them back to England for study. Thus, the British possessed a real rocket to inspect. English luck struck again a month later in Blizna when the Polish underground captured a V2. Hiding it in a river, the underground waited for British personnel to fly in and pick up the almost five-ton rocket. Thanks to the noose tightening on the Third Reich, Blizna was within flying range from bases in Italy, so on the night of 25 July 1944, a cargo plane landed to collect 110 pounds of "essential parts…[and] accurate technical drawings of the whole object."[22] With their windfall of parts, the British set up a special committee on rocket research, which included their American allies, code named "Big Ben." A Navy Lieutenant Commander on the team, Tom F. Dixon, pointed out that with the parts recovered, "in a matter of two weeks we had the specifications figured."[23]

In the months leading up to the first rocket attack, the British began to understand the full breadth of the threat. On 18 July 1944 the Crossbow committee warned there may be "a thousand rockets already in existence."[24] Duncan Sandys took the practical view that even without evidence of the rockets moving into firing position, "it would be unwise to assume from this negative evidence that a rocket attack is not imminent."[25] Nine days later the War Cabinet discussed evacuating a million people from London.[26] Once the attacks started the evacuation commenced, with people fleeing to the countryside, often returning to the homes of those kind enough to take them in during previous air raids.

The first V2 struck Paris on 8 September 1944, then two landed in Britain. One struck London and another near Epping, in Cheswick. When it was over, three people lay dead and the face of warfare changed. V2s gave a new meaning to terror, death, and destruction from above. With their one-ton explosive they came out of the sky without warning, obliterating a city block at a time. No longer did death reveal itself before striking; when a rocket hit, it came without warning, leaving only a smoking crater. As one victim reported, "It's a funny thing, you don't hear any noise with them. Just the lights

[19] Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 231.
[20] Ehrman, 5: 309.
[21] Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 231.
[22] McGovern, 71-2.
[23] Ibid., 74.
[24] Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War: Triumph and Tragedy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1953), 50.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

went out and everything fell in on us."[27] The explosions seemed truly catastrophic. On 18 September 1944, in Southgate, London, seventeen people died from a V2 strike. On 25 November, a V2 hit a Woolworth's Department store in New Cross Road, Deptford, killing 160 people. London did not stand alone as the only target; Germans aimed V2s at Portsmouth, Southampton, Winchester, Aldershot, and Bristol spreading terror over all of southwest Britain. Hits on rail lines, though, proved most disturbing. Some 358 strikes "nearly paralyzed British rail transport,"[28] a crucial infrastructure as allied armies pushed across Europe. Over the course of seven months of attacks, the Germans launched 1,403 rockets at England, with 517 hitting the country.[29] All told, V2s killed 2,724 people in England and injured another 6,467,[30] a casualty rate twice as high as the V1 inflicted.[31]

In addition to practical considerations of what to do about the people in London and surrounding areas once the attacks started, the idea of air defense came into play. General Sir Fredrick Pile, head of British Anti-Aircraft (AA) Defenses during the war, attacked the problem head on. As he recalled, it took little stretch of the imagination to believe the "majority of people…thought that it was an impossible problem…to solve."[32] After all, spotting a forty-five-foot-long device traveling at three thousand miles-per-hour is hard enough, hitting and destroying it a different story altogether. The task appeared hefty considering the radar AA Command had only been designed for targets 30,000 feet above it and 30,000 yards out,[33] much lower than the V2 traveled on its ballistic arc and well short of launching zones in mainland Europe. Needless to say, current equipment proved almost useless, but Pile demonstrated to Fighter Command he had a 100:1 chance of success, so they gave approval to proceed. [34]

SHIFTING FOCUS

Initial efforts focused on monitoring and then warning of coming rocket attacks, with the Chain Home stations on the south coast of England watching for rocket activity starting in 1943. They had connection to pyrotechnic launchers for warning of a coming attack, although the reason for the elaborate measures remained a secret even from the operators. It took until March 1945 for the British to develop a new system in which radar units situated around London monitored the path of incoming rockets. The system could predict upon which of the 2.5-mile grid squares of London the rocket would land, a task Pile asserted took some 25,000 calculations to determine.[35] Surprisingly, one-third of the rockets landed in their predicted square, with another fifty percent landing only one square off.[36] Once the system located the rocket, a barrage could be fired in hopes of destroying the rocket. Optimistically, Pile predicted a three-to-ten percent success rate for this operation, even though the window in which the fire must occur opened for only two seconds.[37] Did it work? No one will ever know because the attacks ceased just before the system went operational. Evidence says no, though, based primarily upon a secret Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough, document from January 1945 titled "The warhead of the German long-range rocket," which notes, "The side walls of the casing are of mild

[27] F2OC, "V2 Bombs," Interview by *Mass Observation. 2207* 19 February 1945.

[28] Tom Schachtman, *Terrors and Marvels* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002), 286.

[29] Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: Norton, 1995), 240.

[30] Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 52-3.

[31] Military Intelligence Division W.D.G.S., "Casualties from A-4 (V2) Rocket Bombs, V1 Flying Bombs and Parachute Mines," (London: NPub, May 1945), 1.

[32] General Sir Frederick Pile, *Ack-Ack: Britain's Defense against Air Attack during the Second World War* (London: George G. Harrap, 1949), 386.

[33] Ibid., 387.

[34] Ibid., 386.

[35] Ibid., 388.

[36] Colin Dobinson, *AA Command* (London: Methuen, 2001), 450.

[37] Pile, 388.

steel plate 0.24 ins. thick."[38] It points out, "Damage to the main structure of the rocket by shell fragments might cause break-up in the air, but this is unlikely in itself to cause premature detonation of the warhead."[39] So it seems doubtful Pile's barrage, even if it hit the falling V2, could have destroyed it. Regardless of these setbacks, the effects on morale of having guns in London was not lost on Pile. Remembering back to the dark nights of the Blitz when guns fired blindly at the bombers overhead, Pile stated, "I believe the majority of people loved hearing the guns, and thought of them as their own particular guns."[40]

FURTHER ANALYSIS

The rain of rockets put many more specimens into British hands. Two things became of prime importance to investigators: the propulsion system and the warhead. If the propulsion capability of the V2 could be determined, extrapolation of the range of the rocket would become possible, as would offensive actions taken against the V2 before it ever got in the air. The actual thrust of the rocket at take off amounted to 55,100 pounds, enough to carry the 28,000 pound rocket almost 200 miles. Based on the remains of rockets, initial estimates from October 1944 by the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough, identified the rockets' fuels as "liquid oxygen and (probably) alcohol" with a "ground level thrust of about 60,000 lb,"[41] and an estimated burn time of seventy-five seconds.[42] These estimates were actually rather close on the performance, only 5,000 pounds off on the thrust at ten seconds too long on the burn time. An update to the report in March of 1945 confirmed the fuel mixture, and after extensive description of the engine and fuel system, it concluded with a new thrust figure of 68,000 pounds and a potential burn duration of fifty-five seconds (both were a step in the wrong direction).[43]

The Polish Home Army salvaged refuge from failed test launches of V2 rockets at the Bug River. Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Poland, 2005. Courtesy of http://www.ww2.pl/apps/?command=fotografie/szczegoly&id=161.

By the end of the war, in April 1945, another report from the Farnborough establishment came out, this time based on radar analysis of the rockets in flight. Surprisingly accurate, the results pegged the range of the rocket at 190 miles, with a maximum of 225 miles,[44] close to the actual 200-mile range. What did this information get the British? For one thing it gave them a radius in which to search for launch sites. This became a rather moot point, though, since Germans launched most V2s from mobile "Miellerwagen" (long road trailer) trailers. These mobile trailers and their support vehicles provided the capability of independently setting up and firing a V2 at a chosen target area, quite similar to the Russian/Iraqi Scud missile launchers of forty-five years later. Thanks to the V2's internal gyroscopes, a launching position presented itself as anywhere within range of the target, even in a dense forest. The 'Miellerwagens,' just like their Scud grandchildren, proved difficult to find and destroy, as evidenced by Wernher von Braun's claim long after the war that no mobile battery ever came under attack from Allied bombs.[45]

[38] "The Warhead of the German Long-range Rocket." *Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough* (January 1945): 1.

[39] Ibid., 4.

[40] Pile, 388.

[41] Power Jets Ltd. (Research and Development), "The Propulsive System of the Large German Rocket, Part I," *Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough*, (October 1944), 1.

[42] Ibid., 2.

[43] Power Jets Ltd. (Research and Development), "The Propulsive System of the Large German Rocket, Part II," *Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough*, (March 1945), 1, 14.

[44] T. Nonweiler, "Operational Performance of the German A4 Rocket," *Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough* (March 1945): 1, 5.

[45] Wernher Von Braun and Frederick I Ordway II, *Rocket's Red Glare* (Garden City: Anchor/Doubleday, 1976), 149.

Since striking the launch sites proved difficult, the British went on the defensive again, looking for details on the warhead of the V2. How the warhead detonated became crucial to the success of the rocket as a weapon. While impact alone of the rocket hitting the ground at almost four times the speed of sound could create a crater up to thirty-to-forty yards wide and ten-to-fifteen yards deep,[46] the 2,000 pounds of explosive could be catastrophic. By January 1945 the British recovered two unexploded warheads on the continent. Examination found them to weigh 2,195 pounds and made with Cast Amatol, "one of the least powerful blast fillings which the Germans could have used."[47] Attached to a report dated 16 January 1945, on the warhead was a diagram of the device and a warning that it was set for "instantaneous detonation," yet also with the possibility of "remote detonation...either by ground control or time switch."[48]

Instantaneous detonation set the warhead off on contact, which at the speeds the rocket descended potentially meant the explosion ended up occuring underground, effectively muffling the blast. A proximity fuse or remote detonation system allowed an airborne burst, much like later nuclear weapons, which created much more devastation. The British did not realize, however, that the Germans had struggled with the fusing for some time and continued to do so. Von Braun points out, "Later, while most of the birds would successfully pass through the powered flight phase, it turned out that a goodly portion disintegrated during re-entry in the atmosphere."[49] A lack of understanding of the cause of failures led to the use of a less-sensitive fuse in the belief failures resulted from the warhead detonating during the stress of flight and descent. While not the warhead's fault, early uncertain nature of rocketry saved the British much destruction.

THE AFTERMATH

London did not face the terror alone, as more V2s hit Antwerp, Belgium, than Britain. As the main deep-water port on the continent, Antwerp became a strategic target for the V2, with the objective of disrupting the flow of men and supplies into Western Europe and the fight against the German Army. In all, 3,752 Belgian civilians, and 731 Allied servicemen died as a result of V2 attacks against Antwerp,[50] almost a third more than British casualty tolls. Allied armies finally stopped V2 attacks on London when they overran the 200-mile launch radius of the rocket in March of 1945. Flying from Haagsche Bosch, the main park of The Hague, the last V2s flew at London on 27 March 1945 and Antwerp on 28 March.

The last days of the war and the dawn of peace led to a gradual decline in British interest in rocketry and the V2. The Americans, not the British, captured Werhner von Braun and his team, as well as some fourteen tons of V2 papers from Peenemunde and 300 boxcars' worth of V2 parts. After the war the British conducted "Operation Backfire," a brief testing of the V2, but once again the lion's share of tests and the future of space travel went to the Americans. The British began to pick up the pieces of their lives, ravaged by six years of war, while the Americans picked up the mantle of rocketry and world power and led the way to the stars.

Everything worked out in the end, though: the Allies won the war and the space age dawned. In a state of victorious euphoria and relief to be alive, few if any questions arose about the V2 campaign and how well the British government performed. After the war, much backslapping and official toasting lauded the British efforts against the V2. *The Of-*

[46] Walter Dornberger, *V2*. Trans. James Cleugh and Geoffrey Halliday (New York: Viking, 1954), 222.

[47] G. E. F. Proctor, "The Warhead of the German A.4 Rocket," London: 16 January 1945, 1-2.

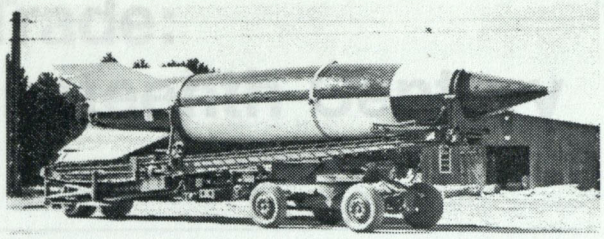
[48] Ibid., 2.

[49] Von Braun, 147.

[50] Gilbert, 621.

ficial History of the Strategic Air Offensive against Germany mentions their success against the V2 in two of its volumes, crediting the strategic air forces with "delaying the V-weapon offensive and reducing its intensity and efficiency after it had begun,"[51] and saying, "the German V-weapon campaign... was retarded and its eventual scale was somewhat reduced by bomber action."[52] Hopefully, this is in reference more to the V1 than the V2, since V2 production remained out of reach, buried in the Harz Mountains, and none of the mobile launchers were ever hit. In his multi-volume account of the war, Winston Churchill points out in regards to the V-weapon attacks in general, "Nearly fifteen months passed between the minute which the Chiefs of Staff sent me in April 1943 and the actual attack in June 1944. Not a day was wasted. No care was lacking."[53] Reassuring words after the fact for a situation that at the time looked all too bleak. On a positive note, the British showed themselves quite accurate in their assessment of the V2s capabilities. Churchill points out proudly in his memoirs that a 26 August 1944 Scientific Intelligence report made correct assessments when compared to the post-war German records on the V2's total weight, range, and warhead weight, as well as in its the estimation of the German stock of V2s being only slightly higher than their actual inventory.[54]

In retrospect, it all could have been much, much worse. The rocket bombardment only lasted some seven months, never reaching the desired capacity Hitler envisioned. In those seven months, though, the people of London experienced a new kind of terror, one that sent them fleeing from their homes for a third time and resigning themselves to the fact



Meillerwagen served as an efficient transport and launch pad for German rockets. Photography by Imperial War Museum. Andrew Kershaw and Ian Close, ed. *Weapons and War Machines* (London: Phoebus, 1976), 251.

that, "if your names (sic) on it you'll get it."[55] The British government did their best and gained volumes of knowledge about the V2 program. While it is difficult to say if this knowledge saved lives and prevented destruction, it can be safely stated the British government did its people due diligence when it came to preparing for the V2.

As happens in history, the "ifs" are overwhelming. If the Germans perfected the fusing, if the guidance system development reached maturity, if the range was increased, and, most importantly, if the production of the V2 started earlier and with it the attacks, could a real difference have been made in the war? These questions are truly impossible to answer and probably best left untouched. Suffice to say, the V2 marked the start of a new era in warfare, an era in which no one is safe at anytime or in any place. In spite of this, the British government provided its people with a level of safety. They identified the rockets' existence and potential early through spies and reconnaisance efforts, launched air raids against known rocket sites, and finally evacuated the homefront when the rocket rain began to fall. In a situation that placed the British people at the mercy of the Germans, their government created the best level of security possible for its citizens.

[51] Frankland and Webster, 2: 300.

[52] Ibid., 3: 296.

[53] Churchill, *Closing the Ring*, 240.

[54] Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy,* 51. Oddly enough, the estimate of German rocket production capabilities was low, a slightly endemic problem of intelligence estimates when the strategic bombing war had so much emphasis.

[55] M60D, "V2 Bombs." Interview by *Mass Observation. 2207* 19 February 1945.

CAL STATE FULLERTON 50

The Moneylender's Trade: On the Causes of Nineteenth-Century Famines in India

Richard W. Beck

Historians blamed India's climate as the sole cause of severe famines during the nineteenth century. However, Richard Beck examines the role of the moneylender in pre-colonial India as well as during the wake of Utilitarian reforms. He shows that these raised the moneylender out of his paternalistic role in village society and empowered him to self-servingly control the Indian grain market. This change led to a collapse of traditional, pre-colonial economics and, consequently, the impoverishment of numerous peasant families, left vulnerable to the devastating effects of famine.

Famine relief work, the Nizam's dominions, 1900. With no work in the fields, millions flocked to relief camps during severe famines where they earned wages, not food, in accordance with regulations, prohibiting the government from purchasing food for those in need. Clark Worswick, ed., *Princely India: Photographs by Raja Deen Dayal 1884-1910* (New York: Penwick, 1980), 69.

The defeat of the nawab of Bengal, Siraj ud-Daula, by Robert Clive's troops at the battle of Plassey in 1757, commonly demarcates the onset of British control of India. Beyond funding further campaigns, spoils from Plassey won Clive, the East India Company, and indeed Great Britain, mentionable and immediate financial gains—capital that went far to fund the instatement of an administration in Bengal as well as the rebuilding, in brickwork, of Fort William on the bank of the River Hooghly.[1] On the assets drawn from Plassey, P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins comment, "Plassey plunder did not start the Industrial Revolution, but it did help Britain to buy back the National Debt from the Dutch."[2]

The Company and British Raj, however, found such prompt monetary gains difficult to duplicate. Nevertheless, over the course of the nineteenth century, imperial policies attempted to recapture revenues by means of rapine or trade. Eric Stokes suggests of Great Britain, "As a military machine insatiable for revenue its constant tendency had been overextension of dominion and an obsessive concern for external security at the expense of internal development."[3] In addition to the substantial exportation of wheat, high taxes and cash crop exports—primarily indigo and raw silk bound for Europe and cotton and opium shipped chiefly to China[4]—failed to cover the costs of administration, the building and maintenance of infrastructure, and expensive military excursions in Afghanistan and Burma. Shouldered substantially by the peasant castes, the weight of a shortsighted drive for funds to offset deficits in imperial administration generated an economic climate that resulted in the famine-ridden history of colonial India. Historian of Indian economics, B. M. Bhatia, counts no less than twenty nine famines in the nineteenth century, resulting in the deaths of tens, perhaps scores, of millions.[5]

Because nineteenth-century famines often came in the wake of poor or even absent monsoons, the dearth is often mistakenly attributed to unfavorable weather conditions, which resulted in a lack of available foodstuffs. Authors such as Michelle McAlpin and Tirthankar Roy argue that monsoon failure, not colonial policy, bears the blame for severe famines in the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Both contend that the extreme aridity of the period in question led to a paucity of foodstuffs and appalling mortality which were assuaged, to some degree, by the efforts of colonial administration.[6] McAlpin notes the frequency of famines in the Mughal Empire to suggest that overwhelming scarcities indicate *no* ruling body—native or foreign—could have mitigated suffering throughout the subcontinent.[7] She rejects the work of authors such as R. C. Dutt and B. M. Bhatia, and ascribes their conclusion that politicized economics directly led to the starvation of millions to vehement Indian nationalist designs.

McAlpin and Roy advocate an oversimplified speculation on the cause of Indian famines. Monsoon failures cannot primarily account for the cause of famines in India during the nineteenth century. The

[1] Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750-1850* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 31.

[2] P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, "The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas," *Economic History Review,* n.s., 33 (November 1980): 471.

[3] Eric Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 91.

[4] Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World Economy*, vol. 3, *The Modern World System* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 139.

[5] B. M. Bhatia, *Famines in India: A Study in Some Aspects of the Economic History of India, 1860*-1965 (New York: Asia, 1967), 363.

[6] Michelle Burge McAlpin, *Subject to Famine: Food Crises and Economic Change in Western India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). For a summary of McAlpin's argument, see chapter 7; Tirthankar Roy, *The Economic History of India, 1857-1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 86-89.

[7] McAlpin, 197.

colonial administration, eager to implement Utilitarian reforms in order to stimulate trade, altered the pre-colonial economics of the subcontinent by raising the moneylender out of his paternalistic role in village society, which resulted in the insolvency of numerous peasant families. The absence of the monsoon or even a lack of sufficient rains triggered frequent price increases, which resulted in famines, often catastrophic, enduring, and widespread—yet invariably economic in character—throughout India. After examining the economics of pre-colonial villages in India, the impact of Utilitarian land-tenure reforms on rural subsistence patterns will be recognized. Finally, we will consider the responses of peasants, administrators, and Utilitarians to the repercussions inherent in the reworking of land-tenure laws in India. The consequence of such reforms, however, cannot be weighed without an understanding of pre-colonial commerce in rural India.

THE CUSTOMARY INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE PEASANT AND HIS MONEYLENDER:

Shortly after harvest, the moneylender came to visit the peasant's threshing floor. It is believed that the moneylender, or *Mahajan*, first assumed his role in western India during the fourteenth century as a result of the expansion of trade within the subcontinent.[8] Backed by the pre-colonial state, the moneylender exacted a high tax on the peasant's yields, carting away as much as a third or half the overall produce for state revenues, and frequently as much as an additional third for the peasant's debts to the moneylender.[9] Should the peasant complain that his *Mahajan* took too much, the moneylender reassured his client by telling him that when he ran out of food, he could simply visit the moneylender's shop, to borrow the amount of grains needed to get him through until next harvest. In this way, even during periods of weather suitable for cultivation, the peasant oftentimes steadily fell deeper into debt. The farmer might also become indebted to the moneylender after borrowing funds to pay land revenues, to purchase a cow, or for a marriage or funeral.[10] Of course, the peasant enjoyed the freedom to sell at market that part of his crop which exceeded state taxes, his family's needs for the season, and the moneylender's interest, but in most circumstances the *Mahajan* made certain the peasant possessed only enough of his yield for his and his family's consumption until next harvest.[11]

Upon returning to his store, usually in or near a commercial center, the moneylender placed the grains in a storage pit for safekeeping—often dug under his own place of business or residence to deter theft. To pay the land tax, a portion of the grain would then be taken to a wealthier *Mahajan* in an urban district, who consolidated loans and handled the peasant's assessments for the state. In this way, successive generations of moneylenders paid taxes for a particular plot of land.

Customarily, the eldest son of the moneylender learned his father's trade and took over the shop upon the *Mahajan's* retirement or death. Hence, generations of moneylenders transacted with the same peasant families, developing a familiarity with their holdings and the peasant's potential yields. Should a *Mahajan* attempt to seize the business of another moneylender's clients, he might be ostracized from the village or otherwise admonished. Such efforts rarely occurred, as the *Mahajans* maintained strict rules of conducting business with one another and regulated their interactions via caste assemblies.[12]

[8] David Hardiman, "Usury, Dearth and Famine in Western India," *Past and Present* 152 (August 1996): 122.

[9] Irfan Habib, "Usury in Medieval India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4 (July 1964): 394.

[10] Ibid.

[11] David Cheesman, "The Omnipresent Bania: Rural Moneylenders in Nineteenth-Century Sind," *Modern Asian Studies* 3 (1982): 450.

[12] Hardiman, "Usury, Dearth and Famine," 124.

Therefore, without fear of competition, the moneylender freely exacted severe rates of interest at harvest time and when droughts or feeble monsoons reduced the yield of a peasant's crop, the moneylender, nevertheless, collected in full. Left with little food to support his family, the cultivator saw no choice but to borrow grain from the *Mahajan* at extortionate rates.

Although the *Mahajan* received training in all manner of swindling, they rarely needed their skills of deception. Even if the peasant could read, he was unable to decipher the *Mahajan* caste's distinct script and therefore was completely dependent on the Mahajan's word.[13] Because of this dependence on the village *Mahajan*, cultivators did their best to engender a patriarchal sentiment in him.

Some *Mahajans* greeted drought with charity, however, most moneylenders welcomed dry periods as a means to maximize their profits and deepen the debts of their charges. The *Mahajans* of a region, often acting in concert, hoarded their grain stores during a drought, exacerbating the scarcity and driving the price of foodgrains still higher. *Mahajans* also exported grain in an effort to raise prices. Yet the high cost of transportation by bullock and cart limited such endeavors. To avoid civil unrest, state rulers regularly enacted moratoriums on exportation in times of famine, took measures to frustrate profiteering and regulate loans.[14]

Though the moneylender frequently employed artifice to guide his debtors into dire financial situations, he did not intend to drive his clients to starvation. An increase in the cost of food enabled him to record more debt in his ledger, but peasants who grew too famished due to drought might migrate, vacating an area and bankrupting the *Mahajan*. Before this occurred, the moneylender borrowed from the grain store of another, most often a *Mahajan* from an urban center or outside the parched region. Ordinarily, however, the moneylender possessed enough grain to sustain his clients through a year or two of drought.[15]

The long-term affiliation of a moneylender with a peasant and his lands, however, did offer one important advantage to the cultivator. Under the pre-colonial system, the moneylender and peasant remained in a mutually dependent relationship. Though the moneylender could appropriate a great deal of the peasant's crop, in most circumstances he did not carry off so much as to ruin the farmer and his family, as the continued survival of the peasants under the *Mahajan's* supervision collectively accounted for the source of his income.[16] Indeed, because an abundant harvest meant greater gains for the moneylender, he offered his clients the highest quality seeds he could readily afford.[17]

[The Moneylender] did not intend to drive his clients to starvation.

Also, under this system of credit, the peasant could not lose his lands to the moneylender. Traditionally, cultivable land was free to any member of the village willing to clear and work the field. Plots belonged to the community, and local headmen or councils customarily forbade the transfer of lands to an outsider.[18] Should the *Mahajan* wish to resolve a grievance concerning delinquency on a loan, he called a meeting with the headman of the village or a member of the council, in most cases a ranking member of

[13] Cheesman, 451.

[14] Hardiman, "Usury, Dearth and Famine," 126.

[15] Ibid.,128.

[16] Hardiman, "Usury, Dearth and Famine," 127.

[17] David Hardiman, *Feeding the Baniya: Peasants and Usurers in Western India* (Oxford: Oxford Unversity Press, 1996), 131-132.

[18] Thomas R. Metcalf, "The British and the Moneylender in Nineteenth-Century India," *Journal of Modern History* 4 (December 1962): 390.

the same caste as the peasant in question.[19] Hence, leniency was the rule. The degree of risk taken by the moneylender might explain his notoriously high rates of interest.

Furthermore, the *Mahajan* held no desire to expropriate his client's holdings. Due to the abundance of land in medieval India, the moneylender placed no value on it. The peasant's yields from his harvest the following year, and the year after that, provided collateral for credit. Naturally, all debts incurred fell onto the son of the cultivator when he died. According to David Hardiman, "In contrast to medieval Europe or early modern Russia, there was no system of serfdom. The peasants were, rather, bound by debt. In return for loans, it was common for them to mortgage the bulk of the crops in advance to their *sahukar* [moneylender]."[20]

The socioeconomic role of the *Mahajan* was threefold. Though generally devious in his affairs with his debtors, the moneylender advanced small amounts of foodgrains to his clients in times of need, especially during a scarcity or famine. Plausibly, the *Mahajan* grew entrenched in India's culture due to the vicissitudes of the climate. Also, the *Mahajan* moved large amounts of grain into urban centers, providing sustenance for laborers, craftsmen, and merchants.[21] Finally, by transporting foodstuffs to urban *Mahajans*, the moneylender enabled the state to collect immense revenue in grain without the cost or vexation of employing tax agents. Thus, although commonly disliked and mistrusted by many for his insidious methods and his greed, the moneylender provided a degree of balance and regularity which, in most cases, enabled medieval India to support its population amidst a climate susceptible to periodic breakdown. The introduction of imperial policy, however, disrupted this precarious balance.

THE INCORPORATION OF UTILITARIAN REFORMS:

As the Company and later British Raj consolidated power in India, they conducted land surveys and installed civil courts. This process generally occurred in a region over a period of two to three decades and, for the most part, was resolved by 1850. The contentions on land tenure which opened the century concluded with the approval of peasant or village settlement.[22] Well aware of the significance of India's land and its potential, imperial policymakers demanded replacement of traditional, unwritten processes of revenue collection with a code of statutes set forth under Western conceptions of probity. Benthamite egalitarianism solicited the upholding of the cultivators rights to, "free the peasant from all traditional restraints in order to make him the instrument of a vast agrarian revolution."[23] Because it was "backward," Utilitarians saw no need in understanding or amalgamating the criterion of existing village economics. They felt certain the mere application of modern rights would elevate the cultivator above the hindrances of his ancestors.

Beyond the Mughal practice of leaving the full burden of taxes to the agricultural sector, modern economists found further imitation of pre-colonial revenue traditions contrary to reason. As Eric Stokes describes:

> The British mind found incomprehensible a society based on unwritten custom and on government by personal discretion; and it knew of only one sure method of marking off public from private rights—the introduction of a system of legality, under which

[19] Ravinder Kumar, "The Deccan Riots of 1875," *Journal of Asian Studies* 4 (August 1965): 614.

[20] Hardiman, "Usury, Dearth and Famine," 121.

[21] Habib, 398.

[22] Thomas R. Metcalf, "The Influence of the Mutiny of 1857 on Land Policy in India," *Historical Journal* 2 (1961): 153.

[23] Ibid.

> rights were defined by a body of formal law equally binding upon the State as upon its subjects.[24]

Failure to investigate the intricacies of traditional approaches that had endured the previous four centuries caused reform—in a Utilitarian mold—to command all attentions. The institution of an unyielding legal procedure and Western concepts of land as a commodity upended the delicate cultural balance of village society.

The civil courts introduced a system of contract law which conformed to Great Britain's procedures concerning the fulfillment of debt, wherein a creditor became entitled to the debtor's property as reparation for liabilities incurred.[25] By establishing land as a saleable asset, admissible as collateral for loans, the courts altered the nature of the arrangement of medieval agrarian credit in India. In frustrating the old system of credit on the subcontinent, colonial administration supplanted an essentially customary agreement with a binding contract.[26]

Traditionally, the cultivator's present and future harvests were all that the moneylender wanted. However, with the coming of civil courts, the *Mahajan* realized an advantage, which he quickly put to use. Now, the moneylender could present a debenture to the court, which forced the sale of a peasant's property to repay the amount due on the loan. Often, the *Mahajan* simply obtained the land holding in reparation of debt, reducing the former owner to his tenant. The Northwestern Provinces, a region known at the time for its efficient transition to imperial modernity,[27] provides an example of the rapid exchange of land from the cultivator to the *Mahajan*. Thomas Metcalf reports, "There, sale of land for debt by 1853 had reached the figure of 114,000 acres per year, and moneylenders held roughly 10 percent of the agricultural land of the province."[28] In the district of Fatehpur, moneylenders owned no estates at the time of British occupation; by 1860, they held eighty-six.[29] In Kanpur, a district comprising 2,311 villages, 60 percent of the cultivators' holdings had been sold in the satisfaction of debt.[30]

Another law established the foreclosure of holdings if the owner became delinquent on state taxes, which resulted in further evictions. The levy's due date fell just before the harvest, keeping time with a calendar more fiscal than agrarian, and driving the cultivator further into debt with the moneylender, in order to retain his farm.[31] To exacerbate the situation, taxes on land increased an average of 15.2 percent across the subcontinent in the years 1856-79.[32] Pre-colonial revenue policies had acknowledged the uncertainty of agricultural yields due to climate, and based the rate of taxation on overall produce.[33] Under imperial tax procedures, surveys of land fixed rigid rates to each property, regardless of annual production.

The rigorous method of revenue collection enabled the moneylender's ledger to pursue the Union Jack's conquest across the subcontinent. Surveys of twelve villages in the Punjab reported in 1871 that of 13,771 acres of fertile land, 7,229 acres—53 percent—exchanged hands in the settlement of debts, 36 percent owned by moneylenders with the remaining 17 percent belonging to significant landowners or other cultivators.[34] Vaughan Nash,

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[24] Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 82.

[25] Metcalf, "British and Moneylender," 391.

[26] M. L. Dantwala, "Agricultural Credit in India-The Missing Link," *Pacific Affairs* 4 (December 1952): 350.

[27] Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj*, 91.

[28] Metcalf, "British and Moneylender" 393.

[29] Bhatia, 19-20.

[30] S. Ambirajan, *Classical Political Economy and British Policy in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 132.

[31] Ibid., 107.

[32] Bhatia, 129.

[33] Ibid., 120.

[34] Ibid., 150.

reporter for the *Manchester Guardian*, toured and wrote on the famines which wracked India in 1896-97. Nash relates:

> I am told that in Upper Burmah, where the money-lender was unknown under native rule, he has come in like a flood since annexation. Wherever you find the iron assessment [fixed revenue rates] and the individual property in land, you find the cultivator going down. And remember that behind the bunya [moneylender] and his bonds are ranged the batteries of our laws.[35]

Famine relief camp, the Nizam's dominions, 1900. The government paid relief workers pitiful wages, as low as one pound of grain per day—proportional to the amount of work accomplished. Furthermore, the relief worker, weak from malnutrition, faced fines for incomplete tasks. Clark Worswick, ed., *Princely India: Photographs by Raja Deen Dayal 1884-1910* (New York: Penwick, 1980), 71.

Although land-tenure laws, both those which enabled the foreclosure of farms in the reparation of debt and those which accrued fixed revenues for each holding, owed their inception to *laissez-faire* doctrines of inviolability of contract, the new colonial system of land tenure overturned the traditional authority of the village council or headman to deny the sale of land to outsiders.[36] Hailed by Utilitarian reformers as a step toward civility, the decline in the power of village leadership battered the last shield between the cultivator and his moneylender.[37] Free to purchase or sue for traditional lands, urban merchants and *Mahajans* turned former proprietors into tenants who grew cotton, sugar, rice, indigo, poppy seed for opium, and above all, grain for export. Land-tenure laws produced the corollary effect of swelling the ranks of tenants and agricultural day laborers, which increased the frequency of rack-renting, and drove down wages for working the land.

Given no contingency, and bereft of their holdings, those dispossessed had no choice but to seek work as agricultural laborers. Owing to the seasonal nature and uncertainty of such work due to climate, the laborer, thus pressured to meet his own subsistence needs, held no hope to fulfill those of his family.[38] In a twist on Malthusian theory, the execution of imperial policy fostered an overpopulation of itinerant agricultural laborers. Rendered landless, such laborers represented the first class imperiled by want in times of famine. Investigating the causes of impoverishment on the subcontinent after the Great Famine of 1876, the *Report of the Indian Famine Commission* made known:

> ...agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits, and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures of some such employments.[39]

[35] Vaughan Nash, *The Great Famine and Its Causes* (New Delhi: Agricole, 1986), 93.

[36] Metcalf, "British and Moneylender," 391.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Bhatia, 46.

[39] Commission of Inquiry on Indian Famines, *Report of the Indian Famine Commission 1880-1885* (New Delhi: Agricole, 1989), pt. II, 175.

Drought and crop failure held the twofold effect of raising grain prices and limiting employment for agricultural laborers.[40] With no work in the fields, millions solicited comfort from relief camps during severe famines, where they earned wages, not food, because dogmatic adherence to Smithian economics prohibited the government from purchasing food for those in need. Furthermore, in order to dissuade the arrival of more refugees when their numbers grew to high, colonial policy scaled down already pitiful wages.[41] The relief worker's earnings, as low as one pound of grain per day, corresponded to the amount of work accomplished. If, due to his infirmity, the relief worker failed to complete his apportioned tasks, his meager recompense fell subject to fines, further reducing his daily consumption. The laborer "fortunate" enough to find employment worked for the typical daily wage, yet the price of food often tripled during famines.[42]

Those made landless through foreclosure were unable to move into an urban center to seek employment within a vigorous industrial sector, as none existed. During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, in order to incubate a budding Lancashire cotton industry, Great Britain erected high protective tariffs to suffocate India's robust textile manufacturing.[43] India's place in the larger scheme of world trade required that it provide raw materials, not compete with Great Britain's commerce in manufactured goods. In addition, even if those deprived of their property enjoyed the opportunity of becoming an artisan in an urban center, they most likely would have refused due to caste constraints.

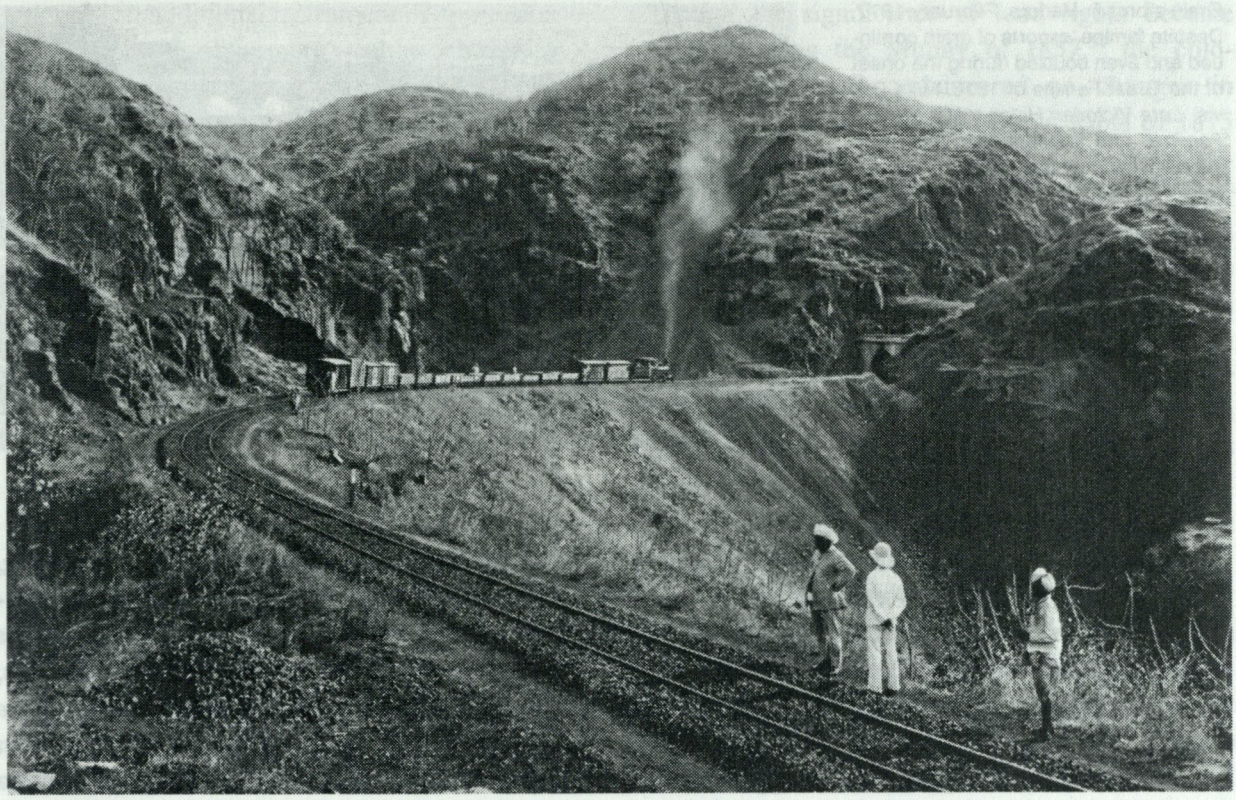
The land-tenure laws also proved ruinous to cultivators due to the collapse of peasant-moneylender caste relations. The various Hindu castes of the subcontinent are all socially obligated not only to conduct religious ceremonies particular to their station, but also to adopt a caste-specific deportment. British in India frequently noted the improvidence of the peasant castes. The extravagant funerals and marriage feasts farmers held, however, offered a demonstration vital to the maintenance of his rank. The peasant relied on his *Mahajan* to provide loans for such expenses—a cultivator displaying frugality in such circumstances earned the disapproval of the village. The rural moneylender, on the other hand, exhibited a cupidity for which he was infamous. He quickly set the economics of want to his own benefit.

AN EFFUSION OF SCARCITY

In pre-colonial India, regardless of his dubious business ethics, the *Mahajan* held insolvency among peasants in check, as their survival remained integral to his own. Backed by the British civil courts, however, the moneylender used his cunning to run up debts with the intent to seize funds from the sale of the peasant's land or to claim the holding itself. Prepared from an early age to employ all his skills of guile and cunning, he swiftly learned to draw upon his colonial patronage to the fullest extent. The *Mahajans'* enterprising nature, coupled with advances in transportation, changed the nature of famine in colonial India.

Because *Mahajans* long understood that scarcities increased the price of grain, hoarding became a preferred tactic to gain profits. Profiteering, previously prevented by various measures in pre-colonial states, took place unchecked due to imperial policies in accord with the tenets of Smithian economics. Acting in confederation with one another, the moneylenders in a region easily intensified the acuteness of scarcities, backed by law enforcement in times of civil unrest, if necessary.[44] With an absence of market controls, shortages in food further escalated by the manipulations of the moneylender, drove prices to exorbitant levels.

[40] Ibid., pt. I, 34.
[41] Bhatia, 116.
[42] Ibid., 118.
[43] Wallerstein, 3:149-150; Bhatia, 22.
[44] Hardiman, "Usury, Dearth and Famine," 126.



India's expanding railroad system, consisting of 7,322 miles of track by 1877, contributed to the rise of the moneylender by opening up new markets for the exportation of grain. Clark Worswick, ed., *Princely India: Photographs by Raja Deen Dayal 1884-1910* (New York: Penwick, 1980), 68.

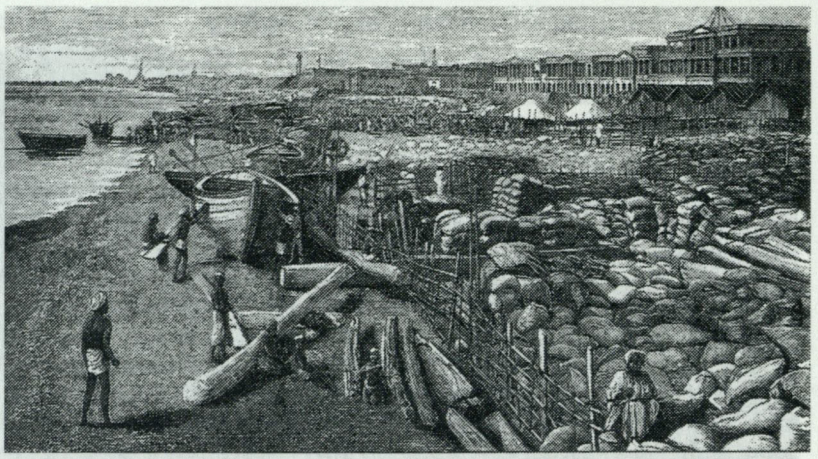
Expanded to 7,322 miles of track by 1877, the railroad contributed another tool to the moneylender's trade. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the depression in shipping caused by the changeover from sail to steam,[45] and the annulment of export charges on grain in 1873,[46] combined to empower the rural *Mahajan* as a vendor in markets throughout India and abroad. Moneylenders eagerly emptied their grain-storage pits to cash in on their good fortune. Once more, precepts of *laissez-faire* economics forbade restraints on the exportation of foodstuffs from regions stricken by famine. As millions wasted away, consumed by hunger, colonial administrators, so seduced by the potency of free trade, neglected to transport grain into areas in need.

Asserting that commerce would spontaneously draw needed goods into a zone characterized by high prices, Adam Smith's adherents unfortunately failed to realize a gap between prices and the purchasing power of the inhabitants drove goods *out* of a region in search of more tangible markets.[47] Colonial policymakers, thus guided by the principles of *laissez-faire*, grew puzzled when the chasm of famine was not filled by free market rationality.

[45] Bhatia, 28. The shipping depression caused a decrease in freight charges.

[46] Ibid., 39.

[47] Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 160-161.



Grain stores in Madras, February 1877. Despite famine, exports of grain continued and even doubled during the onset of the Great Famine of 1876. Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (New York: Verso, 2001), 45.

The revolution in transportation and the enterprising nature of the *Mahajan* changed the nature of famines in the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Beforehand, famines were characterized by a localized lack of aggregate foodstuffs in a region, which pre-colonial states mitigated with tactics suited to the episode. The application of Smithian notions on commerce coupled with efficient transportation served to diffuse dearth—by means of price increases—into regions which enjoyed average, even abundant, harvests.[48] This dispersal consequently empowered the *Mahajans* to influence local markets in such areas, in a cycle of shortage and speculation, which led to a massive exportation of wheat. Statistics on grain exportation from the subcontinent support this model. Addressing the House of Commons on 21 June 1877, Lord Hamilton boasted that grain exports had more than doubled from the 1875-76 season to the 1876-77 season, delimiting the onset of the Great Famine of 1876.[49]

By means of further extensions of credit, hoarding, and exportation, the *Mahajan* wielded the economics of insufficiency to usher the cultivator deeper into debt and the foreclosure of his ancestral lands, to degrees formerly unknown. As the *Report of the Indian Famine Commission* illustrated, "We learn from the evidence collected from all parts of India that about one-third of the landholding class are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are in debt though not beyond the power of recovering themselves."[50] However, the commission recommended caution in attempting to relieve the situation, on the grounds that, "Any violent interference with the legitimate business of the rural banker would be disastrous, as it would result in the calling-in of all agricultural loans, and the transfer of the capital to some other field of investment."[51] The *Famine Commission Report* also explained the cause of such widespread indebtedness:

> Native customs which tempered the severity of contracts, such for instance as that which restrained the rate or amount of interest, have been swept away, and a rigid and elaborate legal system has too often proved

[48] Bhatia, 9.

[49] *Parliamentary Debates* (New York: Kraus, 1971), 235: 97. "The quantity of wheat exported in 1872-3 was 320,000 cwt. ; in 1875-6 it was 2,156,000 cwt. ; and in 1876-7 it rose to 4,839,000 cwt. It was difficult to over-estimate the importance of the growth of this export trade."

[50] *Report of the Indian Famine Commission*, pt. II, 131.

[51] Ibid.

> only an additional instrument of oppression in the hands of the more wealthy or better instructed litigant, and an additional cause of ruin for the impoverished agriculturalist.[52]

Despite such observations, the colonial government responded with frail legal restraints on the foreclosures only after peasants voiced their indignation in violent protest.

PEASANT UPHEAVALS, TOKEN PROTECTIONS, AND J. S. MILL'S REASSESSMENT OF UTILITARIANISM

District by district, the installation of land-tenure procedures in accord with European perceptions on land propelled village socioeconomics into an abrupt collision with modernity. The cultivator, unable to conceive that the firm earth beneath his feet could be torn out from under him, continued to uphold the expensive expectations of his caste, while attempting to meet severe imperial revenues. Of course, the moneylender deigned to inform the cultivator that his medieval understanding of land had been replaced by modern fluidity. Assisted by the civil courts, the peasant castes marched to their dissolution at the hands of the *Mahajan*.

After the founding of civil courts, the moneylender clearly became a symbol of colonial hegemony and iniquity. Peasant uprisings offer evidence of the outrage directed toward moneylenders. Moneylenders' homes and shops were sacked and burned with ferocity comparable to that meted out to imperial institutions. Ranajit Guha's work on peasant revolts, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, describes the indignation cultivators directed toward *Mahajans* throughout the subcontinent. Guha notes that during the Santhal rebellion in 1855, insurgents fought a "bitter and bloody war against Hindu landlords and moneylenders..."[53]

Though the significance of land rights became evident during the Mutiny of 1857,[54] the colonial administration volunteered no changes in land-tenure policy until the Deccan Riots of 1875 underscored the gravity of discontent among villagers. Throngs of Maratha peasants directed their acrimony at moneylenders throughout the Poona and Ahmadnagar districts, burning their homes and shops in an effort to destroy the ledgers which documented cultivators' debts.[55] The administration in Bombay observed that the rioters focused their violence on the *Mahajan's* account book—not the moneylender's person—and committed almost no serious crimes.[56] In fact, rioting peasants in one village rescued a moneylender with a broken leg from his burning house.[57]

The Commission of Inquiry which investigated the riots found that, due to the rise of cotton prices during the "Cotton Famine" of the 1860s as a result of the American Civil War, and the sharp decline in the value of cotton in the 1870s, cultivators had developed lavish tastes and grown mired in debt.[58] Furthermore, a recent reconfiguration of revenue rates increased taxes up to 50 percent in the presidency.[59] The commission's findings, coupled with the fear of an organized Maratha uprising led by the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, or People's Association,[60] led to the legislation of the Deccan Agriculturalists' Relief Act of 1879.

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[52] Ibid, 132.

[53] Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), 71-72.

[54] Metcalf, "Influence of the Mutiny," 152. See also Thomas R. Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj: Northern India in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 150-158. Metcalf briefly explains the role of bitterness toward moneylenders as a factor in fomenting the Mutiny.

[55] Metcalf, "British and Moneylender ," 395.

[56] S. Ambirajan, 134.

[57] Neil Charlesworth, "Myth of the Deccan Riots of 1875," *Modern Asia Studies* 4 (1972): 416.

[58] Metcalf, "British and Moneylender," 395.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Richard P. Tucker, "The Proper Limits of Agitation: The Crisis of 1879-80 in Bombay Presidency," *Journal of*

The first attempt to offer protection from usury to cultivators, the Deccan Agriculturalists' Relief Act appointed village registrars to supervise loans. Debtors gained a right to demand a receipt for all payments on the loan, and could be declared "insolvent" should his debt exceed 50 rupees.[61] In such instances an examiner investigated the account and mediated an appropriate plan of payment. The act proscribed imprisonment for defaulters. Also, the local government became authorized to designate "village munsifs," who could arbitrate procedures not exceeding 10 rupees. However, the Famine Commission Report deemed such moderate controls controversial. They deemed it, "obvious that there is a danger lest any intervention of Government should...protect the weak and foolish too completely against the consequences of their own action."[62]

Ultimately, the act fell short of protecting cultivators "too completely." Though the problem of rural indebtedness enveloped the subcontinent, the act pertained to only four districts in the Deccan.[63] The act also failed to address underlying causes of debt, such as the inflexibility and high rate of revenues. Investigating the effects of the act in 1889, H. Woodburn concluded the regulations had not curtailed debt in the region. His survey, covering nine districts of the Bombay Deccan, found 25 percent of the cultivators weighed down with obligations greater than twenty times the revenue, and 12 percent with debts between ten and twenty times the revenue. Those in the former group were considered "hopelessly involved," and soon to lose their holdings in the satisfaction of debts.[64]

The munsifs appointed for the arbitration of disputes, referred to as conciliators, were drawn from the patriarchs of esteemed landed families, in an attempt to restore a degree of local authority. The rise of the *Mahajan* due to the land-tenure laws, however, proved so rapid he eclipsed the social status of the affluent cultivators. Those solicited for the position hesitated to accept, out of fear of the contempt the post might incur. Therefore, many who assumed the office were landowners heavily indebted to the village *Mahajan*. Yet, by 1882, conciliators had settled against foreclosure in approximately 50 percent of the cases heard, indicating a devolution toward village justice and some redress in peasant-moneylender relations.[65] A precipitous drop in cases heard by the high courts in favor of local arbitration also betokens eagerness, even among the moneylenders, for insular mediation.[66]

Not until legislation of the Punjab Land Alienation Act in 1900 would India see more vigorous laws protecting peasants from foreclosure due to usury. Importantly, the law prevented the purchase of land by anyone who was not an agriculturalist.[67] Other anti-usury acts followed, yet despite the spread of grain riots in the last decade of the nineteenth century,[68] colonial policy adopted no measures to retrench the *Mahjan's* methods of business. His social status permanently raised by the civil courts, the moneylender continued to hoard and export grain, enjoying his freedom to direct the market to suit his own ends. The experiment of Utilitarian reform in

Asian Studies 2 (February 1969): 342. The Sabha questioned the colonial government's mortality statistics during the Great Famine of 1876 and insisted on a widening of relief measures throughout the region. See also Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2002), 41-45.

[61] *Report of the Indian Famine Commission*, pt. II, 133-134.

[62] Ibid, 133.

[63] Bhatia, 132. The four districts referred to are Poona, Satara, Ahmednagar, and Sholapur.

[64] Ibid, 154.

[65] Ravinder Kumar, *Western India in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in the Social History of Maharashtra* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1968), 221-222.

[66] Ibid., 224.

[67] Metcalf, "British and Moneylender," 396.

[68] Hardiman, "Usury, Dearth and Famine," 146.

the nineteenth century, conducted *a priori*, gambled with the socioeconomic structure of rural India and the lives of millions of its inhabitants, and lost.

Though fervent and naïve, this experiment of land-tenure policy in India was not conducted with malice. Utilitarianism, which ordained equity above all, fell prey to double standards at its intersection with policy. As mentioned previously, Great Britain held strong protective tariffs before its Lancashire cotton industry from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the 1830s. The ponderous market control hurled many thousands[69] of weavers into a distended and overtaxed agricultural sector to labor alongside those dispossessed by the *Mahajan*. When drought and famine struck, however, pretexts of *laissez-faire* abandoned both to depravation. Duplicitous policymaking of this kind took place in the midst of staunch criticisms by nationalist authors such as R. C. Dutt and Dadabhai Naoroji. Others, such as John Stuart Mill, pursued a redefinition of Utilitarianism, in view of its disservice to India. Well acquainted with the subcontinent's colonial policies, Mill worked in the London office of the Company for thirty-five years.

Published in 1859, J. S. Mill's *On Liberty* ventured to remedy the difficulties inherent in the marriage of the social and the political.[70] Mill concluded that a just society seeks to protect the liberation of consciousness; such a consciousness is thus free to nurture its own unique traits, as long as this pursuit does not harm others. In moving beyond notions of emancipation from external restraint into the realm of intellect, Mill acknowledged that freedom of sentience precedes freedom of statute.

|John Stuart Mill circa 1865. Mill pursued a redefinition of Utilitarianism, in view of its disservice to India. His most famous work, *On Liberty*, directly addresses the misuse of doctrine when establishing policy. Eugene August, *John Stuart Mill: A Mind at Large* (New York: Scribner, 1975), 171.

Read in the context of the moneylender's swift rise on the crest of Utilitarian mandates and those slain by *laissez-faire* pretensions, *On Liberty* directly addresses the misuse of doctrine in the guiding of policy. In Mill's society of free-minded individuals, dogma which instigates or justifies the suffering of others is confronted and torn down by unclouded and immediate reasoning. In his *Autobiography*, Mill stated his belief that *On Liberty* would prove his most enduring accomplishment for this reason. He explained:

> At such times people of any mental activity, having given up many of their old beliefs, and not feeling quite sure that those they still retain can stand unmodified, listen eagerly to

[69] This number might run into the hundreds of thousands. India's cotton and silk textiles industry led the world in international trade in the eighteenth century, Europe included. For rates of taxation, see Amitava Krishna Dutt, "The Origins of Uneven Development," *American Economic Review* 82 (May 1992): 146-150.

[70] John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1978).

> new opinions. But this state of things is necessarily transitory: some particular body of doctrine in time rallies the minority around it, organizes social institutions and modes of action conformably to itself, education impresses this new creed upon the new generations without the mental processes which have led to it, and by degrees it acquires the very same power of compression, so long exercised by the creeds of which it has taken the place. Whether this noxious power will be exercised, depends on whether mankind have by that time become aware that it cannot be exercised without stunting and dwarfing human nature. It is then that the teachings of the 'Liberty' will have their greatest value.[71]

Mill argued for direct representation as a palliative to this phenomenon. He surmised that the oppression of enfranchised classes of people would prove impossible, as their self-representation stood impervious to subjugation due to illiberal ordinances. Under Mill's reappraisal of Utilitarianism, decisive humanitarian intervention—not untested doctrine—would have better defended the cultivator's rights of shelter and subsistence against the propensity of the moneylender.

CONCLUSION

By analyzing the preexisting socioeconomic structure of rural pre-colonial India, and the changes rendered by applied Utilitarianism, the causes of appalling mortality during the last four decades of the nineteenth-century become evident. Contrary to *prima facie* appearances, the famines which overwhelmed India at the time cannot be solely attributed to poor monsoon conditions. The transition to modernity, manifested in the civil courts, rendered a collapse in village economics and brought about the *Mahajan's* mastery over the Indian grain market. Given the moneylender's proclivities, he employed the array of laws proffered by imperial policy without quarter, resulting in the loss of an alarming number of holdings by their proprietors. As a result, agricultural day laborers flooded the already inflated agricultural sector, leaving whole populations deleteriously open to the effects of famine.

Discontent among peasant castes over the land-tenure laws evoked seditious reactions, but not until the Deccan riots of 1875 and the resultant Deccan Agriculturalists' Relief Act of 1879 did cultivators begin to see legislative relief. Finally, after discussing the aims of Utilitarianism, an examination of J. S. Mill's *On Liberty* proffered his attempt to amend the doctrine's principles. *On Liberty* and indeed the second half of the nineteenth century in India serve as warning of the potential for tragedy found in imprudent conformity to doctrine.

Behind the screen of Benthamite equality, land-tenure laws fine-tuned a machine which earned the moneylender and British Raj sizeable profits during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Without fail, well-intended Utilitarian principles became warped to Great Britain's fiscal advantage. Coincidentally, the price of wheat held at affordable levels in England throughout Britain's agrarian depression, from 1873-96, due to a flood of grain pouring in from a famished Indian subcontinent. Akin to the *Mahajan*, who regularly asserted that monsoon failures caused famines—not his manipulations of the market—Great Britain brushed aside its own liability. The unctuous intersection between theory and policy provided the empire with a pretext not only for the formulation of an economy of want in India, but also an apology to stand idle amidst the starvation of millions of subjects of the British Empire.

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[71] John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography* (London: Penguin Books, 1989), 190.

Honor, Courage, and Commitment: The Chosin Reservoir

Juan Ugarte

A definitive moment in the history of the United States Marines, the 1950 withdrawal through the Chosin reservoir confronted American soldiers with overwhelming enemy numbers and deadening cold. Against all odds, the Marines of the 1st Division fought their way out of Chosin and brought every wounded soldier out with them. Juan Ugarte attributes the extraordinary display of bravery put forth by the Marines in Chosin to outstanding training and *espirit de corps*. His paper won first place in the 2005 Pollack Library Undergraduate Research Papers and Projects contest.

The road out of the Chosin Reservoir seemed endless. Between Chinese attacks and sub-zero temperatures, Marines endured an unbelievably harsh enviornment. Robert Leckie, *Conflict: The History of the Korean War, 1950-53* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1962), NA.

On 25 June 1950 the post World War II peace came to a close when North Korean Communist forces crossed the 38th Parallel and invaded South Korea.[1] The United States saw the invasion as an act of aggression by a communist government attempting to spread its ideology throughout the region. Two days later, the United Nations (UN) passed a resolution that recommended immediate aid in the restoration of peace in South Korea and pushing of North Korean forces back to the 38th parallel.[2] UN Resolution 83 of 27 June 1950 called on "members of the United Nations [to] furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area."[3] The United States took charge of carrying out the UN mandate.

During the first months of war the situation deteriorated rapidly for U N forces. American and South Korean soldiers retreated southward into a small area around Pusan, South Korea, called the Pusan Perimeter. The United States First Marine Division then commenced landing at the port city of Inchon, South Korea.[4] Due to the success of the Marines, on 16 September 1950, the morning after the initial landing, American forces cornered in the Pusan Perimeter went on the offensive. During the rest of September Allied Forces pushed the North Koreans from Pusan back into North Korea.[5]

The U.S. Army developed a plan to drive north as far as Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, and for another Army division to trap North Koreans retreating from the South.[6] The decision to cross the 38th parallel and enter North Korea proved a major turning point in the war. By crossing the 38th parallel, U.S. forces came into direct conflict with the People's Republic of China. By late October 1950, American forces occupied Pyongyang.[7] In addition to the U. S. Eighth Army division under the command of Lieutenant General Walton H. Walker, the push north included the Tenth Army Corps under the leadership of Major General Edward Almond.[8] The First Marine Division, commanded by Major General Oliver P. Smith, formed part of the Tenth Army Corps and therefore found themselves subject to the orders of the United States Army.

TAKING THE WAR TO THE ENEMY

On 24 November the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers in the Far East, General Douglas MacArthur, ordered a final offensive against North Korea intended to finish the war. Believing that North Korea could not stop U.S. forces and that Chinese Communist Forces (CCF) would not become involved, he ordered his army to advance to the Chinese border. In a letter to his troops, General MacArthur stated:

> The United Nations massive compression envelopment in North Korea against the new Red Armies operating there is now approaching its decisive effort. …This morning the western sector of the pincer moves forward in general assault in an effort to complete the compression and close the vise. …if successful, this should be for all practical purposes end the war, restore peace and unity in Korea, enable the prompt withdrawal of United Nations military forc-

[1] Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, American Military History, *The Korean War:1950-1953* http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/amh/AMH-25.htm. Last updated: 27 April 2001.

[2] Ibid.

[3] http://www.un.org/documents/sc/res/1950/scres50.htm.

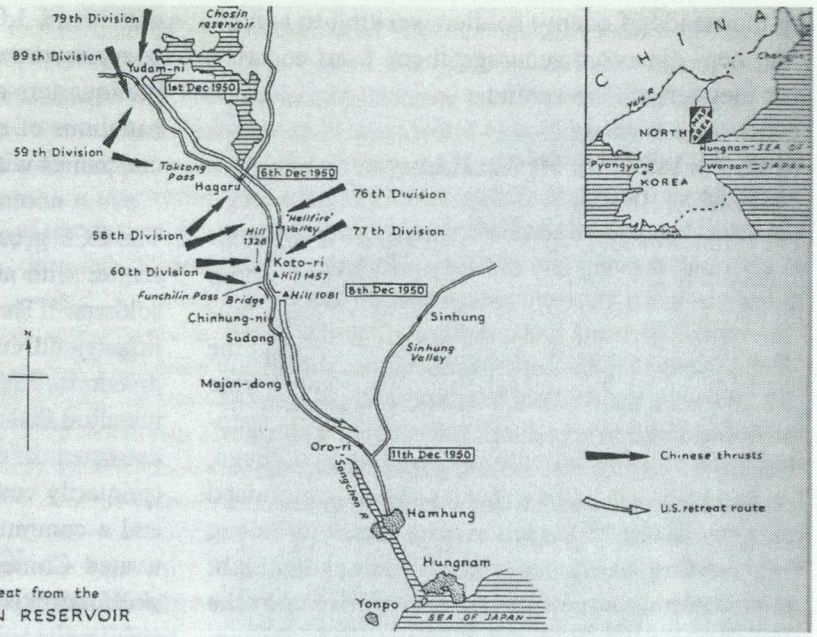
[4] Eric M. Hammel, *Chosin: Heroic Ordeal of the Korean War* (New York: Vanguard, 1981), 4-6.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Leif A. Gruenberg, *Defining Moments: The Korean War* (Detroit: Omnigraphics, 2004), 68-9.

[7] Ibid., 71-2.

[8] Capt. Nicholas A. Canzona and Lynn Montross, *U.S. Marine Operations Korea, 1950-1953,* vol. 3, *The Chosin Reservoir Campaign* (Washington D.C.: Historical Branch, G-3, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1954), 68.



Map shows the withdrawal of the Marines from the Chosin Reservoir to the port city of Hungnam. Max Hastings, *The Korean War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 158.

es, and permit the complete assumption by the Korean people and nation of full sovereignty and international equality.[9]

U.S. forces possessed orders to advance to the Chinese border and simultaneously occupy all of North Korea.[10] This meant the Marines needed to secure the Chosin Reservoir. From 27 November to 9 December 1950, the First Marine Division's withdrawal from the Chosin Reservoir became one of the greatest moments in the history of the United States Marine Corp. Isolated and surrounded, the 23,608 Marines repelled the attacks of the CCF Ninth Army Group, which included twelve divisions and totaled 120,000 men.[11] The successful withdrawal of the Marines from Chosin to the port city of Hungnam, North Korea, proved possible because of their honor, courage, and commitment.

The First Marine Division marched seventy-eight miles in sub-zero conditions from the Chosin Reservoir to Hungnam.[12] While continuously under fire, the several-mile-long caravan of Marines inflicted an estimated 37,500 casualties on the Chinese Ninth Army Group.[13] The Marines, though significantly outnumbered by their enemy, proved so effective in inflicting mass casualties that, according to reports, the "CCF 9th Army Group had been rendered so militarily ineffective that nearly three months were required for its replacement, re-equipment, and reorganization."[14] As the Marines withdrew from the Chosin Reservoir they brought out all their wounded and most of their equipment.[15] The Marines' realization that they were surrounded

[9] Korean Web Weekly, http://www.kimsoft.com/Korea/eyewit21.htm..

[10] Gruenberg, 71-2.

[11] Canzona and Montross, 86.

[12] Pat Meid and James M. Yingling, *U.S. Marine Operations in West Korea 1950-1953, vol 5.,Operations in West Korea* (Washington: Historical Branch, G-3 Division, HQMC, 1972) 480.

[13] Burton I. Kaufman, *The Korean Conflict* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1999), 48.

[14] Meid and Yingling, 480.

[15] James S. Santelli, *A Brief History of the 7th Marines* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Marine Corps History and Museums Division Headquarters, 1980), 41.

by thousands of enemy soldiers seeking to annihilate them did not discourage them from ensuring that they left no one behind.

THE FEW, THE PROUD, THE MARINES

The First Marine Division consisted of approximately 25,000 Marines stationed out of Camp Pendleton, California. Their training played a crucial role in preventing their capture or death at the hands of the CCF. The Marines of the First Marine Division received their twelve-week basic training at Parris Island, South Carolina or San Diego, California. During this period, the Marines trained in first-aid and field-sanitation procedures along with meeting prescribed marksmanship standards. At the heart of basic training is the drive to make every Marine a rifleman. No matter what occupation a Marine holds, he can effectively use any equipment or weapons his unit possesses. Marines also trained to perform the duties of all other men of the same rank, regardless of occupation. This unique approach provided Marines with the ability to adapt and overcome many unforeseen events encountered as they marched out of the Chosin Reservoir. The training received at Parris Island and San Diego proved extremely vital to their successful withdrawal.

The division included the First, Fifth, and Seventh Marine Regiments.[16] Each Regiment held an average of 3,500 Marines.[17] Several hundred Navy doctors and corpsmen, trained soldiers responsible for providing first aid during combat, accompanied these regiments. Keeping with the tradition of every man a rifleman, the Marine Corps does not furnish its own doctors or corpsmen and, therefore, uses Navy medical personnel. Each regiment entered battle with three 1,000-man rifle battalions, a 4.2 inch heavy mortar company, an antitank company, and a headquarters-and-service company.[18] The three rifle battalions of each regiment consisted of three rifle companies with an average of 350 Marines each.

The CCF groups in Korea consisted of two to four armies with an average total of 60,000 to 120,000 soldiers.[19] The Ninth Army Group included three infantry divisions composed of four smaller divisions. The smaller divisions contained approximately 8,000 to 10,000 soldiers.[20] These divisions consisted of reconnaissance, engineer, transport (primarily composed of animals and carts), guard, and a communication company.[21] The highly motivated Chinese soldiers showed themselves very skillful in executing guerilla warfare tactics and used small units to attack larger units in order to confuse the Marines. Unlike the Marines of the First Division, the average Chinese soldier possessed little equipment. During the war, the CCF used very little air support and did not operate any trucks, jeeps, or tanks.[22] Although they worked with radio and telephone communications far less advanced then those of the U.S., the CCF effectively used bugles and whistles to signal commands. Chinese soldiers carried everything they needed to fight, including about five days' worth of food and water.[23]

The CCF primarily carried out their attacks at night because the U.S. held air superiority over Korea, and the nighttime provided them concealment from aircraft. The CCF also focused their attacks during the night to confuse the Marines. Sergeant Charles

[16] J. Robert Moskin, "Chosin," *American Heritage*, November 2000, 68.

[17] Marine Corps Reference Publication, s.v. "MCRP 5-12D: Organization of the Marine Corps,"http://www.iiimef.usmc.mil/medical/FMF/FMFE/FMFEreferences.htm, Last updated 13 October 1998.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Canzona and Montross, 86.

[20] Billy C. Mossman, *United States Army in the Korean War: Ebb and Flow, November 1950-July 1951* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History United States Army, 1990), http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/korea/ebb/ch3.htm Last updated 25 May 2001; Accessed on 6 November 2005.

[21] Canzona and Montross, 86.

[22] Gruenberg, 76.

[23] Ibid.

Bell of the Seventh Marine Regiment, First Marine Division at the Chosin Reservoir remembers the Chinese as "trouble" because:

> They were tricky and there was so many of them. They would let our platoon move forward on a hill and then disappear over the other side. Then, when it was dark, they would come charging down on you. It wasn't like they came screaming and charging down the hill. The Chinese would wait until they were practically in your foxhole before they shot or threw grenades. Next thing you know they were all over the place.[24]

COLD, THE OTHER ENEMY

As the Marines entered the region of the Chosin Reservoir, the most difficult challenge they faced was the Korean winter. The best documented reports on temperatures come from records kept by the Eleventh Marine artillery regiment, which factored in the temperature as a basic requirement for firing. They recorded temperatures as low as twenty-five degrees below-zero.[25] With such extreme temperatures, much of the Marines' equipment malfunctioned. Vehicles did not start and weapons misfired or did not work at all. Sergeant Bell recalls, "Our guns and vehicles were frozen, we had to chip the ice off our equipment and weapons to fire them."[26] The winter conditions also made visibility a problem. Many Marines found it difficult seeing through snowstorms and concentrating on completing simple tasks such as firing and loading weapons. In some areas the wind ranged from thirty to forty miles-per-hour, which kicked snow and fragments of earth into the air, making it even more difficult for the Marines to see their surroundings.

The weather Marines encountered in the Reservoir gave new meaning to bitter cold. Robert Leckie, *Conflict: The History of the Korean War, 1950-53* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1962), NA.

Medical personnel struggled to aid injured Marines because of the cold. Surgeons found trouble performing the life-saving procedures required, and the cold temperatures caused the wounded to go even further into shock. Since temperatures fell significantly below zero, blood required for medical operations froze and turned unusable. Yet, even

[24] Sergeant Charles Bell, Alpha Company, 7th Marines, First Marine Division, interview by author, 18 September 2005.

[25] H. Edwin Simmons, *Frozen Chosin: U.S. Marines at the Changjin Reservoir* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Marine Corps History and Museums Division Headquarters, 2002), 29.

[26] Bell, interview.

with the cold and constant engagements with enemy troops, the Marines effectively performed their duties. Their ability to adapt and overcome these extremely difficult conditions demonstrated the commitment of Marines to never surrender.

On 24 November the Fifth Marines received orders to cross the mountain passes of the Chosin Reservoir and seize the town of Yudam-ni on the northwestern side of the reservoir.[27] The Seventh Marines, located at Hagaru on the southern tip of the reservoir, received orders to follow the Fifth. At the same time the First Marines moved into the town of Koto-ri, situated about eight miles below the reservoir. Marines were nervous about crossing into the Yudam-ni Valley due to reports of Chinese building up military forces in the areas to the south and west of Yudam-ni. This put the Chinese on the Marines' western flank and to their rear. In regards to the First Marine Division's plan of attack, Lt. Col. Ray Murray, Commanding Officer of the Fifth Marines, said: "It was unbelievable. The more you think about it, the more unreal it becomes. Well, anyhow, those were the orders and that's what we started to do."[28] Increasing heavy attacks on their supply lines added to the Marines' suspicion of a Chinese build up. Sergeant Charles Bell recalled: "The Chinese kept attacking our supply lines, but we believed that there was only a division in the area, it wasn't until later on that we began to worry."[29]

It was unbelievable. The more you think about it, the more unreal it becomes.

U.S. military officials believed China would not enter the war because of the superiority of U.S. weapons; however, believing the defeat of North Korea imminent, China did enter the war, taking U.S. forces by surprise. On 25 November the Chinese began their offensive against the Eighth Army, situated west of the Marine units. The Chinese pushed the Eighth Army back, stripping the Marines of any protection on their western flank. The strength of the assault on the Eighth Army left no doubt in the minds of the Marines that great masses of Chinese loomed over the mountain ranges. The Tenth Corps then ordered the First Marine Division to keep advancing in spite of the Chinese attack. The Marines did so even with the knowledge that this spread out their forces further, making them more vulnerable. On 26 November the Fifth Marines seized Yudam-ni, and the next day they attacked westward. Meanwhile, Chinese began infiltrating the lines behind the Marines, cutting off roads between Yudam-ni and Hagaru and also between Hagaru and Koto-ri.

THE WORST CASE SCENARIO

In the early morning hours of 28 November the worst happened as approximately 120,000 Chinese soldiers attacked the Marines strung out from the Chosin Reservoir to Koto-ri. The CCF penetrated between the Marine regiments and set up roadblocks between the villages, isolating American units. Chinese forces developed strong positions to the rear of the First Marine Division, hoping to snap the trap so tight that the Marines would never emerge from this valley of death. According to Captain Wang Xuedon, a CCF officer with the Twentieth Army, Fifty-eighth Division:

> To our surprise, however, superiority in number and quick encirclement did not bring us a victory. Even though we were able to trap the First Marine Division and cut it into smaller pieces during the first night, we could not destroy the division. … They were able to hold their ground with

[27] Canzona and Montross, 249-71.
[28] Simmons, 49.
[29] Bell, interview.

Marines trudge through mud and snow as they marched from Hagaru to Koto-ri. Clay Blair, *The Forgotten War: America in Korea 1950-1953.* (New York: Times Books, 1987). NA.

> their superior firepower and air cover. They exhausted our repeated attempts to annihilate their companies and smaller units.[30]

The initial Chinese attack confused and temporarily disorganized the Marines, as the most furious assaults hit the Fifth and Seventh Marines trapped at Yudam-ni. After securing the town of Yudam-ni on 27 November, the Fifth Marines received orders to march west and link up with the Eighth Army. However, once news emerged of the overrun of the Eighth Army, Lt. Col. Murray abandoned this plan and held his position. It became clear on the morning of 28 November that the two regiments of Marines could not hold off the Chinese soldiers positioned high above the valley. Once aware of the situation, Lieutenant Col. Murray and Colonel Homer Litzenberg, Commanding Officer of the Seventh Marines, devised a plan to cease attacking and continue holding their positions.

General Smith and the commanders of the Fifth and Seventh Marines initially did not realize how involved the units around them were. It was only a matter of time before they realized just how large the attacking enemy force was and orders to evacuate came. Yudam-ni presented an ideal trap: steep-sided valleys leading to a long, narrow, ice-covered road that hugged the ridges, providing Chinese soldiers with clear targets of the Marines in the valley below. The CCF almost succeeded in trapping the First Marine Division, but they underestimated the will of the Marines to keep fighting under the direst circumstances and failed in completing their mission at Yudam-ni.

BREAKOUT!

On 29 November General Smith issued orders to withdraw from the Chosin Reservoir. The Marines received orders to break out from the Chinese divisions surrounding them at Yudam-ni and regroup at Hagaru. Hagaru provided an easily defendable area because of its location in the Chosin Reservoir. The commanders of the Fifth and Seventh Marines organized their forces, and on 1 December the breakout from Yudam-ni began. To get from Yu-

[30] Richard Peters and Li Xiaobing, *Voices from the Korean War: Personal Stories of American, Korean, and Chinese Soldiers* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2004), 120-1.

Marines observe a close-air-support strike in its attempt to hinder enemy movement. Thomas A. Siefring, *United States Marines* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Chartwell, 1979), 155.

dam-ni to Hagaru to the Fifth and Seventh Marines passed through the Toktong Pass, where the CCF set up several roadblocks.

The Marines arrived in the town of Hagaru on 4 December. The fourteen-mile march through snow and numerous Chinese blockades resulted in several hundred casualties.[31] During the march overwhelming Chinese forces constantly attacked the Marines. Between 30 November and 4 December the 1st Marine Division suffered 1,140 battle casualties and 1,194 non-combat casualties,[32] yet the Marines still needed to fight their way through several Chinese divisions.

A major reason the Chinese did not trap the Marines at Yudam-ni stemmed from their tactical planning. The Chinese focused only on surrounding the Marines instead of concentrating their forces where Marines withdrew. The Marines exploited this decision by CCF commanders, yet with half the Reservoir left to defend the Chinese made the same mistake as the Marines withdrew from Hagaru to Koto-ri. "At daylight," said Lt. Col. Murray, "we advance to the rear. Those are division orders...." Perhaps sensing the uneasiness of the men around him he continued, "...we are going to come out of this as Marines, not as stragglers. We're coming out bringing our wounded and our equipment. We're coming out, I tell you, as Marines or not at all."[33] The men to whom he spoke had just fought for five days escaping a deadly Chinese trap at Yudam-ni, a battle like nothing the First Marine Division ever encountered before. And though exhausted, stressed, and dazed, and in spite of what they had been through, the Marines had difficulty taking withdrawal orders. Sergeant Charles Bell recalls how he felt about those orders: "We fought from Belleau Wood to Guadalcanal, from Tarawa to Iwo Jima, we [Marines] have never fought any way but forward."[34] Thousands of Marines died in those battles but the Marines never ceased fighting until they accomplished their mission. Their pride suffered a deep bruise.

[31] Simmons, 88.

[32] Moskin, 68.

[33] "Raymond Murray," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raymond_Murray. Accessed on 25 October 2005.

[34] Bell, interview.

BAD COMES TO WORSE

The port city of Hungnam became the final destination of the Marine withdrawal; from there all U.S. forces boarded ships and evacuated the region. First, though, the Marines needed to pass through the town of Koto-ri. On 6 December Lt. Col. Murray and the men of the First Marine Division left the town of Hagaru towards Koto-ri.[35] As soon as they left the outer defensive perimeter of Hagaru Chinese attacks commenced. The Marines fought their way through a progression of well-established roadblocks and strong points,[36] and on 8 December they started through the Funchilin Pass where they encountered a devastating situation. The Chinese destroyed a critical bridge a few miles south of the town, blocking the way. The Marines found themselves unable to bypass the bridge on either side and without the time or equipment to repair it. They used several pieces of plywood panel airdropped in to form a temporary bridge. Although they inched across the makeshift bridge wearily, on 9 December the last of the Marine division crossed successfully.

As the Marines marched through the Funchilin Pass, the Chinese Sixtieth and Seventy-seventh Divisions sat in well-positioned bunkers above the passage. The safe arrival of the Marines to Koto-ri depended on controlling the Pass. Captain Robert H. Barrow, commander of Alpha Company, First Marines, and a future commandant of the Marine Corps, recalled much later, "They were clearly in a position to control, dominate, and absolutely stop the First Marine Division from moving south. They had to be dislodged."[37] The Marines did just that and after hours of severe fighting they controlled the pass. Once the Marines commanded the pass, they descended unimpeded the rest of the way to Koto-ri and onward to Hungnam.

After escaping the Chinese trap in the Pass the Marines boarded trucks towards Hungnam. On 11 December all of the First Marine Division arrived in Hungnam, and by 15 December 22,215 Marines, 105,000 Army soldiers, 91,000 Korean refugees, and 17,500 vehicles boarded U.S. Navy ships and withdrew from North Korea.[38] All told, the CCF compelled U.S. forces to withdraw over 300 miles into South Korea, resulting in the longest retreat in American history.[39] On 1 January 1951, the Chinese and North Koreans crossed the 38th Parallel on their way to recapturing the cities of Inchon and Seoul,[40] where, just to the south, U.S. forces stopped the Communist forces and mounted a counteroffensive.

Between 26 October and 15 December the Marines amassed 4,418 casualties: 718 killed, 3,508 wounded, and 192 missing in action.[41] The major cause of injuries came not from the thousands of Chinese soldiers attacking them but from the cold, which caused a total of 7,313 frostbite casualties.[42] The Marines came badly equipped for the sub-zero temperatures due to a lack of planning by commanders. Also, while continuously engaged with the enemy and during the withdrawal many Marines lost what equipment they carried (such as gloves, boots, etc.).

As Marines left the Chosin Reservoir they brought all their wounded out with them. The wounded took their chances in the convoy that came under attack at every point. Riflemen cleared the ridges on both sides of the road as the convoy inched forward with only drivers and the seriously wounded allowed to ride in trucks. The trucks traveled in the middle of the column to protect them from Chinese ambushes. The caravan of trucks significantly slowed down the Marines and constantly came under Chi-

[35] Moskin, 68.
[36] Hammel, 353.
[37] Ibid., 382.
[38] Simmons, 124.
[39] Kaufman, 11.
[40] United States of America Korean War Commemoration.
[41] Simmons, 122.
[42] Ibid.

nese attack, but the Marines did not leave any of their wounded behind just for the sake of moving quicker. Since a limited amount of space existed in the trucks commanders made the decision to leave the dead behind, so the Marines conducted several field ceremonies to bury their fallen comrades. When the UN and Communist forces signed the armistice, one provision stipulated the return of the bodies of all soldiers buried in North Korea to their country of origin.

SEMPER FIDELIS!

Back in the United States, news of the encirclement of the First Marine Division by Chinese forces at Yudam-ni made headlines. Many feared the Marines would be completely destroyed or forced to surrender to communist forces, resulting in the largest military defeat in the history of the United States. Early reports indicated the reaction by the media when the news began to reach the United States. *Newsweek* called it "America's worst military licking since Pearl Harbor."[43] However, as days passed and information became more accurate Americans heard about the successes of the Marines in obtaining their objectives. No doubt many Americans felt distraught over news of the encirclement of the Marines, but that changed as they heard and saw stories of the Marines' bravery and determination to survive.

After several years of intense fighting, UN and Communist Forces signed an armistice on 27 July 1953.[44] The armistice separated North and South Korea at the existing battle line just above the 38th parallel and provided for a demilitarized zone extending a little over one mile on both sides.[45] The fighting carried a heavy price for the countries involved with approximately two and a half million people killed during the war.[46] The conflict left thousands of Koreans on both sides homeless and

Sergeant Charles Bell and other members of the 1st Marine division enjoy a well-earned moment of relaxation following the withdrawal. (Courtesy of the author, 2006)

destroyed much of the infrastructure of both countries. The Korean War significantly changed the attitudes of Americans towards communism, war, and their own government.

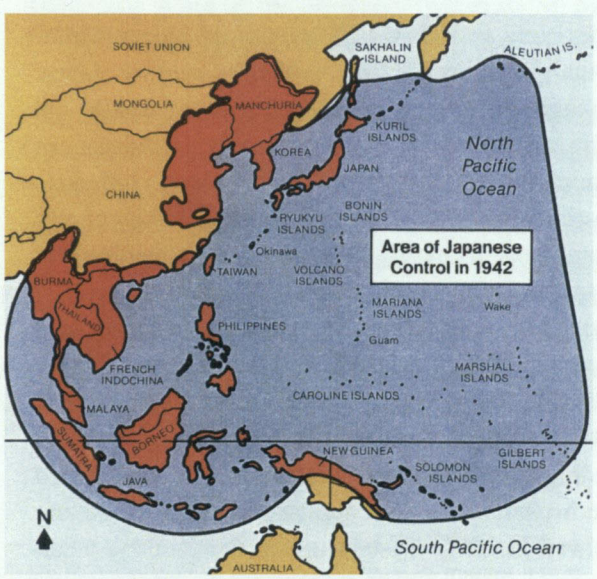
The withdrawal of the First Marine Division from the Chosin Reservoir to the port city of Hungnam became one of the greatest stories of Americans succeeding against all odds. That heroic effort could only have been possible through the honor, courage, and commitment of the Marines. Fourteen Marines received the Medal of Honor for their gallantry during the withdrawal and many more received medals for their bravery. Thousands of United States Marines arrived in Korea as young boys in 1950 and found themselves in the most formidable of circumstances. By the time they left Korea in 1953, these young boys emerged as heroes to millions of Americans.

[43] Canzona and Montross, 334.
[44] United States of America Korean War Commemoration.
[45] Gruenberg, 106.
[46] Ibid., 112.

Irony in Indonesia: Promises, Aspirations, and the Japanese Military Presence, 1942–1946

Eric Fenrich

During World War II Japanese forces occupied the islands of Indonesia to obtain oil and rubber necessary to maintain wartime operations. In exchange for their support, Japanese officials promised to help the Indonesian people gain independence from over 350 years of Dutch rule. Eric Fenrich examines the contradictions that occurred amidst promises by Japanese government officials as well as inconsistencies within the Indonesian nationalist movement.



Area of Japanese control in 1942: Mary M. Rodgers, ed., *Indonesia in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner, 1990), 31.

In a quest to obtain oil and rubber required for their military operations of World War II, the Japanese occupied and exploited the Indonesian islands in Southeast Asia. Prior to the Japanese arrival, Indonesia existed as a colony of the Dutch empire for nearly 350 years. Despite the promises of freedom that fill the history of Indonesia's pursuit of independence, the Japanese military and Indonesian nationalists frequently made decisions contrary to those aims. In order to achieve desired goals, the Japanese government and nationalist leaders made choices often in direct opposition to their ambitions. These contradictory goals and intentions illustrate the incongruity between the expectations and actual results of decisions and actions taken by the Japanese government and military occupation forces, as well as leaders of the Indonesian nationalist movement, from 1942 until the Japanese military presence on Java and Sumatra ended in 1946.

Nationalist leaders Mohammad Hatta (left) and Sukarno (right): Mary M. Rodgers, ed., *Indonesia in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner, 1990), 30.

The irony in Indonesia's pursuit of independence actually begins in late sixteenth- century Japan. Tokugawa shoguns gained control of Japan and governed it as a military dictatorship while maintaining the feudal system. To avoid foreign influence on the islands, the Tokugawa isolated the country from most forms of Western contact resulting in extreme Japanese nationalism. In 1853, Commodore Matthew C. Perry arrived in Japan demanding commercial rights for the United States and other nations. During the ensuing years, Japan entered into a series of treaties with several world powers ending over 250 years of isolation, and then joined the world ranks of colonial rulers by annexing Taiwan in 1895. By the turn of the century, Japan became a military power with victories in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05.

The military asserted its power over the civilian government during the Great Depression when Japan experienced severe economic problems. Army leaders insisted upon expansion into the Asian mainland to counter the crisis resulting from the depression. The military argued in favor of a deeper infiltration into China in order to obtain raw material and a huge market for Japanese products.[1] By 1931 Japanese conquests reached into Manchuria and the Jehol and Hopei provinces in northeast China. Following their attack on Pearl Harbor, Japan's military forces moved into Southeast Asia including the territories of Singapore, Malaysia, and the Netherlands East Indies. During the eighty-nine years between Commodore Perry's arrival and Japan's occupation of Indonesia, the island nation underwent a metamorphosis, changing from a relatively isolated country that sought to selectively eschew outside influences, into a colonial power whose territory covered 1.7 million square miles.[2]

In the case of Netherlands East Indies, or Dutch Indonesia, a colony accepted the invading imperial power in preference over the existing one. On 8 December 1941, Japan launched a propaganda campaign designed to produce a widespread predisposition on the part of indigenous populations to welcome Japanese military forces. These efforts included a daily broadcast on Penang radio usually

[1] Michael J. Lyons, *World War II: A Short History*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004), 48.

[2] A. J. Grajdanzev, "Japan's Co-Prosperity Sphere," *Pacific Affairs* 16 (September 1943): 312.

coordinated by local Sumatran residents.[3] The all-Aceh Union of Islamic Teachers (PUSA) and PUSA youth leaders instructed their followers to welcome the Japanese army and offer any assistance they might require. During a meeting with Major Fujiwara Iwaichi on 31 December 1941, Said Abu Baker described the Japanese as a "righteous army which can help us achieve our aspirations" of freedom and independence.[4] When the Japanese army landed on Java the following February, the native population brought their invaders coconuts, bananas, and papayas, while others saluted them with raised hands and thumbs up. The arrival of the Japanese hailed as the fulfillment of the Djojobojo prophecy, which hundreds of years earlier claimed people of the same race would come to restore the freedom of Indonesia.[5] Because their country existed as a colony of the hated Dutch since 1596, the Indonesian nationalist movement readily accepted the Japanese invasion. "On every street the Japanese were welcomed with friendly shouts," nationalist leader Sukarno remembered. "If you hate somebody you then love those who kicked them out."[6]

The Japanese military arrived in Indonesia with two main objectives.

The Japanese military arrived in Indonesia with two main objectives: to restore calm and return everyday life to normal conditions and in particular, for stores and shops to reopen while the population returned to work. To deepen hatred Indonesians felt toward their previous colonial masters and foster acceptance of Japanese control, the army used local Dutch police to maintain peace and order. Local inhabitants directed their anger and frustration at Dutch law enforcement that closed down buildings and suppressed looting during the initial chaos after the Japanese arrival. These actions broadened the schism even further between Indonesians and their former colonial rulers while elevating the Japanese in the eyes of the islanders.[7]

For the people of Indonesia, the arrival of Japanese signaled the end of their oppression and role as a colonial entity subject to a distant, white, imperial power. The Land of the Rising Sun meant freedom and independence to the Indonesian people, or so they expected. The belief in the prophecy, Japanese propaganda, and what historian Harry Benda describes as a 'linguistic misunderstanding' all contributed to this anticipation. Shortly after the onset of Japanese occupation, Lieutenant-General Harada asked Indonesian officials whether they were ready to "manage their own affairs." The officials assumed this to mean they had been granted administrative independence, that the mere presence of the Japanese was enough to establish "home-rule." No longer under the influence of the Dutch and aided by the Japanese, Indonesia set out to establish its government.[8]

The Japanese government continued to perpetuate the belief held by Indonesians of their impending freedom in order to garner cooperation, regardless of a decision in May 1943 to keep Indonesia "eternally in Japanese hands."[9] Due to rapid expansion of its empire, the vast expanse of its domain, and demand for Indonesian resources by the military, Japan needed cooperation of its occupied territories.

[3] Anthony Reid, "The Japanese Occupation and Rival Indonesian Elites: Northern Sumatra in 1942," *Journal of Asian Studies* 35 (November 1975): 52.

[4] Ibid., 12.

[5] Harry J. Benda, "The Beginnings of the Japanese Occupation of Java," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 15 (August 1956): 545.

[6] Sukarno, as told to Cindy Adams. *Sukarno: An Autobiography* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), 156.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Benda, 546.

[9] Ken'ichi Gotō, "Cooperation, Submission, and the Resistance of Indigenous Elites of Southeast Asia and the Wartime Empire," in *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945,* eds. Peter Duus, et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 281.

To avoid a two-front war, Japan continued to make promises of Indonesia independence, but with its limited resources and the challenge of controlling the inhabitants of the occupied territories, the addition of fighting Allied forces in the Pacific theater remained beyond the scope of possibility. While some Japanese favored Indonesian independence, the military-dominated government in Tokyo used the enticement of freedom as a strategic move, with the intention of gaining oil and rubber for the military without having to use its already limited supply to suppress indigenous populations of their growing empire.

Indonesians held their own motivations for cooperating. During three and a half centuries of Dutch control the islanders saw the supremacy of the white race and its invincibility. Then in an astonishingly short amount of time, Japan destroyed the entire colonial system of Western powers and the myths it created; Indonesians saw people who looked similar to themselves drive out white Europeans. After the Dutch offered minimal resistance to Japan, the people of Indonesia did not want to present any military resistance against the perceived invincibility of the Japanese war machine. In addition, cooperation with conquering Japanese meant liberation from Western rule.[10] Imperial Japan and colonial Indonesia suddenly found themselves engaged in a subtle game of war-time diplomacy, each side seeking maximum concessions in exchange for a minimum of sacrifice.

In need of oil and rubber, the Southern Operation pursued its predominant goal of securing resources for Japan, not independence for fledgling nations. Consequently, the early basic policy of the Japanese government included suppressing political activities of nationalist leaders, and offering a non-conciliatory stance toward nationalist movements.[11] Japan intended for Indonesia to become a permanent part of its empire despite propaganda and its post-invasion promises. Commander-in-Chief Shibata Yaichiro wrote, "The basic policy of the administration of the occupied areas was decided at headquarters in Japan, and the main point of this policy aimed at permanent possession in order to acquire those resources necessary for economic needs."[12] As late as 31 May 1943, this policy remained unchanged. In *Outline of Guidance for the Greater East Asian Political Strategy,* Burma and the Philippines gained nominal independence and negotiated treaties of alliance with Japan; however, the document designated Indonesia and Malaya as "Imperial Territories."[13] The quick conquest of Southeast Asia and the vast dispersal of its military forces required the Japanese to continue the charade of assisting Indonesia with obtaining its independence.

To achieve this, Japan issued the *Outline of Military Administration* that specified the necessity of winning the hearts and minds of the people as a means of preserving order. The military needed the cooperation of Indonesian people in order to achieve its primary goal in the region, the acquisition of resources and their redeployment to Japan, without requiring a larger military presence to control population.[14] The Japanese question became: how to gain cooperation of Indonesians. They debated two policies. Some leaders advocated the use of a "heavy hand" to control the natives, utilizing the threat of violence and instillation of fear. In contrast, the soft approach might create a degree of indulgence toward nationalism on the island, pro-

[10] Gotō, 276, 278.

[11] Ibid., 275-6.

[12] Shibata Yaichiro, "The Memoirs of Commander-in-Chief Shibata," in *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945,* eds. Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1986), 278.

[13] Gotō, 277.

[14] Miyamoto Shizuo, "An Account of the Cessation of Hostilities in Java," in *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945,* eds. Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1986), 219.

vided it did not interfere with Japanese objectives. Japan wanted resources and cooperation and offered ambiguous promises of future independence in exchange. Equally vague in their willingness to cooperate, the nationalists feigned an alliance, "To gain political concessions in terms of military training and administrative jobs for people." Sukarno stated, "You must make an appearance of collaboration."[15] As a result, Sukarno and other nationalists taught Indonesians how to be soldiers, executives, and decision makers, at Japanese expense.

Pre-invasion proposals suggested using indigenous independence movements and releasing nationalists maltreated by the Dutch government to obtain popular support.[16] In addition, the enthusiasm shown to the Japanese military during their initial landings led them to believe in the possibility of fully exploiting Indonesia's resources to their benefit without any significant opposition from nationalist leaders.[17] The military administration concluded that by persuading these men to view the Japanese as liberators, the population would follow their example and accept Japanese occupation.[18] With this in mind, the *Kempeitai* (Japanese military police) requested Mohammad Hatta and Satir Syahir make public statements of cooperation; more importantly, the Headquarters Propaganda Unit arranged for the release of the Sukarno. The Japanese, aware of his mass following, recognized the importance of obtaining this leader's cooperation in running the occupation administration. To acquire resources necessary for their war effort with minimal opposition, the Japanese government made promises of future independence to its newly acquired colony, and released three of its staunchest proponents from incarceration.

Sukarno in front of painting of Indonesian revolutionary youth: Rudolph Mrazek, *Engineers of Happy Land* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 194.

The Japanese conquest ended Sukarno's nine-year exile imposed by Netherlands colonial courts for his anti-Dutch activities and brought him back into the center of political life, where he faced complex political and moral problems during his quest for Indonesian *Merdeka* (freedom). He believed Indonesian independence achievable through Japanese occupation, an idea he clung to even as the military occupation forces became less conciliatory. This stand led him to make unusual decisions to satisfy his goal of freedom for his country. One of his first concerned Indonesian clothing. For someone so adamant against white imperialism, Sukarno ironically chose to shun the traditional Indonesian *sarong* in favor of Western style of dress. Sukarno viewed native dress as demeaning, while several of his associates argued that the *sarong* helped to retain national identity. "The minute an Indonesian dons trousers," he declared, "he walks erect like any white man. Immediately he wraps that feudal symbol around his middle, he stoops over in a perpetual bow."[19] Sukarno, a fierce nationalist, devoted his entire life to the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia. But when it came to clothing, he chose to ignore an emblem of national pride, viewing it as a sign of deference, and instead embraced the symbolism of Western clothing.

[15] Sukarno, 173.

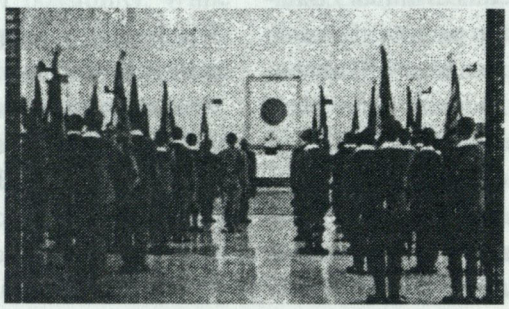
[16] Gotō, 278, 280.

[17] John Koe, "Sukarno and the Japanese Occupation," *Eastern World* 17 (1963): 16.

[18] John D. Legge, *Sukarno: A Political Biography* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1972), 151.

[19] Sukarno, 81.

Sukarno's involvement with the *romushas* (laborers), perhaps the most difficult decision he made, tortured him for years and led others to question who he intended to help. Sukarno recruited an estimated four million *romushas* luring them with promises of attractive wages and the title of "Heroes of Labor."[20] Slaves by Sukarno's own admission, they traveled in airless box cars, wasted away to skin and bone, and were treated as inhumanely as other prisoners of war. Near Bogor, Sukarno chose to have his picture taken wearing a tropical helmet and holding a shovel to show "how easy and glorious it was to be a *romusha.*"[21] Sukarno believed the best way to achieve independence involved giving the Japanese what they wanted. He looked upon himself as Indonesia's Commander-in-Chief, and, as such, expected to win the war even if it meant losing smaller battles along the way. In order to maintain a position of influence, Sukarno made an effort to convince the Japanese military that Indonesian people agreed to work with their liberators. Sukarno chose to provide slave labor for the Japanese war effort to facilitate his dream of freedom. "If I must sacrifice thousands to save millions, I will," he declared. "Forced labor for freedom, that was the bargain."[22]



Ceremony to Inaugurate Volunteer Army of Defenders of the Homeland (PETA): Anthony Reid, ed., *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia* (Athens, Ohio: Center for International Studies Ohio University, 1988), 150.

For Mohammad Hatta, cooperation with the Japanese itself proved ironic. Ten years earlier, Hatta bitterly denounced all those who cooperated with colonial governments.[23] Then in a newspaper article he wrote for *Pemandangan* on 22 December 1941, two weeks after the Pearl Harbor attack, he stated no other option existed for the Indonesian people but to join the "democratic camp of the West" to "confront Japanese imperialism…It is better to die for one's ideals than to live on in shame."[24] Within six months he worked as an adviser to occupation forces. The Japanese set up the *Hatta Kikan* (Hatta Organization) and charged it with maintaining contact with Indonesian leaders, collecting information on political and economic affairs, and promoting Japan's policies. Hatta made up his mind to cooperate, concluding underground activities a futile effort resulting in "stupid sacrifice of life," as he later explained to Miyoshi Shunkichiro. Hatta established his collaboration "within the limits set by [my] conscience to function as a protector of the Indonesian people and to seize the proper opportunities to demand that the Japanese implement the aspirations of the people."[25] Both Sukarno and Hatta saw themselves as father-figures to the citizens of Indonesia, nationalists who believed in their paternalistic responsibility to lead and care for their people.

Sukarno and Hatta took positions within the newly created organization *Putera,* its purpose to facilitate the relationship between Japanese occupation forces and the people of Indonesia by alleviating

[20] Library of Congress Country Studies, "Indonesia: World War II and the Struggle for Independence, 1942-50," *The Library of Congress*; available from http://lcweb2.loc.gov.

[21] Sukarno, 192.

[22] Ibid., 192-4.

[23] Mohammad Hatta, *The Putera Reports Problems in Indonesian-Japanese Wartime Cooperation,* trans. intro. William H. Frederick (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 4.

[24] Mohammad Hatta, *Kumpulan Karangan,* (Jakarta: Penerbitan Balai Buku Indonesia, 1988), 9, cited in Gotō, *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945,* 284.

[25] Miyoshi Shunkichiro, "Memoirs of Military Administration in Java," in *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945,* eds. Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1986), 114.

domestic difficulties and assisting with the Japanese war effort. Sukarno and Hatta also saw this as an opportunity to spread their message of Indonesian nationalism. The primary function of these nationalists involved the satiation of audiences with pro-Indonesian perspective under the guise of the anti-Allied or pro-Japanese campaign. At rallies, anti-imperialist and anti-Japanese propaganda differed in that the first tended to drop specific references to the Allies, and the later often infused Indonesian nationalism.[26] Over the next year, the Japanese saw more nationalism from *Putera* than cooperation and dissolved the group, replacing it with a body they could better control, the *Djawa Hokokai (*People's Loyalty Organization). Sukarno and his followers continued with a nationalistic agenda.

While Sukarno and Hatta disagreed on the expected outcome of the war, both men decided to work through the Japanese to achieve their goals for Indonesia. Prior to the war, Hatta hoped to acquire independence through negotiations with the Dutch.[27] When asked to cooperate nevertheless, Hatta agreed to act as an adviser to the military government.[28] Sukarno, on the other hand, believed non-cooperation a matter of principle, yet agreed to assist the Japanese expecting cooperation to provide the most expedient path to independence, as opposed to the more radical factions that advocated immediate independence.[29] The Japanese military apparatus remained crucial to a fully independent Indonesia, the ultimate target for both men. By July 1942 both nationalists worked with the occupation administration in positions of responsibility.

Mohammad Hatta proclaims independence: Theodore Friend, *Indonesian Destinies* (Cambridge: Belknap, 2003), 32.

When the Japanese authorized the formation of Volunteer Army of Defenders of the Homeland (PETA) in September 1943, they viewed the Indonesian forces as providing additional front-line defenses in the event of Allied landings: better to spill Indonesian blood than Japanese.[30] The nationalist leadership, meanwhile, influenced selection of Indonesian soldiers and officers of PETA while their people received military training from the Japanese army, at Tokyo's expense. Sukarno and his associates used propaganda to spread their ideas throughout the ranks of what became the army of the Republic of Indonesia. By 1944 the average PETA member held strongly nationalist views, not only anti-Dutch, but also anti-Japanese. They did, however, view other Allies favorably, particularly the United States.[31]

The fortunes of Japan's war machine took a turn for the worse following its defeat at Midway in June 1942. Two years later, Allied advances continued to reduce the size of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Following the fall of Saipan in July 1944, the Japanese military realized it desperately needed cooperation of native populations to hold off the Allies.[32] Even so, it was not until Premiere

[26] Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson, *Some Aspects of Indonesian Politics under the Japanese Occupation: 1944-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), 8.

[27] Ibid., 158.

[28] Mohammad Hatta, *Mohammad Hatta, Indonesian Patriot: Memoirs*, ed. C. L. M. Penders, (Singapore: Gunung Agung, 1981), 203.

[29] Legge, 156.

[30] Ibid., 186.

[31] Koe, 17.

[32] Sukarno, 194.

Koiso's declaration before the Diet on 7 September 1944 that Indonesia's promise of independence became official.[33] The Japanese government envisioned two benefits: first, in the event of an Allied invasion, the addition of Indonesian troops defending their soon-to-be independent homeland against Western imperial forces would bolster the defense of the Japanese armies on the islands. Second, if the war continued through December, the process of granting Indonesian independence could be completed, creating a material and psychological debt on the part of Indonesians toward the Japanese. Indonesia would feel grateful to the Japanese nation that granted its independence resulting in a stronger alliance in Southeast Asia.[34]

Nevertheless, guidelines issued kept the promise of freedom ambiguous. Occupation forces encouraged enthusiasm for independence. Banned shortly after Japanese arrival, permission was granted for the Indonesian flag to be flown and the national anthem sung without repercussion. Japan authorized informal preparations among the population, but not official activities. A formal date and the specific timing of any actions remained undiscussed.[35] Not until 5 August 1945, the day before the first atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, did the Japanese government authorize a specific date for granting Indonesian autonomy: 24 August 1945.[36] As the Japanese surrender became imminent, radical nationalists pressured Sukarno and Hatta to declare independence. Tokyo wanted the transition to Indonesian sovereignty to appear spontaneous. But now that Japan had asked the Allies for peace, a proclamation of independence issued at this time might be considered by the Allies as having been instigated by the Japanese, making its recognition doubtful. To make the proclamation appear to be the result of an Indonesian movement, the nationalists chose to have Sukarno, its popular leader, assert Indonesia's claim to self-government over the radio in the name of the people.[37]

The Japanese Army Headquarters expected the cessation of hostilities to take effect slowly, allowing them time to investigate how to legally give assistance to the Indonesian quest for independence while still protecting the status of their own military units. Once Japan announced its surrender, however, an obligation to observe international laws as the defeated party superseded the desire to follow through on its promises, expressly, the requirement for the Japanese to maintain status quo in occupied territories until Allied forces took over.[38] Beginning their occupation of Indonesia with promises of independence they never intended to keep, Japan's government ended the war desirous of granting that independence, although lacking the power to do so. Despite this, Admiral Maeda allowed nationalists to use his Jakarta home to prepare and broadcast the Proclamation of Independence on 17 August 1945. From the balcony of the Japanese Admiral's house, with Mohammad Hatta standing by his side, Sukarno declared, "In this Japanese period, it merely appeared that we leant upon them. But fundamentally, we still continued to build up our own powers, we still believed in our own strengths."[39]

Sukarno and the other nationalists demanded the new Indonesian nation be inclusive of territories previously controlled by the Dutch, despite those areas being void of any cultural affiliation with Javanese

[33] Anderson, 2.

[34] Ibid., 35.

[35] Nishijima Shigatada, "The Independence Proclamation in Jakarta" in *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945,* eds. Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1986), 303-4.

[36] Anderson, 61.

[37] Hatta, *Memoirs*, 226

[38] Miyamoto Shizuo, "Army Problems in Java after the Surrender." in *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945,* eds. Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1986), 325-7.

[39] George McT. Kahin, "Sukarno's Proclamation of Indonesian Independence," *Indonesia 69* (April 2000): 2.

or other Malay people and their only common bonds limited to geographic location and being subject to Dutch control. While Sukarno objected to Java being subjected to imperialism, he did not oppose mandating inclusion of other islands in the region as part of a greater Indonesia.[40] The Dutch intended to reclaim Indonesia as part of its colonial territory, but remained frustrated by the Allied decision not to land in Japanese-occupied Malaya or Indonesia until after the formal surrender was signed in Tokyo. The Netherlands government feared the delay would give the independence movement more time to establish its own government and requested that British Rear Admiral Patterson, after his arrival in Jakarta on September 16, arrest the leaders of the Republic. The British High Command, however, told him not to interfere in politics.[41] Four days later, the liaison office of the British army issued orders: "The Japanese army is to maintain order at all costs" until the Allies arrive.[42]

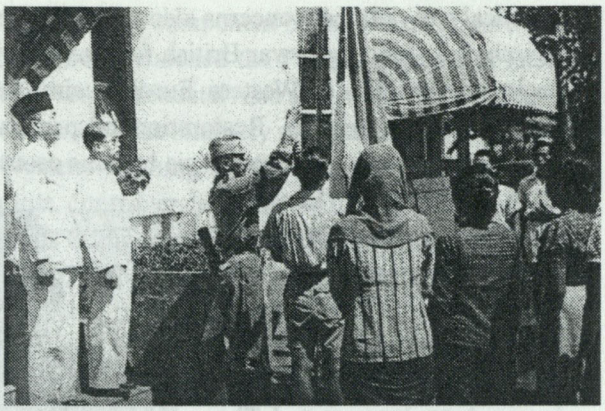
The decision by the Allies to use Japanese Surrender Personal (JSP) to maintain order rather than Indonesians negated any possibility of the indigenous population trusting Dutch intentions for returning; the Dutch, not the Japanese, became the real enemy.[43] Any advancement by Allied forces represented an imminent return to Dutch colonialism. Japan's surrender necessitated immediate action by Indonesia to seek independence without reliance upon others. In the year following their Proclamation of Independence, PETA troops fought against the Dutch, the British (whose ranks included Australians, Paks, Gerkas, and Indians), and their prophesied source of freedom, the Japanese.

[40] Thayer Watkins, "Indonesia," *San Jose State University Economics Department*; available from http:// 2.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/indonesia.html.

[41] Charles A. Gimon, "Sejarah Indonesia: An Online Timeline of Indonesian History," *Gimoca.com;* available from http:// gimonca.com/sejarah/sejarah08.shtml.

[42] Shizuo, "Army Problems," 331.

[43] Anderson, 93.



Raising the Indonesian flag at Sukarno's home following the Proclamation of Independence: Theodore Friend, *The Blue-Eyed Enemy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 181.

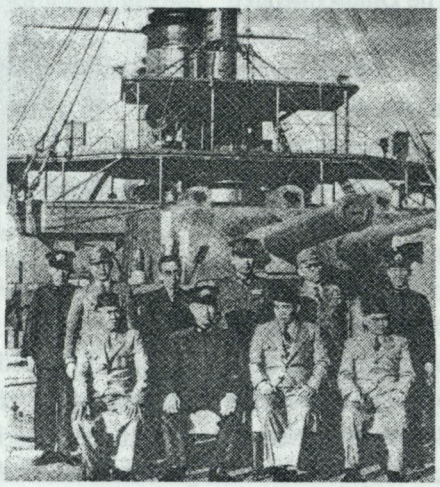
The Allies, and the British in particular, needed to use Japanese military occupation forces to control the Indonesian islands. Lord Louis Mountbatten of the South East Asia Command (SEAC) took charge of a logistical nightmare. Following the cessation of hostilities, the area under his command increased from one million to one-and-a-half million square miles. The population he needed to manage nearly doubled from forty-five million to eighty million people and his communication system added an additional 2,000 miles to an already over-extended network.[44] Mountbatten received little or no basic intelligence on Indonesia. Furthermore, the welfare of 750,000 Japanese prisoners and 100,000 Allied Prisoners of War (POWs) and internees who remained on the islands needed consideration.[45] Dutch troops arrived in Jakarta on 10 October 1945, but their insufficient numbers and questionable reliability of POW Dutch colonial soldiers became a problem for Mountbatten.[46] Meanwhile, General Douglas MacArthur of the United States Army diverted shipping to ensure rapid repatriation of Japanese soldiers from American zones, leaving few transportation options for the British.

[44] Ibid., 89.

[45] Andrew Roadnight, "Sleeping with the Enemy: British, Japanese Troops and the Netherlands East Indies, 1945 – 1946," *History* 87 (April 2002): 248.

[46] Ibid., 249.

Logistical and political concerns also pressed upon Mountbatten. First, post-war British foreign policy sought regeneration of Western Europe using the quickest means possible. Restoration of pre-war European empires in Southeast Asia became essential to salvaging the European industrial economy decimated by war; in comparison, the colonies suffered little physical damage.[47] Second, economic and strategic interests in the region needed to be protected. The British held investments totaling £100 million in the region, and the Dutch colony remained strategically important to the communications link with the Far East and Australasia.[48] Third, the Indian government felt uncomfortable sending its troops into a region seeking to break away from European colonial rule while they pursued their own independence.[49] And finally, Mountbatten faced limitations placed on the redeployment of troops. The British government refused to slow down the demobilization of forces in the region and insisted Mountbatten contend with all eventualities from within the Southeast Asia and India commands.[50]



Nationalist leaders Sukarno (second from right) and Mohammad Hatta (on the extreme right) under the protection of Japan: C. L. M. Penders, *The Life and Times of Sukarno* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University, 1974), 103.

Whether it was simple maintenance of law and order or the necessity to quell political uprisings, Mountbatten had only the resources immediately at hand. He had few alternatives but to utilize the JSP to maintain order in Indonesia. In September 1945, an estimated 73,000 JSP and civilians remained in Indonesia. Between 8,000 and 10,500 JSP served alongside SEAC forces on Java with an additional 23,500 JSP serving on Sumatra.[51] The British deployed between forty-three and forty-seven percent of the JSP, resulting in a situation where military forces, which until recently had been sworn enemies, now fought alongside each other in an attempt to restore the Dutch colonial empire. Their duties included guarding important buildings and military installations as well as participating in operations against Indonesia nationalists. Brigadier K. Darling of the Fifth Parachute Brigade acknowledged, "It would not have been possible to operate without these Japanese forces."[52] The last contingent of JSP left Indonesia on 17 November 1946.[53]

Japanese military leaders in Indonesia faced a problem of their own: how to reconcile Allied orders with the promise of independence given to Indonesians without affecting the repatriation of Japanese troops and civilians. Surrender documents for Southeast Asia Command stated that:

> The Supreme Commander, Japanese Expeditionary Forces, Southern Regions, undertakes to ensure that all orders and instructions that may be issued from time to time by the Supreme Allied Commander, South East Asia...are scrupulously and promptly obeyed by all Japanese sea, ground, air and auxiliary forces.[54]

[47] Ibid., 247.
[48] Ibid. 247-8.
[49] Ibid., 249.
[50] Ibid., 248.

[51] Roadnight, 251, 257.
[52] Ibid., 255.
[53] Ibid., 260-1.
[54] *Instrument of Surrender of Japanese Forces Under the Command or Control of the Supreme Commander, Japanese Expeditionary Forces, Southern Regions, within the Operational Theatre of the Supreme Allied Commander, South East*

Japanese commanders now held responsibility for transmittance and implicit obedience of all orders, as well as maintenance of public order and care of the civilian population. Providing any real aid to the Indonesian nationalist movement might lead to repercussions against Japan.

For most Japanese, duty to the homeland and the emperor constituted their first priority; reneging on a promise of independence might be shameful, but of secondary importance. Miyamoto Shizuo's sought to protect Japan and the Japanese people by avoiding Allied accusations of illegal actions.[55] He parted company with Maeda, arguing that the Admiral, by making his home available for the Proclamation, "weakened the stance we were taking toward the Allies that the Japanese were not involved in the independence problem at all."[56] Contrasted with Miyamoto's "Japan first" philosophy, Maeda felt obligated by the Japanese promise to the Indonesians. In addition, with the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere having virtually disappeared, Japanese authorities considered Allied power to be overwhelming; they had no choice but to obey.[57]

The occupation of Indonesia by Japanese military created numerous ironic situations. Indonesian nationalists Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta cooperated with the Japanese nation attempting to expand its empire. They worked with a colonial power after previously denouncing all collaborators in order to achieve independence. Sukarno despised white imperial power, yet did not object to forced inclusion of neighboring islands as part of an independent Indonesia. The region, a myriad of languages, religions, and customs, lacked commonality with Java and Sumatra beyond its geographic location and role as a component of the Dutch empire. Still, Sukarno envisioned the Pacific expanse of islands between continental Asia and Australia as a singular entity. He was intensely nationalistic, but preferred Western clothing to the Indonesian *sarong*. And most controversially, he willingly recruited hundreds of thousands of Indonesians to be "Heroes of Labor," Japanese slave labor, all under the guise of obtaining freedom.

Japan, a nation firmly ensconced in isolationism for 250 years, transformed itself into an imperial power in just over forty years. To expand its colonial empire, the government freed Indonesian nationalists from exile and placed them in positions of responsibility. The Japanese government made assurances of independence with no intent of keeping those promises. Then, as the war turned against them, Japan found it both beneficial and necessary to fulfill its pledges only to realize they no longer had the means to do so. After the war's end, Japanese military, openly welcomed by Indonesians at the beginning of the war, now assisted the Allies (including Indians, whose own nation pursued independence) in attempting to subdue PETA, the prophesied liberators battled to preserve the Dutch colonial empire.

The common theme of these conflicting actions is self-interest. All parties involved pursued their own goals through whatever means possible regardless of appearances, contradictions, and the effect of the outcome upon others. Japan promised independence to gain resources, Indonesians cooperated with Japanese occupation forces to be free of the Dutch, and Sukarno traded slave labor for the promise of freedom.

Asia (Singapore: 12 September 1945).

[55] Anthony Reid and Oki Akira, eds., *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1986), 217.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Shizuo, "Army Problems," 333.

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The Industrial Revolution in Dragon Springs: Economic Development from 1978

By Ryan L. A. Shaffer

The author discusses the profound effects of economic reforms of the post-Mao regime in China. Focusing on the village of Dragon Springs and utilizing a series of interviews conducted with its residents, Ryan Shaffer discusses the transition from agriculture to private industry from 1978 to now. Touching on many important points, including the advancement of education, gender equality, pollution, and the role of corruption, he provides an inside glimpse of life under current Communist government.

Dragon Springs Communist Party Headquarters with large statue of Mao Zedong. (Photograph courtesy of Ryan Shaffer)

At 8:00 every morning, Song Quanming goes to work at the Dragon Springs Pump Factory in China's Henan province.[1] A tall and husky man, Quanming is one of six shareholders in this privately managed facility. As manager, he meets with around twenty friends at the business in the course of the day. Despite this relaxed environment under private management, which took effect 5 February 2006, the factory earned increased profits over previous village management. Quanming believes that increased revenue is due to an increased sense of "trust" and flexible prices that attract customers. For some villagers, private management of the pump factory is a projection for the future, but local Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leaders expect businesses to remain under the collective.[2] This ongoing debate between collective and private management demonstrates struggles in economic transformation in contemporary Chinese villages.

Over the past three decades, industry in rural China grew from marginal importance to providing subsidies for agricultural production. In a country with the Communist Party as the only main political organization, rural industrial policies display unique examples of governmental involvement in business. Industry in rural China remains a growing segment of the economy that continues to make rapid economic gains on a global scale. While industry in rural China has a long turbulent past, it shifted dramatically after 1978 under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping away from the policies of Mao Zedong.[3] Deng argued that too much socialism existed under Mao, so he relaxed government policies making way for rural investment and entrepreneurial involvement in non-agricultural business.[4] From these changes, a new era in China began transforming many rural communities into prosperous bastions of economic and industrial growth. Considered a "model village" by the central government, Dragon Springs grossed more profit than agriculture by margins of 70 to 30 percent starting in 1990.[5] As of 2006, agriculture represents 3 percent and industry 97 percent of total village revenue.[6] Thus, through successes and failures of economic transition since 1978, a road map of the future became visible. Furthermore, this change will have social consequences as well as political implications.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Recorded in Dragon Springs, China, and sponsored by the Center for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton, the bulk of the research derived from oral histories and scholarly works. Through a dozen interviews with current and former political leaders, factory workers, and managers, a great deal of discussions surrounded the evolution of industrial life in Dragon Springs. In these interviews, recorded from 9 June through 21 June 2006, Kent Ning Xu, a graduate student at Henan College of Finance and Economics in Zhengzhou, provided Chinese-English translations. Formal oral histories are not the only means of acquiring data. A broader understanding of the village's economic and social life is available from conversations with everyday people on the street. Due to shortcomings of memory and skeptical nature of villagers towards researchers, contradictory claims occurred. These oral histories are supplemented with scholarly research, which traces economic transformation in other villages and the

[1] Interview with Song Quanming, manager of the Dragon Springs Pump Factory of Yutong Bloc of Henan Province, at Pump Factory, 15 June 2006. Interviewer: Ryan Shaffer; translator: Kent Ning Xu (all of the following interviews were conducted by Shaffer and Xu). Dragons Springs Village Oral History Project, Department of Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton, Fullerton, Calif. Special thanks to Dr. Cora Granata, Dr. Robert McLain, Dr. Lynn Sargeant, and Dr. Laichen Sun.

[2] Interview with Sun Laixiao, vice party secretary of Dragon Springs Village, at Dragon Springs Headquarters, 16 June 2006.

[3] Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger, *Chen Village under Mao and Deng* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 267.

[4] Ibid., 270.

[5] Interview with Sun Laixiao.

[6] Ibid.

Dragon Springs Villas. One of China's more prosperous villages, currently construction plans include new homes for every villager. (Photograph courtesy of Ryan Shaffer)

country as a whole. Focusing on economic transformation, these secondary sources provide a broader context of changes in Dragon Springs.

DRAGON SPRINGS AND RURAL CHINA

Longquan, Chinese for Dragon Springs, is located in northern China in Henan Province sixty kilometers north of the Yellow River. Henan has a population of 100 million people, while Dragon Springs had approximately 3,700 people in 2004. The village is a "Five Star" model according to the central government and received numerous awards proudly displayed on the village headquarters' building. Henan remains wealthier than western Chinese provinces but poorer than the east. Nonetheless, Dragon Springs remains a more prosperous village with current construction plans for new homes for every villager who will only pay half the cost of construction.

For hundreds of years, residents of Dragon Springs depended on farming for all aspects of life. Whether it provided sustenance or a source of income, agriculture passed from generation to generation to support livelihood. When the CCP came to power in 1949, one of the first changes made provided peasants land to farm, allowing all villagers in Dragon Springs a personal plot of land to grow crops. Yet, such a dependence on farming did not occur by choice since China never underwent "industrialization" as Western cultures experienced. When Deng decentralized business and encouraged industrialization in rural areas, Dragon Springs' traditional life began to change. These changes continued as industry financed agriculture has increased the quality of life, and launched society into a "modern" era.

Policies Deng adopted included elimination of agricultural quotas and abolishment of the work point system.[7] Under Deng, the commonly used Dazhai wage system, "tied payments even more directly to the productivity of each person's labor."[8] Prior to this, the work point system gave "squads" points for quotas met, making workers less likely to receive benefits from individual labor.[9] With the abolishment of this wage system, personal incentives are no longer "diluted" with this "production responsibility system."[10] No longer tied to communal wages or

[7] Jonathan Unger, *The Transformation of Rural China* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2002), 89.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., 77.

[10] William Byrd, "Township, Village, and Private

specific production, individuals are now responsible for taxes. Moreover, worker wages "determined by the factory's profitability" increased incentive for higher production.[11] Thus, private incentives developed ushering in initiative outside of the collective mind frame. The elimination of quotas freed land from restrictions allowing people to lease for the mass-production of crops while other people worked in industry. With decollectivized land and change in the wage system, rural peasants had new opportunities with economic incentive.

Even though rural Chinese peasants gained aspects of economic individualism, rural government remained an important aspect of Chinese life. Township governments still have authority and ability to raise funds for industry in ways individuals do not, while private industry has increased. While township-village community enterprises (TVCEs) owned and operated by local governments remain important, township-village private industry (TVPs) have grown drastically from the 1980s.[12] In contrast, "prior to 1979 rural enterprises were developed according to government policy," while TVCEs "have been developed more in response to market forces."[13] Despite growth of private industry, "China's TVP sector could not have grown nearly as rapidly as it has . . . without the deep involvement of community government leaders."[14] The government's involvement was vital in establishing, promoting, and even investing in private industry. Local governments gained this "autonomy" to oversee enterprises without state involvement in 1980, which increased local revenue.[15] Revenue achieved through "after-tax profits" is "turned over to the township industrial corporation," which is then reinvested.[16] Consequently, local leadership decides how much and what businesses receive investment, which in turn perpetuates growth in rural China. However, more often than not, "favoritism [occurs] for enterprises owned by the corresponding government unit."[17] Among the reasons for encouraging business growth, village funds are utilized to pay village leaders, thus, leaders of wealthy villages earn more than those leaders who rely solely on state salaries.[18]

Administratively Dragon Springs communist leaders have a large amount of autonomy over business and construction decisions. The main village leader is party secretary Liang Xiuchang, followed by vice party secretary Sun Laixiao, and CEO of the collectively owned Dragon Springs Group, Liang Kaijia, who is a former village administrative head. While meetings take place to discuss issues, the party secretary is the ultimate voice that makes decisions. Pressuring party leaders may result in changes to unpopular decisions, such as those that create a conflict of interest.[19] There are no term limits or reelections and positions are voted on by Communist Party members who are a minority group. However, direct political oversight is conducted by the Qiliying township in Xinxiang County. Henan's capital Zhengzhou receives further governance from party leaders in Beijing. Nonetheless, the role of authority depends on the situation and types of policies.

Industry in China's Economic Reform" (Washington, D.C.: Country Economics Department, 1990): 6.

[11] Michuan Yang, "Reshaping Peasant Culture and Community: Rural Industrialization in a Chinese Village" *Modern China* 20 (April 1994): 168.

[12] Byrd, 1, 2.

[13] Samuel P.S. Ho, "Rural Non-Agricultural Development in Post-Reform China: Growth, Development Patterns, and Issues," *Pacific Affairs* 68 (1995): 367.

[14] Byrd, 13.

[15] Ibid., 14.

[16] Ibid., 15.

[17] Ibid., 10.

[18] J. Bruce Jacobs, "Political and Economic Organizational Changes and Continuities in Six Rural Chinese Localities," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* (July 1985): 113.

[19] Interview with Sun Jishan, vice manager in one of the Dragon Springs paper mills, at Dragon Springs Headquarters, 14 June 2006.

AGRARIAN ECONOMICS, 1900-78

The establishment of Dragon Springs dates back several hundred years, which throughout its history residents depended on farming rice, wheat, corn, millet, and other crops for food. Droughts and bad harvests caused hardship, which was further complicated before 1949 when landlords owned much of the village land and charged high rents.[20] Due to high rents, some residents grew and sold fruit to keep their families from starving. The Kuomintang (KMT) allowed landlords to accumulate and take advantage of their wealth while many villagers suffered. Thus, with the liberation of Xinxiang County from KMT control in 1949 and land reform initiated by the CCP, many families became landowners for the first time. During the two decades following CCP rule, national policy required villagers to grow grain in communes. Liang Zengpu, the militia leader (later became "production brigade" head) during the first five years following the CCP overthrow of the KMT, explained that growing crops became the village and local party's focus from the national government.[21] The government then bought crops at prices set by the party and workers received their pay according to a work point system set by the local party. Therefore, the economy remained stagnant and dependent on direct national help in times of poor agricultural production.

Liang Zengpu, former party vice secretary Liang Zengpu pictured with translator Kent Liang Xu. (Photograph courtesy of Ryan Shaffer)

By the late 1960s, Dragon Springs villagers looked for a new approach to improve village life. Party secretary at the time, Liang Zhihai, explained that since Dragon Springs did not receive outside help, it became necessary to invest money to purchase machinery.[22] In 1970 the production brigade sent Liang Zengpu to Xinxiang to buy four flour machines, which were easy to purchase due to low demand for such equipment.[23] Starting with eight employees and unstable electricity, the venture was a success. Charging only 0.003 yuan for each cup of grain turned to flour, people from surrounding areas paid for the service, creating a profit of 15,000 to 20,000 yuan in the first year.[24] The flourmill's profitability became apparent to skeptical villagers who worried that the future of Dragon Springs was in business and production.

With profits from the flour venture, the production brigade had assets that party members wanted to invest. In 1971, borrowing ideas from nearby villages, local party leaders decided to open a brick facility due to high demand for the product. Yet, the Chinese government did not encourage such a venture, expecting rural areas to produce food for industrial cities. However, as recalled by then-party secretary Liang Zhihai, the brick factory served a practical purpose by transforming the eastern hill into arable land, which would prevent flooding in the winter. Since construction of the brick factory made it necessary to level land, Zhiahai explained, it then became "easy to grow" food. With this and profits in mind, the production brigade assigned a leader, Song Dejun, for a small team (agricultural work team) to construct the facility,

[20] Interview with Liang Zengpu, former militia leader and former business manager in Dragon Springs, at Happiness Garden, 16 June 2006.

[21] Production brigade was the name of an administrative village 1949-1978.

[22] Interview with Liang Zhihai, former party secretary in Dragon Springs, at Dragon Springs Headquarters, 9 June 2006.

[23] Interview with Liang Zengpu.

[24] Liang Zhihai claimed it profited 20,000 yuan and Liang Zenpu believed it yielded 15,000 yuan. in 1972 when Chinese currency held more valuable. Currently, the conversion rate is about eight yuan for United States dollar.

eventually becoming manager of operations.[25] After two months of construction, the facility opened with eighty employees operating in the collective enterprise. In 1972, the first year of operation, the brick factory made 100 million yuan, increasing revenue for the entire village.[26] These employees, like their agricultural counterparts, earned wages according to a work point system that paid all workers equally according to the production of the overall collective group until 1983.[27]

In 1972 profits from the flourmill and brick factory created purchasing power that, according to Zhihai, became the first of three steps toward industrialization.[28] In an era marked by consumerism, villagers could purchase toothbrushes, bikes, sewing machines, and watches. For the first time, Dragon Springs collectively gained revenue while profits personally benefited villagers. Since the 1949 revolution, through the Four-Cleanups in 1964, and mistakes of the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, income of the flourmill economically changed village life. Thus, from 1972 on, collective enterprises became the only way for the village to improve.

On the national level, after a brief period of political struggles following Chairman Mao's death in 1976, Deng Xiaoping became party secretary in 1978 and "reorganized" the rural countryside by relaxing economic and political control over industry.[29] As current Dragon Springs Group CEO, Liang Kaijia, described, drastic economic changes did not occur prior to 1978 because of restrictions on business development. After that turning point, a "free atmosphere" of industrial development began.[30] Deng's radical policies for transformation and modernization in industry became necessary to overcome economic shortcomings throughout China. Prior to these changes, in Dragon Springs and elsewhere, opening businesses outside of farming endeavors led to one being criticized as a capitalist.[31] However, with profits from flour and brick production, local party leaders did not wait for the national government to deliver economic salvation. Using profits gained from the brick factory, the village constructed its first paper mill in 1977. Unlike the flour and brick factories, which saw profits immediately, the paper business did not find immediate success.[32] For the first two years of operation, the village could not find buyers for the paper and mill workers resorted to selling it on the streets. Due to low profits of 200 to 300 yuan per ton of paper, it became necessary to close and open the mill several times in its first few years.[33] Through a connection to a Shanghai resident, profits improved in 1979, marking the beginning of rapid industrialization and dependence on papermaking businesses.

THE FUTURE IN PAPER, 1979-92

Due to a lack of expertise and low quality materials, the paper produced in Dragon Springs had no market. However, a local resident, Liang Guoqing, born in Shanghai and adopted as a child by a family in Dragon Springs, turned the paper venture around.[34] In this era of economic uncertainty, Guoqing contacted his brother who he had not seen since childhood in an effort to get the paper sold. This brother took Guoqing to Wenzhou in 1980 where he found buyers and eventually attracted experts to improve the machines and purchase paper-cutting equipment. Unfortunately, the paper quality and output remained inferior to other manufacturers. As

[25] Interview with Song Dejun, former manager of the brick factory in Dragon Springs, at Dragon Springs Headquarters, 21 June 2006.

[26] Interview with Liang Zhihai.

[27] Interview with Song Dejun.

[28] The three steps of industrialization included sewing machines and watches in 1972, televisions and vehicles in 1982, and normal people owning cars and new homes in 2006.

[29] Unger, 19.

[30] Interview with Liang Kaijia, CEO of Dragon Springs Group, at Dragon Springs Headquarters, 11 June 2006.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Interview with Sun Laixiao.

[33] Interview with Liang Zengpu.

[34] Interview with Sun Laixiao.

Dragon Springs Brown Paper Mill. After its first paper mill opened in 1977, paper production remained a staple of communist economy for three decades. (Photograph courtesy of Ryan Shaffer)

a result, the plant only produced between forty to fifty tons of paper a day, compared to 120 to 130 tons produced each day in 2006.[35] Moreover, paper quality remained so poor that it served as a means of wrapping food or burned as a funeral rite.[36] Despite the quality, more markets opened in Wenzhou creating a higher demand for Dragon Springs paper.

Due to the demand for paper, local party leaders voted to open another paper mill in 1982. The new mill increased village revenue since paper mills were not as destructive to the land as a brick factory.[37] However, with construction of a second factory, the paper industry proved less prosperous than previously believed. Thus, in 1985, based on low profits and breaking with convention, then-vice party secretary, Song Siyin, became private manager of one paper mill with his brother, Song Siqin, operating the second one.[38] Paper mill manager, Liang Kaiwang, explained that this derived from central guidelines, which encouraged an "open policy" to private management.[39] This action created uproar in the community; in 1987 villagers recollectivized the mills by taking control away from the first ever privately managed business. This type of privatization is unique to China because "private property" does not exist in a Western sense. Instead, "private business" refers to a person or group of people not affiliated directly with the government who pay the collective to operate the business. The government expects these proprietors to turn over a basic income, while allowing them to keep profits above a flat rate. People, such as Sun Jishan, vice manager of one paper mill, alleged that politicians running collective business for their own profit were not corrupt, but the act was simply "not proper."[40]

The brief experiment into private management ended in 1987 and once again the collective decided to invest in paper. By 1988 the third and fourth paper mills opened.[41] Like other factories a quick investment return did not occur. As Sun Jishan explained, 1988 became a year of "hard time" stemming from continued low quality in paper mills. This time the local government brought in experts, who proved

[35] Interview with Sun Jishan.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Interview with Song Dejun.
[39] Interview with Liang Kaiwang, paper mill manager and brother of Dragon Springs CEO, at Dragon Springs Headquarters, 12 June 2006.
[40] Interview with Sun Jishan.
[41] Ibid.

Rice paddies, while no longer predominant source of income for villagers, agriculture remains an important part of village life. (Photograph courtesy of Ryan Shaffer)

unable to improve the paper quality. Hoping to increase the local economy, 1992 saw the village open a white paper mill specializing in paper for printing.[42] This exacerbated the problems, with low quality paper produced in the new mills as well. The village hired nationally famous paper experts from Dangdong to repair this problem. However, these experts specialized in white paper made from wood, while Dragon Springs used recycled material. According to locals, these experts worked for three days without sleep to solve the problem, to no avail.[43]

PERSONAL INVESTMENT AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY, 1993-2001

Consumerism and increased wages in the 1990s differed from all other periods of rural Chinese history. Yet, farming remains an important aspect of life for the average villager. During the collective era each village family had over one hectare (ha) of land, they currently have less than half a ha.[44] In 1990, industry took on a new role creating more revenue than agriculture for the first time. The trend continues today with agriculture producing 3 percent and industry producing 97 percent of the total revenue for Dragon Springs.[45] Yet, while the financial role of crops has changed, the village is still expected to grow rice and grain. Families, in many cases female heads of the household, work in fields, while other family members work in paper mills. Paper mill workers complete an eight-hour factory shift and plant or harvest crops after work. While factories in Dragon Springs operate around the clock with three-eight hour shifts each day of the week, farming remains a part of village life in accordance with the seasons. After all, as production team leader Liang Kaiwen explained, Dragon Springs does not buy crops from other places; residents grow the food they eat.[46] Due to the wealth of industry, the central government stopped collecting taxes on agriculture in 2006. Nonetheless, the general structure of local CCP oversight in food production has continued throughout the period of economic transformation.

The local economy's focus became the collectively owned paper mills that continued to produce low quality product. From 1993 to 1994, the local community, as Sun Jishan described it, faced the

[42] Interview with Sun Laixiao.

[43] Interview with Sun Jishan.

[44] Ibid.; The conversion rate is 1 acre to every 0.4047 hectare.

[45] Interview with Sun Laixiao.

[46] Interview with Liang Kaiwen, number one production team leader of Dragon Springs, at Dragon Springs Headquarters, 12 June 2006. As Kaiwen noted, industry brings business and money, and agriculture brings food.

"hardest time" for the village in recent history.[47] Vice party secretary, Sun Laixiao, believed the recession stemmed from the slow return of a collected twelve million yuan investment from Dragon Springs and other villages.[48] Angered by slow investment returns and desperate for their money, people gathered outside of Dragon Springs headquarters and demanded their money back. With their money invested in businesses, party secretary Liang Xiuchang assigned each factory a group of investors and instructed people to obtain their money from the paper mills.[49] This put direct pressure on the managers to increase paper production and sales.

With the economic boom from 1995 through 2000, village life changed dramatically.

In 1995 with mobs of people wanting their investment returned, the Dragon Springs Group CEO traveled to southern China for a professional machinist. At a rate of 1,000 yuan a month for five months, the machinist greatly improved production and quality.[50] In the early years paper machines rolls ran thirty rotations a minute, with improved machines this increased to eighty runs a minute.[51] In turn, Dragon Springs paper sold in large quantities and profits increased. In 1995, the village saw a return of 75,000 yuan, compared to 1996's return of 600,000.[52] After such a vast improvement and positive returns, local residents no longer wished to have their principal investment returned. This allowed the mill to use its profit to invest in other paper mills in 1997. The other mills then paid back the initial investment, giving investors an additional 10 percent interest before 2000.[53]

With the economic boom from 1995 through 2000, village life changed dramatically. The Dragon Springs leadership used collective funds to pay workers at two local businesses that could not pay wages. More importantly, since 1996 the paper mill has paid for health insurance for each worker, each year.[54] While considered "rare," most common workplace injuries include the loss of fingers and toes from roll machines.[55] Depending on the injury and family, and if the injured has a son, payouts can range from 50,000 to 100,000 yuan for death.[56] Furthermore, profits from the paper mill increased the standard of living in Dragon Springs. As local store proprietor and paper mill worker, Song Kejun explained, paper mills allowed local stores to open.[57] Workers gained purchasing power producing a demand for products, with stores competing under a free market system.

Along with stores and workers profiting, more businesses meant more tax revenue for the Chinese government, which has two levels of taxes, a local and national tax.[58] Local taxes are paid directly to Xinxiang County with a flat rate of 200 yuan every six months. The national government has a fixed rate of 500 yuan every six months if the store profits 5,000 yuan a month. Since China does not have a sales tax, store taxes provide added revenue in areas where consumer stores were non-existent in previous decades. In turn, public facilities, such as schools, roads, and further industrial development, benefit from these taxes.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Interview with Sun Laixiao.

[49] Liang Xiuchang required that the families who need the money the most received payment first.

[50] Interview with Sun Laixiao.

[51] Interview with Liang Zenpu.

[52] Interview with Sun Laixiao.

[53] Ibid.

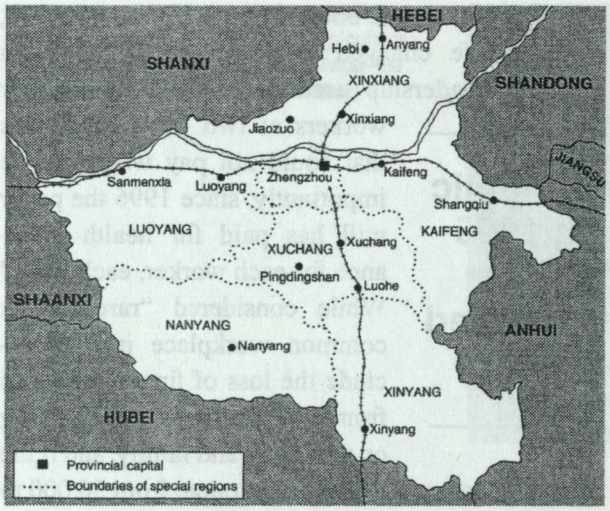
[54] From 1996 on workers held People's Safety Insurance from People's Life Insurance (a company operated by the CCP).

[55] Interview with Liang Zengpu.

[56] Interview with Liang Kaiwang.

[57] Interview with Song Kejun, paper mill worker and storeowner, at Dragon Springs Headquarters, 11 June 2006.

[58] Interview with Song Dejun.



Map of Henan. Jean-Luc Domenach, *The Origins of the Leap Forward: The Case of One Chinese Province* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1995), frontispiece.

NEW CHALLENGES AND PRIVATE BUSINESS, 2001

In 1991 Song Quanming left a brick factory in a nearby village and returned to Dragon Springs. Upon his return, he started work at the newly established Xinxiang County Pump Factory of Dragon Springs.[59] Having several years of managerial experience from a broad range of work, Quanming received a management position at the pump factory. Like all other non-store businesses in Dragon Springs, the Dragon Springs Group collective operated it. As with the paper mills, the pump factory saw difficulties in its early years. Without steady customers and proper expertise, the company did not earn profits until 1996.[60] After 1996, with the factory allowing customers to purchase from the business without seeking a regular clientele, the result was sporadic sales from a customer-base from nearby provinces. Despite his best efforts, Quanming's troubles continued throughout the decade, eventually picking up with the economic boom. In 2003, the pump factory had its most prosperous year, but this did not last.[61] With low profits, the collective closed the factory on 11 December 2005 due to "noise" pollution.[62]

After years of low profits and high investment in machinery, pump factory workers believed it a "waste" to close the factory. Thus, on 5 February 2006 six former pump factory workers pooled their resources together becoming shareholders in the factory.[63] Expecting to earn their initial investment back in three years, workers bought the machines from the village, and became responsible for making a profit. Under new management, Quanming and the five other shareholders decided to tie workers' pay to the number of pumps produced. This created an added incentive for the thirty workers to produce many high quality pumps without concentrating on work hours.[64] As Quanming explained, workers, who can earn more money, enjoy private management of the pump factory, as do customers who appreciate the "trust" and high quality of work.[65] From February to June 2006, the factory earned more money than under the collective management.[66] Furthermore, without local CCP involvement Quanming and other workers set their own schedule making their work environment more enjoyable.

[59] Interview with Song Quanming. The company became known as the Dragon Springs Pump Factory of Yutong Bloc of Henan Province in 1992.

[60] Ibid. Song Quanming claimed it was not profitable from 1991-1996 and was shut down in 2005 for the same reasons. This was disputed in an interview with current vice party secretary Sun Laixiao who claimed it "always" made a profit. Yet, Laixiao's description seems unlikely because the business was privatized in 2006. When asked why it was privatized if it was earning profits, Laixiao stated that it could not develop further. It seems more likely that Quanming was correct, and it was privatized due to a lack of profitability.

[61] Interview with Song Deyi, manager of the Dragon Springs Pump Factory of Yutong Bloc of Henan Province, at Pump Factory offices in Dragon Springs Village, 15 June 2006.

[62] Interview with Song Quanming.

[63] Ibid.

[64] The spectrum of wages range from 1,000 yuan per shareholder to 700 yuan per worker.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Interview with Song Deyi.

In 2006, the pump factory was not the only company to break previous village business practices as the Dragon Springs Group opened a new paper workshop, Yubei (meaning "northern Henan") Mill, owned solely by shareholders.[67] Headed by CEO Liang Kaijia, in May 2006, the factory opened with seven hundred families buying 8 million yuan worth of stock.[68] The Dragon Springs Group set shareholder interest at 20 percent above taxes to insure a high profitability. Due to its recent opening, it is difficult to gauge any profits. Yet, it demonstrates a willingness to turn business over to market forces and investors. This is in direct contradiction to past CCP policies and is part of the remarkable transformation of Dragon Springs. Kaijia stated that this new facility was an "experiment," and demonstrated that the local CCP is not as monolithic as it once appeared.

GENDER AND INTER-VILLAGE RELATIONS

Gender attitudes in Dragon Springs reflect broader perceptions in rural China. Scholar J. Bruce Jacobs commented that men are more likely to work industrial jobs while women perform agricultural work.[69] This derived from policy in the early 1980s that "encouraged rural households to expand sideline activities," which "rely heavily on women's traditional skills" of sewing, cooking, and caring for animals.[70] Moreover, despite improvements in gender equality, men are more likely to receive higher pay than women, a fact that is inherently linked to industry available in rural communities.[71] Villages with less deviation from traditional economic life are more likely to have less social change. Clearly, villagers have more choice and opportunity as a result of the connection between economic and social spheres that have affected industry.

However, as is true of all nations, complete gender equality does not exist in China. Liang Kaiwen argued that "old women" work in fields, and "young men" work in factories.[72] This disparity is indicative of a broader view of women in Dragon Springs. There are no high-ranking female leaders, and women involved in daily activities of the local CCP are waitresses, secretaries, or maids. As Kaiwen explained, the old order of CCP leaders chosen by party members a decade ago continues to govern the village with traditional dogma. Even with improvements towards work equality and romance, age-old gender norms remain.

With the transformation of industry and rural life, gender relations have greatly improved with women gaining more rights. Scholars have traced an increase in gender equality from the 1979 economic reform as women's work in rural industry has greatly increased.[73] In the case of Baixio Village, near the Pearl River Delta, from 1993 to 1994 industries nearly doubled and worker population increased from 10,000 to 30,000 with women making up 70 percent of the total workforce.[74] Likewise, as paper worker Song Kejun explained, after 1990, the number of women, including his wife, working in Dragon Springs paper mills grew.[75] Clearly, women became valued for their work in ways not apparent in previous centuries of agrarian labor.

With economic changes, social changes followed due to the industrial demand for workers, which welcomed women into new social positions. Scholars argued, "when the small-scale farming economy operated by familial societies was replaced by incoming large-scale industrial production, economic

[67] Interview with Sun Laixiao.
[68] Ibid. One share is 4,000 yuan.
[69] Jacobs, 127.
[70] Ho, 380.
[71] Byrd, 26.
[72] Interview with Liang Kaiwen. As Kaiwen noted, industry brings business and money, and agriculture brings food.
[73] Sun-pong Yuen, Pui-lam Law, and Yuk-ying Ho, *Marriage, Gender, and Sex in a Contemporary Chinese Village,* trans. Fong-ying Yu (Armonk, New York: ME Sharpe, 1998), 25.
[74] Ibid., 25.
[75] Interview with Song Kejun, paper mill worker and storeowner, at Dragon Springs Headquarters, 11 June 2006.

Three-wheeled truck on village road. (Photograph courtesy of Ryan Shaffer)

life was gradually uncoupled from the familial structure and formed an independent system of its own."[76] As a result, this "independence" changed social attitudes, and women began to have more influence in spending habits allowing them more equality to their male counterparts than in the past. As Kejun illustrated, while he is working in the paper mill, his wife runs the family store buying and selling goods.[77] This social mobility reaches the previously "invisible" female population, who before 1978 had little opportunity for life outside of agriculture. More importantly, with both sexes working in the paper mill there is more opportunity for love.[78] Kejun and his wife married through a "matchmaker," a marriage set up by an intermediary in 1978, while his daughters have been married according to their own courting and desires.[79]

Relationships between men and women have not been the only improvements as ties between nearby villages have also improved. According to the CEO, only 40 percent of the 1,000 paper workers are from Dragon Springs with 60 percent from nearby villages.[80] All workers earn the same amount (average 800 yuan a month) for eight-hour/seven day a week jobs, no matter where they are from.[81] Due to educational requirements, many villagers are "unqualified" as the paper mills require at least a middle school education.[82] Even though there is a daily influx of outsiders, there is no migrant labor, but rather outside workers "commute" to factories. Neighboring villages, such as Litai, are literally across the main road from Dragon Springs, and are governed by different local CCP members. The hiring of outside village labor for Dragon Springs' paper mills strengthened the bond between nearby villages and led to romantic endeavors from the increase of female and male workers.

[76] Yuen, Law and Ho, 138.

[77] Interview with Song Kejun.

[78] This argument is made by Yunxiang Yan. Yunxiang Yan, *Private Life Under Socialism: Love, Intimacy and Family Change in a Chinese Village, 1949-1999.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003), 53.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Interview with Liang Kaijia.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

POLITICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

Corruption, pollution, and bureaucracy are problems facing contemporary rural China. While environmental problems are noticeable, political corruption is a less visible danger in China. Local Chinese residents were unwilling to discuss "corruption" in explicit terms, but it clearly remains prevalent. Dragon Springs CEO Liang Kaijia explained that regulatory officials pay attention to particular rules at "certain times."[83] As Kaijia elaborated, when transport trucks are overloaded those officials are paid to look the other way. Indeed, this is also relevant in terms of pollution. With a seldom-changing leadership and expanding economy, some leaders and villagers benefit if officials ignore issues. Payola is not the only form of corruption, nepotism is also apparent in Dragon Springs. Even though the village has nearly 4,000 people, many leaders are from the same family clan, such as Liang.[84] There is no doubt that without electoral or public balance in place to stem nepotism, high paying and powerful jobs will continue to go to family and friends. Yet, such acts are not openly discussed and are not necessarily considered "corrupt." As Sun Jishan described, the 1985 privatization of paper mills going to the vice party secretary and his brother was detrimental to the collective and sparked outrage.[85] When Jishan was asked if this was considered corruption, he stated it was "not corruption, but just wasn't proper."[86] Even the village's major source for revenue going to the brother of the second highest person in charge did not provoke an admission of corruption.

[83] Interview with Liang Kaijia, CEO of Dragon Springs Group, at Dragon Springs Headquarters, 11 June 2006.

[84] Former party secretary is Liang Zhihai, current CEO is Liang Kijia, Kijia's brother, Liang Kaiwang, is manager of a paper mill, the team leader is Liang Kaiwen, former militia leader was Liang Zengpu, and the current local party secretary is Liang Xiuchang.

[85] Interview with Sun Jishan.

[86] Ibid.

Such a clear conflict of interest caused a recollectivization of the factory, while lesser acts of nepotism continue. As Liang Kaiwang, younger brother of current CEO Liang Kaijia, explained, before he became a manager in the flour factory he served in the Chinese Army, worked in a leather factory, and drove a tractor.[87] Such small cases of favoritism are popular methods of conducting business in China. By giving someone a reward, the giver receives repayment at a later date. In turn, this protects both people and allows business to continue without obstruction. Moreover, it is evident that many residents want improvements and transparency in government while they remain loyal to communist beliefs.[88]

Since 1978, China's industries have leaned towards privatization as a means to provide investment for industry, but the government has remained communistic. A negative consequence under this capitalistic/communistic synthesis is the slow development of a bureaucratic structure to regulate and correct problems in business. Scholar Yutan Li explained that "technology and equipment" in early post-1978 Chinese rural industry was "backward" and thus pollution was "unavoidable."[89] Thus, by the 1990s, the government created towns and industrial zones to protect land usage and prevent waste.[90] As Samuel Ho noted, these towns and industrial zones became part of the new safeguards demonstrated by the loss of 33 million ha of farmland between 1957 and 1977, compared to 1979 thru 1989 when culti-

[87] Interview with Liang Kaiwang.

[88] There is no convincing evidence to conclude that the average person understands pure Marxist-communist ideology. Rather the people understand the term "communism" in simplistic and propagandistic fashion. This is due to the interrelated nature of nationalism, the CCP, perception of history, and the attached notions of communism as a symbol for China (as with Mao Zedong).

[89] Yutan Li, "Development and Characteristics of China's Township-Village Industry" (Naoya University: Economic Research Center School of Economics, 2000): 18.

[90] Ibid., 19.

Gugu Zhia. One of many villages near Dragon Springs from which villagers commute to work in factories. (Photograph courtesy of Ryan Shaffer)

vated land decreased by around 4 million ha.[91] Loss of land was not the only consequence of pollution; it also caused health risks that could lead to fatalities.[92] Despite improvement in the safe disposal of industrial by-products, "the enforcement of environmental regulations has been sporadic and uneven."[93] Enforcement is weak because "rural enterprises have little incentive to comply with environmental regulations" and the agency to oversee enforcement "has barely penetrated the rural sector."[94]

More particularly, Dragon Springs has made environmental health a focal point. As Sun Jishan noted, in 2005 the local government spent 70 to 80 million yuan from a total of 300 million yuan revenue to build a water treatment facility.[95] The facilities purpose is to ensure paper mills in Dragon Springs meet national governmental standards. Xinxiang County officials check the water every two hours and if a company fails an inspection, they risk closure. Interestingly, as power plant vice-manager Wang Dingchang explained, if a business immediately closes after failing safety requirements, officials will not impose fines.[96] Overall, regulations have only been strictly enforced in recent years. This was demonstrated when over 100 factories were closed except four major firms, including Dragon Springs, that remained open since 1998.[97] Yet, pollution problems continue resulting in detrimental consequences to air quality as far away as California.[98]

HUMAN RIGHTS

Besides facing environmental hazards with factories, workers' well-being is threatened. Even though employees in paper mills work with posters of Mao Zedong hung in warehouses, reminding workers of both the CCP and national unity, workers' consciousness has grown. Yet, workers' voices are limited in that labor and trade unions in China are powerless, and being a CCP member is out of reach for the average villager. Interestingly, village CEO Liang Kaijia and Sun Jishan shared the belief that most Dragon Springs' residents are not "qualified" to work in paper mills, with Jishan claiming that

[91] Ho, 374.
[92] Ibid., 375.
[93] Ibid., 376.
[94] Ibid., 377.
[95] Interview with Sun Jishan.
[96] Interview with Wang Dingchang, vice manager of the Dragon Springs Power Plant, at Dragon Springs Power Plant, 21 June 2006.
[97] Interview with Sun Laixiao.
[98] Terence Chea, "Asia's growing air pollution reaches all the way to Sierra-Nevada," *Reno Gazette-Journal*, 29 July 2006, 1A.

leaders are "smarter" than villagers.[99] The attitude that the "leader is right" is a common perception caused by school education and propaganda. However, with the introduction of shareholder's investment and private business, these beliefs have begun to erode. Personal choices and motives are involved in investment, and those willing and able to produce profit have the choice to do so with less government involvement than before. Furthermore, with such industrial transformation, more choices and opportunities are available, which will no doubt prove that villagers outside of leadership have foresight and entrepreneurial skills.

However, there is no indication that any radical change will occur or that collectivization is a concept of the past. In fact, traditional communal life in rural China remains strong despite elements of commercial competition. As a popular slogan throughout China describes, the government's duty is to help "the people get rich together".[100] Indeed, this is what the people and government hope to obtain by "using capitalism to build a socialistic state." The collectivization that started in 1949 has more social and capital freedom today, but the basic government structure remains intact. As a result, the local government still orchestrates farming, wages are generally uniform for workers, building and investment are decided with the collective in mind, and the Chinese continue to rely on the local government for jobs and aid.

While education is available to Chinese children at county schools, Dragon Springs is unique in that the village, against government wishes, built a village school. Clearly, the local government aims to increase prosperity by having a well-educated populace to develop business and life. On school grounds, several mythical tales of China's history and communist origins are on display. This includes a symbol of morality and nationalism embodied in a bust of Lei Feng on display in the schoolyard while his diary is required reading as an example of a good Chinese citizen. Obviously, China, as with all nations, reinforces nationalistic and governmental power through history. Yet, high school education is limited, with villagers not able to attend school for financial or scholastic reasons. However, the village middle and senior school has dorms available for children who cannot commute, but can meet requirements to attend. Since Dragon Springs paper mills require a middle school education this demonstrates why the CEO labeled the majority of villagers as unqualified.

Rural China's economic transformation has been remarkable with expansion from no industry to being industry supported. In the interest of reaping rewards from industry, many aspects are overlooked, which continue the drive to increase the Chinese gross domestic product value (GDP). In fact, as CEO Liang Kaijia explained, many government officials would like the GDP to increase to an unreasonable 30 percent by 2008.[101] Moreover, these goals, mixed with a lack of environmental and structural oversight, have led to neglect in areas of worker safety, construction, and benefits. Even today, workers operate with open toed-sandals near paper cutting machines and paper rollers; workers' weld without proper eye protection; trucks are overloaded and underpowered; and there are wide income gaps between workers. There have been improvements in each of these areas since the 1970s, or arguably starting in 1949, but they are not yet on par with Western standards. Structural oversight and regulations are nearly non-existent in terms of standards and inspection. Thus, in the near future, if an earthquake were to shake the region, newly brick-built homes and factories will be completely demolished due to substandard construction methods. Consequently, without government to solve these issues, China's future is vulnerable to accidents.

[99] Interview with Sun Jishan.

[100] Interview with Liang Kaiwang.

[101] Interview with Liang Kaijia.

Furthermore, the disproportionate pay in which the CEO earns 80,000 to 90,000 yuan, paper mill managers make 50,000 yuan, and workers make 300 to 1,000 yuan a month, demonstrates a serious disadvantage towards remaining healthy.[102] Dragon Springs is one of the wealthier villages, and as such provides more healthcare coverage to residents than other places. Still expected to pay 60 percent of local hospital costs, while the village government pays 40 percent, residents continue to contend with social disparities. With nepotism in mind, relatives of local leaders with positions of authority are more likely to afford healthcare treatment than those without family connections. Factories in Dragon Springs operate twenty-four hours a day for seven days a week. This equates to three work shifts of eight hours a day with a worker serving one shift each day. This provides quickly produced goods, but adversely affects safety issues with early and late-shift workers. With a worker earning a fraction of what a manager earns, managers can afford better healthcare in the event of an accident. Therefore, constant work has detrimental consequences to those who are least likely to afford an injury.

The central government has an ambiguous role in village life. While its authority reaches directly to the village level, local officials have a great deal of choice and power. The local party secretary makes both political and business decisions although the leader may not have expertise in business. Such power can be beneficial in the hands of an economically knowledgeable leader, but detrimental with one of little education. Furthermore, government policy is sometimes at odds with local welfare. The central government wants inter-village dependence to unite rural communities. To do this, the Dragon Springs power plant is restricted from producing the power required by the village.[103] In fact, the power produced is sent to Xinxiang County where it is measured, and sent back to the village, wasting power in the process. Villages must sell energy to other places to avoid meeting local demands. Dragons Springs' does not produce enough power for the entire village, but central policy limits energy plant construction, which limits energy production for future business endeavors.

In terms of business decisions, it is surprising that businesses in Dragon Springs have no consistent customers. Since the early days of producing paper then trying to find buyers, businesses continue operate in this fashion. Paper mills depend on a "middle man" who finds buyers rather than businesses selling the paper directly. This person receives a commission of 150 to 200 yuan for every 3,000 yuan of paper sold.[104] The privately managed pump factory operates in this fashion with buyers placing orders for pumps without consistent consumers.[105] Consequently, energy consumption, profits, and quantity of products fluctuate each month making life inconsistent. Managers do not expect business to be conducted any other way. Yet, from an outside perspective, it would be more profitable if buyers were consistent and businesses dealt with them directly.

EVOLUTION OF DRAGON SPRINGS

Many believe that researching industrial life in rural China is an easy task since little has changed in the last decades. This statement has an element of truth in terms of safety, business practices, collective structure, and agricultural importance, which all remain close to practices from before the 1970s. Thus, Dragon Springs with all of its industrial growth still has characteristics that make it rural. As paper mill vice manager, Sun Jishan explained there is "no clear" line between a factory and farm worker because most people do both.[106] As a result, even with pollution-filled skies, the village has an

[102] Interview with Liang Kaiwang. Kaiwang provided figures with the exception of the 300 yuan that mill workers earn their first three months; during a casual conversation, a village worker supplied that figure.

[103] Interview with Wang Dingchang.

[104] Interview with Liang Kaiwang.

[105] Interview with Song Quanming.

[106] Interview with Sun Jishan.

image of industrial innocence as paper mill workers teach their children traditional rice planting methods after work.

When Dragon Springs opened a flour-processing facility, it marked the end of hundreds of years of farming tradition. With little technology and arcane agricultural knowledge, the village was at the mercy of weather conditions for growing food, while peasants were under the control of property owners or government. The industrial revolution in Dragon Springs has eliminated that dependence with villagers working together earning wages to buy crops or mass-produced foodstuffs. Indirectly, it has also changed social traditions creating jobs based on education, and sexual equality while increasing quality of life, and energizing entrepreneurialism with less CCP control.

Mill workers teach their children traditional rice planting methods after work.

Education was necessary to improve paper quality in Dragon Springs. Thus, the local government has sought a more qualified work force by educating children and encouraging youth to spend time in the classroom, instead of working the fields. While education standards are not equal to Western countries, such transformation is amazing when three decades ago many villagers went hungry. With educated children, not only is there economic and industrial benefits, but a literate populous provides society with intellectualism and a discourse of ideas. Monetary benefit aside, an informed public has intrinsic value in daily conversations, public policies, and literary works. Increased industrial revenue in Dragon Springs helped build village schools whose students will no doubt help design and build industry in the future.

Sexual equality, while imperfect, has increased by leaps since the 1970s with men and women marrying for love and not obligation. Without societal and family pressure to marry the elite or arranged marriages, factories and schools have directly introduced marriage partners to one another. Yet, implicitly "liberal" policies that allowed villages to choose their own destiny in terms of business are a macrocosm of freedom for the sexes. Much like the central government allowing villagers to choose, parents now allow their children to make choices. There is a correlation between these changes and the Confucian tradition, which promulgated the expectation of an obedient wife, and the notion that one must respect governmental authority. When Communists overthrew and challenged government leaders in 1949, and again reformed political policies in 1978, this affected attitudes towards old Confucian beliefs to influence social revolution. When political tradition shook society, it allowed unintentional social changes to occur. Girls and boys choose where to work, select a spouse, and make daily decisions causing conservative Dragon Springs villagers to feel uncomfortable. Clearly, industrial revolution sparked a social revolution changing thousands of years of public dogma.

Gender roles are not the only social transformation as protest has been evident beginning with public distrust that turned private control of the paper mills back to the collective in the 1980s. With public opinion questioning leadership, party members reversed the policy. Thus, in 1994, villagers crowded outside Dragon Springs party headquarters and demanded their money, forcing the leadership to comply. Despite a lack of funds, villagers received their investment and the paper mills accepted the burden. This demonstrated a local rebellion against authority for the first time in the history of local CCP control. With Deng's relaxed policies, people and local governments enjoyed freedom regarding their own finances. This planted the seeds of personal endeavors and turned individual farmers into a labor

Map of China. Jean-Luc Domenach, *The Origins of the Leap Forward: The Case of One Chinese Province* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1995), frontispiece.

force with coworkers. Perhaps this is a precursor to further changes in social protest with poor working conditions uniting workers for more change.

As with protesting and uniting, villagers have been part of a new era in improving the quality of life. This is apparent in the new hospital with healthcare, readily available toothbrushes, toothpaste, shampoo, soap, drinking water, food, and even televisions.[107] Taken for granted in the West, basic hygiene was unknown to rural people until the 1980s. Hygiene creates a healthy society, prolongs life, and increases the quality of life, making people more resistant to disease, allowing more productivity and creating a positive outlook on rural life. With access to basic goods and services, the once dim perspective of village life as being primitive has begun to change.

Considered counterrevolutionary in the early years of the CCP, individualism became more prevalent in recent years.[108] However, with so many people and groups seeking fortune, entrepreneurial goals are encouraged. While lacking individualism compared to Western economic structuring, private businessmen in rural China earn good profits. This adversely affects communist politics and social attitudes allowing an acceptance of a once perceived capitalistic enemy to have social stature. Mixed with education and social rebellion, younger generations will have a much different outlook on goals, careers, and business. This is the first time in Chinese history that breaking from the norm has become socially accepted, and not counterrevolutionary or disrespectful to the emperor. Amazingly, such beliefs that have existed in the West resulted from economic and social transformation from policies relaxed in 1978.

With large-scale economic growth, Dragon Springs and rural China as a whole have changed, as have business management methods. The village had no industry prior to the first paper mill factory in the mid-1970s, while today there are eight businesses that employ over twenty people with industrial equipment.[109] Unthinkable in the 1960s and 1970s, shareholders, private management, and store own-

[107] Interview with Song Kejun.

[108] Interview with Liang Zengpu.

[109] Interview with of Sun Laixiao. The businesses include: medicine factory, power plant, pump factory, and five paper mills.

ership are becoming commonplace in China. As the nation remains communistic, traits of a market-orientated system appear. While it is debatable to what extent this will shape the government in the future and to what degree markets will influence attitudes towards property, wages, and privatization, it is safe to conclude that more businesses will follow the trend set by privately managed companies in the future. These privately managed businesses are appealing to the government because it does not have to invest, maintain, or control an enterprise to receive profit from it.[110] Whereas, the concept of earning money through innovation and selling will no longer earn the stigma of a "capitalist" or "landlord" as drastic economic growth has already altered village welfare, and attitudes towards business.

Throughout rural China decentralization and autonomous business choices might make one believe that collective business has declined, yet evidence proves otherwise. In 1978 TVCEs accounted for 22 percent of industry, but the percentage increased to 37 percent in 1995.[111] Scholar Wing Thye Woo argued that this occurred because of discrimination that many rural areas had towards private enterprise.[112] It is not just in Dragon Springs, but many other villages' TVCE administrative features demonstrate a continuum of collective philosophy in a "capitalist" system. One feature is owners and managers of private industry in Jieshou are "able to earn high salaries only by paying their workers much higher wages than warranted by local labor conditions."[113] Village budgets depend on industry and create local government autonomy, and so community leaders are actively involved in businesses that are both TVCE and TVP.[114]

Clearly, people like Song Quanming are a testament to economic change and industrialization. During the late afternoon, as Quanming puts aside his work to welcome friends into his office to enjoy refreshments, he will no doubt appreciate the freedom of being a co-owner and manager of the main pump factory in Xinxiang County. They will enjoy mass-produced beer and soda, and wear mass-produced clothes, which are indications of an industrialized era. Quanming and his friends might discuss higher private wages workers earn, or they might discuss the most recent basketball game they witnessed on their televisions. No matter what the discussion subject will be, what they wear or drink, any one of these activities was unimaginable fifteen years ago. As a result of economic and personal freedom, residents in Dragon Springs will not return to the old era of agrarian communism. People's lives have been altered in positive ways through industrialization, and they, through trial and error, have learned how to overcome problems while improving their lives.

[110] Taxes and payment to the collective generate revenue.

[111] Wing Thye Woo, "The Reason Reasons for China's Growth," *The China Journal* (Jan. 1999): 129.

[112] Ibid., 131.

[113] Byrd, 19.

[114] Ibid., 14.

CAL STATE FULLERTON 50

Marx as a Historian

Daniel McClure

The complexities of Karl Marx's historical writings and materialistic conception of human history is examined by Daniel McClure. He reviews Marx's assessment of the relationship between ideas and rulers and their effects on the historical process, specifically regarding the Revolutions of 1848.

Paris late February 1848: Alphonse de Lamartine persuades the crowd to reject the red flag and let the new French republic keep the tricolor. Mortimer Chambers, *The Western Experience* 6th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995), 769.

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force.
>
> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

> And as in private life one differentiates between what a man thinks and says of himself and what he really is and does, so in historical struggles one must distinguish still more the phrases and fancies of parties from their real organism and their real interests, their conception of themselves, from their reality.
>
> Karl Marx

Born in Trier, Germany, in 1818, Karl Marx developed intellectually during what historian Eric Hobsbawm labels The Age of Revolution (1789 to 1848). These years witnessed the ascension to supremacy of both capitalist industry and the class underpinning this economic system, the "'bourgeois' liberal society" or the middle class.[1] While the real achievements of these victories remained largely confined to England, France, and the United States, over the next hundred years ideas espoused within the socio-economic framework of capitalism spread across Europe and around the world. This set the stage for violent showdowns between the most competitive industrial-capitalist nations in the first half of the twentieth century.[2]

After attending the University of Bonn and Berlin in 1835 and 1836, respectively, and finishing his doctorial thesis in the early 1840s, Marx became the editor for a radical newspaper, *Rheinische Zeitung* -- a vital organ of German middle-class industrialists.[3] After the newspaper's suppression by the Prussian Central government in March 1843, Marx moved to Paris in the fall of 1843 where he pondered the mechanisms driving the past, eventually leading to his materialist conception of history.[4] The articulation of this concept occurred during the ten years between his editorship and the completion of *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852).[5] These ten years encompass Marx's and Engel's change in historiography from a Young Hegelian philosophy—what Helmut Fleischer labels as Marx's anthropological approach to history[6]—and toward the cultivation of his own ideas regarding historical development during and after the European upheavals surrounding the 1848 revolutions.[7] Fleischer refers to this period as a pragmatological approach with its empirical-sociological emphasis.[8] According to Fleischer, this focuses on "individual situations and actions, to the actors and the circumstances of the actions, to 'how' history works rather than to the meaning of history to men."[9] This stage of Marx's development precedes his foray into his later phase, the nomological approach, which includes works operating within more definite laws, such as those contained in *Grundrisse* (1857-58) and *Capital* (1867).[10]

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[1] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (New York: Vintage, 1962), 1.

[2] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York: Vintage, 1994).

[3] Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution*, 128.

[4] David McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 63.

[5] Karl Marx, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* (New York: International Publishers, 1984), 47.

[6] Helmut Fleischer, *Marxism and History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 12-3. Three approaches described by Fleischer are also discussed in Walter L. Adamson, "Marx's Four Histories: An Approach to His Intellectual Development," *History and Theory* 20 (December 1981): 381. Adamson adds a fourth approach culled from the 1857 Introduction to the *Grundrisse*, an element of Marx neglected by Fleischer.

[7] David Fernbach, ed., *Karl Marx Political Writings, vol. I: The Revolutions of 1848* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 18.

[8] Fleischer, 13; Louis Althusser, *For Marx*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 34; cites Marx's "epistemological break" at the completion of *The German Ideology* in 1945-6; he classifies the post-1845 period as Marx's "scientific period," broken into 1845-57: "theoretical transition;" and post-1857: "theoretical maturity." .

[9] Fleischer, 21.

[10] Fleischer, 13.

In order to ascertain Marx's view on history, one must understand his historical methodology, specifically the importance of examining the relationship between ideas and rulers, and their effect the historical process.[11] The first part examines this methodology, which sought to expose the inner working and interconnected gears within the historical machine propelled by the political, cultural, and economic elements of society. From this investigation, the second section illustrates the governing ideas that constitute the focus of debate and the legitimizing of acceptable discourse within the prevailing intellectual milieu of a given era. These conclusions illustrate how certain ideas became perpetuated while others seemed either extinguished or delayed until the idea attains legitimacy within the predominant intellectual discourse or no longer a threatened the intellectual status quo.

Karl Marx at forty three years of age in London druing 1861. Saul K. Padover, *The Letters of Karl Marx* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1979), 83.York: McGraw-Hill, 1995), 769.

To understand historical materialism, one must also understand Marx's array of premises concerning his model of human history. The first of his materialist method asserts the "existence of living human individuals," each of whom possesses a consciousness which separates them from animals.[12] This comprises religion and the human ability to "*produce* their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organization. By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life."[13] Consequently, the mode of production, actualized by a group of individuals with similar interests, becomes not only the mechanism that produces their means of subsistence but an individual expression of life. It produces the "nature of individuals" and societies' "internal and external intercourse" within the overall internal structure of civilization.[14]

In each stage of production, as technology improves and adapts into mode of production, a division occurs in society between those who control the economy and those subservient to the control, creating a reorientation of hierarchical relationships between social-economic classes. According to Marx, three components make up the mode of production: forces, relations, and the superstructure. The tools, techniques, and raw materials combined with labor form the forces of production. The relations of production constitute the economic structure made up of the division of labor and the cooperation and subordination required to sustain production.

The superstructure, built on the economic foundation, comprises the economic, cultural, and political institutions of the ruling society.[15] Together, these aspects of the mode of production generate the political, economic, and social culture of a society. Moreover, this arrangement creates various levels of tension as well as cohesion between the social classes, such as marginalizing dissenting voices outside the focus of debate.

[11] Richard W. Miller, *Analyzing Marx: Morality, Power and History* (Princeton University Press, 1984), 107, 112.

[12] Karl Marx and Friedrick Engels, *German Ideology*, C.J. Arthur, ed. (New York: International Publisher, 1986), 42.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 42-3.

[15] Karl Marx, "The Materialist Conception of History," *Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy*, T. B. Bottomore and Maximilian Rubel, eds. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 51. This is taken from the 1859 Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY: SETTING UP THE FOCUS OF DEBATE

The historian's job is to understand the inner and outer workings of the various economic, cultural, and political structures operating in history, their relationship to individuals, and the prevailing mindsets affecting individual judgments and actions of the era under study. In *The German Ideology*, which C. J. Arthur describes as the "first recognizably 'Marxist' work," Marx attempts to expose the inner workings of history by "proving the hegemony of the spirit in history" through three measures.[16] The first effort dissects and separates the ideas and illusions of rulers from the actual rulers, particularly the official pronouncements and concepts put forth to the ruled populace.

Once detached from the rhetoric of charismatic leaders, the second effort, these "successive ruling ideas," or their "mystical appearance," connect back to the rulers by understanding the concepts as conscious or constructed actions of individuals and not the natural state of man.[17] Ideas trace to specific interests, which in turn fit within their hierarchical position in society. This includes, for instance, laws geared toward property holders, taxes weighted toward the middle and lower classes, and military action benefiting the wealthy while the lower echelons suffer from actual battle.[18]

Thirdly, attaching these conscious actions to their intellectual representatives exposes the actions and motives of the political posturing that sustain the preferred hierarchical positions of rulers. These representatives include what Marx labels as "a series of persons, who represent the 'concept' in history, into the 'thinkers', the 'philosophers', the ideologists, who again are understood as the manufactures of history, as the 'council of guardians', as the rulers."[19] The result of this institutional alliance between rulers, intellectuals, and the "climate of respectable ideas," explains Richard W. Miller, is to "serve the function of maintaining the dominance of the economically dominant social group, the group who mainly extract the surplus from those directly engaged in material production."[20]

A status-quo intellectual class, consisting of elite opinion makers and pundits, is appropriately examined through the questioning of its ideological background and its specific interests toward the ruling structure. Analysis of their concerns and bias will expose the practice of promoting the ideals of their preferred social class as the preeminent ideals of all social classes. A representative of the ruling class will present their interests "as the general interest."[21] Marx sought to implement this approach to empirical studies of the past as he lamented:

> Whilst in ordinary life every shopkeeper is very well able to distinguish between what somebody professes to be and what he really is, our historians have not yet won even this trivial insight. They take every epoch at its word and believe that everything it says and imagines about itself is true.[22]

Through tracing the various intricacies encompassing the "council of guardians"—who insolate the ruling class by focusing the debate within safe boundaries—Marx sought to connect the interests of these intellectuals to ruling class agendas. Historian T.J. Jackson Lears refers to this "historical bloc" in his discussion of Marxist Antonio Grams-

[16] C. J. Arthur, ed., *The German Ideology*, 4; Marx and Engels, *The Germany Ideology,* 67. The "hegemony of the spirit in history" could also be explained as the essence or unacknowledged principles that underlie the major themes of history, such as the implicit reasoning and motives behind the decisions of ruling classes.

[17] Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology,* 67.

[18] Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States 1492 – Present* (New York: Perennial Classics, 2001), 239.

[19] Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology* 67.

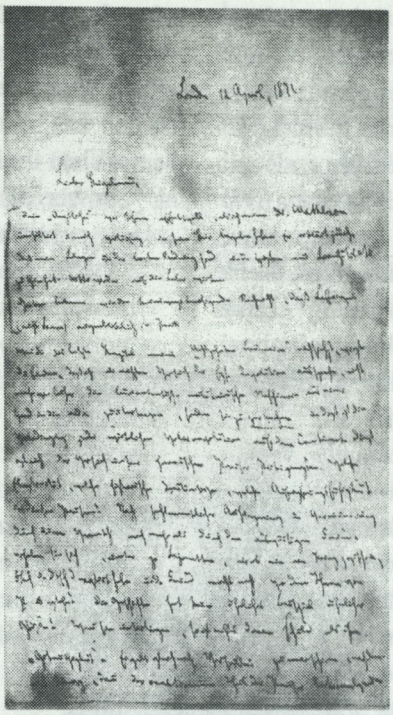
[20] Miller, *Analyzing Marx*, 9.

[21] Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, 54.

[22] Ibid., 67.

ci. It establishes the parameters of the debate and presents these ideas as those of the majority.[23]

The existence of an intellectual cadre whose function is to set the limits of debate and steer the direction of public discourse implies the existence of an implicit struggle against a potentially rebellious section of society whose interests fall outside those of the ruling elite. In order to reveal this conflict, Marx created a dual methodological approach to comprehending the historical process. The first method, writes Leonard Kreiger, was an empirical investigation of the micro level of history, which observed the course of events, including the "workings of political institutions" and "day-to-day history."[24] The second approach puts into context the evidence of the first approach by viewing history through a long-term, macro analysis, similar to historian Fernand Braudel's conception of the *longue durée*.[25] This approach examines the "basic economic development of society and its presumptive political demands."[26] The connection between the micro and macro investigations was the implicit class struggle between property owners and tenants, management and labor, officers and foot soldiers, the rich and the poor.



Marx corresponded with many scholars and friends. This is an example of his terrible handwriting. Elena Krishtof, ed., *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Collected Works,* vol. 44, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Letters July 1870 – December 1873 (New York: International Publishers 1989), 133.

This double reality opens a specific subject to both the empirical approach to understanding what historical actors do through verifiable actions via micro studies (i.e. orders given, bills enacted, conspiracies plotted), as well as presenting an event's overarching context via a macro study, where the subject fits into the dominant economic system of the era and the effected public discourse.[27] The salient mentalities resulting from the macro study contextualize the historical actor's ideas and illustrate what they represent within the overall scheme and patterns of human history. As Krieger notes, a distinctive aspect of Marx and Engels' work as historians, in contrast to other nineteenth-century historians, was their propensity to establish the social factor, instead of the political factor, as the dominant component within the long-term picture of history.[28] Instead of actions and ideas representing political manifestations, Marx seeks to establish the social framework of history as the dominant element of the historical process, with the political factor presented as a result of the social. Kain labels this process as "a sociological form of determinism."[29] In turn, the concept leads back to the mode of production, the individual's consciousness that manifests itself through existing social relations

[23] T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review* 90 (June 1985): 571.

[24] Leonard Krieger, "Marx and Engels as Historians," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14 (Jun. 1953), 384.

[25] Fernand Braudel, "History and the Social Sciences: *The Longue Durée*," *On History*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 51.

[26] Krieger, "Marx and Engels as Historians," 384. This dual methodological approach was based largely on the Hegelian-influenced "historical dialectic" from Marx's early-1840s anthropological period.

[27] Krieger, 388.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Philip J. Kain, "Marx's Dialectic Method," *History and Theory* 19 (October 1980), 298.

ongoing way as patterns of thought, world views, or ideologies."[44] Ex-situationist Guy Debord described this phenomenon as the "spectacle" in the following passage:

> Understood in its totality, the spectacle is both the outcome and the goal of the dominant mode of production. It is not something *added* to the real world... On the contrary, it is the very heart of society's real unreality. In all its specific manifestations – news or propaganda, advertising or the actual consumption of entertainment – the spectacle epitomizes the prevailing model of social life... In form as in content the spectacle serves as total justification for the conditions and aims of the existing system. It further ensures the *permanent presence* of that justification.[45]

Decision rests within a finite domain of choices or molded consciousness determined by the social forces of the mode of production. Jerzy Topolski cites an occasion when this conditioning created a distorted historical consciousness among the French peasants in *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Their loyalty to Louis Bonaparte during the political upheavals during 1848-1851 in France lay rooted in his connection to the mythical legacy of Napoleon.[46] Marx adds, "Historical tradition gave rise to the belief of the French peasants in the miracle that a man named Napoleon would bring all the glory back to them. And an individual turned up who gives himself out as the man because he bears the name of Napoleon."[47] In times of crisis, the focus of debate allows myth, conditioning, and the panicked urge for a stable society to dictate the political possibilities, generally in favor of the interest with the most legitimacy within public discussion.

In order for a ruling class to stay securely in power, the majority of the population needs to identify with the interests and ideas of the power holders. In other words, setting up the rules of acceptable discourse tilted in favor of the ideas of the ruling class. By portraying the ruling ideas as the natural course of action and thought, this focus of debate establishes a controlled parameter in which the wants, needs, and actions of the society are more or less contained. In turn, actors in history, like the sailor in the open sea, engage society with a limited means to achieve fulfillment of their interests, while the ruling class dominates the rules of engagement through control of the state apparatus, thus herding the direction of society.

Through an approach stressing the inner workings and interests of the ruling class within a society under study, Marx's methodology allows the historian to backtrack from the exterior-rhetorical façade of the power structure and into the mentalities of society as a whole. Analyzing the dominant discourse, including its underlying premises and permissible boundaries, illustrates the values of society as well as the relationship between the governing ideas guiding public discourse and the ruling class whose interests are aligned with the premises of those very thoughts. The focus of debate in history is valuable primarily in its ability to determine why groups of human beings believed in and were drawn to action by certain concepts that today seem foolish. Mentalities do not necessarily spring from random encounters of people or groups of people; in most cases, they represent the acceptable discourse espoused by the leading public figures governing society.

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[44] Kain, 363.

[45] Debord, 13.

[46] Jerzy Topolski, "Levi-Strauss and Marx on History," *History and Thoery* 12 no. 2 (1973):199.

[47] Marx, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 124.

Katsuya Nakatani: Japanese American Veteran of the Korean War

Susan Shoho Uyemura

An interview with Katsuya Nakatani, a Japanese American veteran conducted by the author Susan Shoho Uyemura, details his Korean War service. He speaks of working as a welder and describes some tragedies he experienced. After the war, he served the U.S. on reserve in San Francisco for five to six years, then moved to Norwalk, California to start a gardening business. Ultimately, he worked for and retired from the Mass Transit Authority (MTA). In Southern California he met his wife and started a family. Right before his retirement in 1995, Nakatani finished building a thirty-four foot fishing boat. He also explains how he discovered his grandfather's true part in the construction of the Taiko Drum Bridge in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco and how his greatest wish is to relocate a plaque on that landmark.

The Drum Bridge in San Francisco. Courtesy of http://www.nakatanifamily.com.

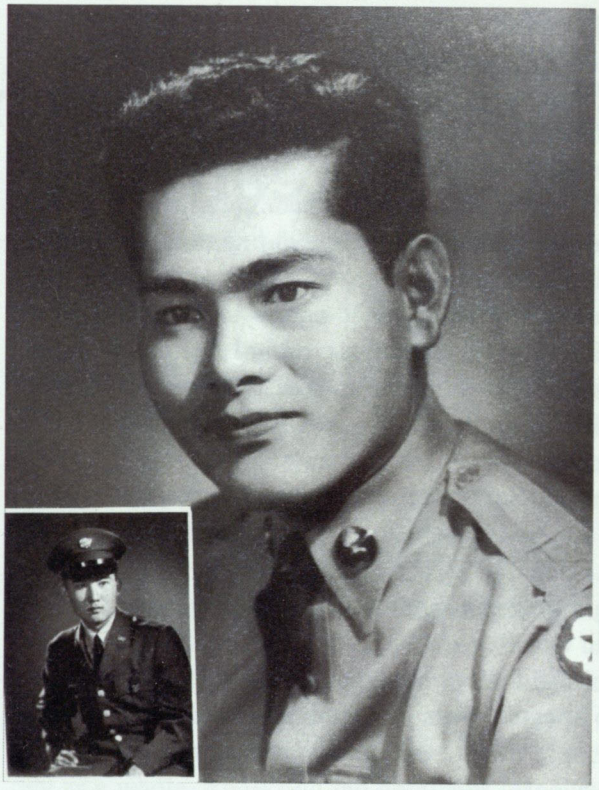
Born in 1928 in Los Angeles, California, Katsuya Nakatani had four sisters--two older and two younger. He grew up the only son of a farmer and great-grand-nephew to the master builder, Shinshichi Nakatani.

Prior to World War II (WWII), Katsuya attended regular school as well as Dai Ichi Gakuen (Japanese school). By his own admittance, he did not perform well as a student and often got into trouble at Japanese School, but he never told his father. Katsuya describes his childhood as one filled with hard work and no time for sports and playing games.

When WWII began, Katsuya's life changed forever. Executive Order 9066 issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt effectively issued the removal of 120,000 Japanese Americans from the west coast into internment camps. The federal government relocated the Nakatani family to the Santa Anita Assembly Center, and later interned them in Rohwer, Arkansas. Vivid memories and the turmoil caused by relocation and internment are etched in Katsuya's mind.

For almost three years, Katsuya and his family remained interned at Rohwer. They were prisoners of their own country and jailed for "looking like the enemy." A young teenager by now, Katsuya listened to the rhetoric spouted by the draft resistors. Torn between proving his loyalty to a country that interned him and his family, Katsuya ultimately favored the draft resistors' arguments and did not fight in WWII.

Once released from camp, Katsuya's father insisted on returning to California. His father owned a home in Norwalk and prior to leaving for internment, he locked all of their belongings into the house for storage. However, the community did not welcome the Nakatani family home with open arms.



Katsuya Nakatani's Enlistment Photos. (Photograph courtesy of Katsuya Nakatani)

KOREAN WAR CONFLICT

It was not long before the Korean conflict began and Katsuya received his draft notice.

At Fort Ord, he met many Hawaiian *Nisei* (second generation Japanese Americans). He describes Hawaiian *Nisei* as different from mainland *Nisei* like himself.

Katsuya was assigned to ordinance school, however during his training, racism once again reared its ugly head.

Racism was evident throughout his military years but in some cases, being Japanese American worked in Katsuya's favor. After being shipped to Taegu, Korea, he met a Colonel from WWII who favored Japanese Americans because of the positive reputation of the 442nd Regimental Combat Unit. Thanks

to this Colonel, Katsuya spent the Korean War years welding instead of in the infantry where most of the Nisei served. Upon his return to the United States, he learned his childhood friend, Jimmie Mayemura, had been killed in action.

Katsuya went home to Norwalk and began a gardening business. Later, it grew into a nursery and ultimately he retired from the Metro Transit Authority (MTA). He married and raised three children: Natalie, Glenn and Joanne. He has two grandchildren, Nathan and Haley. An avid fisherman, he built his own thirty-four foot fishing boat. In recent years, he retired from fishing and sold his boat, but he still misses deep-sea fishing. Then, in 1996, Katsuya found a new passion.

TAIKO DRUM BRIDGE

Katsuya's mother passed away and left him a book titled *The Shrine Builders Secret.* It included information that led Katsuya on a ten-year journey to uncover the truth about his family. Inside the book were the names Kakuichi Nakatani and Ichisuke Nakatani. Kakuichi was Katsuya's grandfather but who was Ichisuke? After some in-depth genealogical research, Katsuya discovered Ichisuke was his great-grandfather who helped reassemble the Taiko Drum Bridge currently standing in the Tea Garden in San Francisco, California.

Hoping to discover another master builder among his ancestors, Katsuya delved into genealogical research rivaling the work of professionals. Journeying to Hiroshima, Japan, driving to San Francisco, California, and flying to Hawaii, it took Katsuya four years to accumulate documentation proving his family heritage. In 2000, the San Francisco Tea Garden acknowledged the contribution of Katsuya Nakatani's family with a ceremony and plaque at the bridge.

Unfortunately, the placement of the plaque became a point of contention. The Tea Garden mounted the plaque on one of the steps at the back of the bridge. Immediately following the ceremony, Katsuya began a campaign to move the plaque to the front of the bridge and off a step. Six years later, with the assistance of California Assemblyman LelandYee, the plaque has been removed and a new dedication ceremony is planned for the end of 2006.

Today, Katsuya Nakatani lives with his wife in La Puente, California. He spends his leisure time in the backyard tinkering with plants, fixing equipment, babysitting his grandchildren, and enjoying his avocadoes.

Susan Shoho Uyemura interviewed Katsuya Nakatani at his home in Pico Rivera, California on 29 November 2005. She began by asking him about his Korean War Experience.

> KN: Draft board. When they sent me a notice, I told them, "why do I have to go?" I told them, "you guys put me in a concentration camp for three and a half years and now a few years later the war started; now you want me to serve the country?"
>
> SU: What did they say?
>
> KN: "You've been selected. That's selective service." So, I said "okay. I've been selected, I'll go." Then when I come back, I go to the draft board. The draft board was in Downey. The draft board was 115. I asked did the (inaudible) go? No. (inaudible) brothers go? No. Robert Rush? The twins Dick and Roy—something like that—they didn't all go. I met this guy. He worked in the grocery store. We talked. Did that guy go? No. We didn't have to go. The only one that went Jimmy. You know why he had to go? His father was a farmer. He had an orchard. This guy Jimmy, I worked for him. I know his father had a hardware store. I already knew he didn't go because I asked the draft board.

SU: So only the farm kids went?

KN: Farmers have no political pull. (inaudible) his father had a hardware store.

SU: So what did Pete and you do in your group?

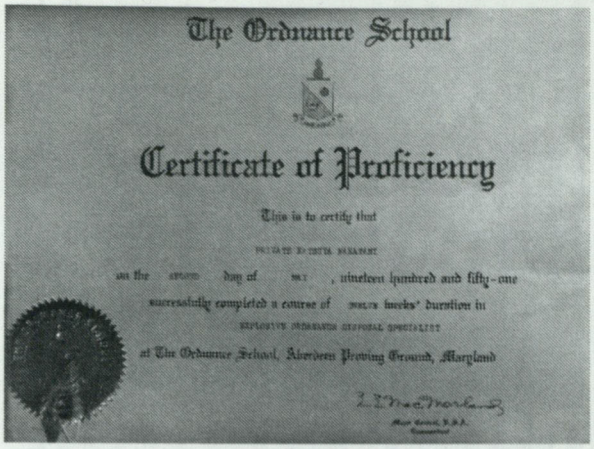
KN: I don't know what he did. I don't know [if] he was in small arms or not. I didn't too much because he might have been in the first platoon. I don't know—I think he was in small arms. Repair the small machine guns.

SU: What did you do?

KN:I was a welder. The school I went to, the Colonel—his name was (inaudible). He said, "soldier, we can't use you here. We don't use this MOS." They got numbers. I don't know what it stands for but, something that you're supposed to be good at. That's your primary MOS. That's what it was. EOD. But he had a number for that. I forgot. He says, "soldier, we cannot use you here. This is a very good outfit because we're pretty safe here. We get four points a month, the same as the infantry because this is a combat zone. But I have to send you back to the replacement depot, and we don't know where they're going to send you after." He says, don't you know anything that can help us here?" I said I could weld. So he says, "soldier, we need a welder real bad. Just exactly what we need. The only thing wrong [is] I have to send you to [the] second platoon. The second platoon is a place called Angee (?). Maybe take about an hour or two hours to get there on [the] mountain road." He says, "I need you there right away. We can't wait till tomorrow morning. I want to send you on (inaudible) truck. The (inaudible) truck leaves right away, so you get on the truck." He says, "the only thing wrong over there [is] it's a bottleneck. The front line is like this and it comes like that. We're right there. The enemy will close the gap in forty-five minutes. If they assign you the truck with a trailer, don't disconnect it. If they tell you to get out get in the truck and if it doesn't start, get out. Don't even go after your personal belongings because you have no time. For instance, if it takes you five minutes to go to your tent to get your clothes or personal belongings—five minutes to get there, five minutes back—that's the quickest at ten minutes. Take you thirty minutes to get out; you've already lost another ten minutes. That's forty minutes. You've got five minutes pushing. That's the only thing wrong. I need you there real bad. That's why if your truck don't start, get on anything. Don't even bother to get your personal belongings. You get out because that's the weak spot right there. They close you up. Everything here is trapped." That's the way it was. So, "that's the only thing wrong, but I have to send you there." But it wasn't so bad. When I first went there, I saw a Black guy. He had a wounded leg. My

Katsuya Nakatani and Susan Shoho Uyemura at the time of the interview, 29 November 2005. (Photograph courtesy of Susan Shoho Uyemura)

first assignment was—he told me to get a truck. I was hit by a land mine. I don't know if it was a mine field or not at that time, but the right front wheel was blown off and the guy that was the passenger, he had his feet outside on the fender as you ride. A lot of people do that. This guy, he did that too, and when they hit the land mine, it blew his leg and everything off. The fender and....when I looked at the Army truck, I thought, "they sure designed this right." I've seen inside the cab....well it didn't have a cab. It was open. Inside everything was intact. Just the windshield blown off, but there was nothing that came through the floor board. If he had put his foot inside, he wouldn't have lost his leg. I think he died. You lose that much leg, he must have bled. The floor had a lot of blood. It was already caked up because the truck is low outside and they had no front wheel. The right wheel was gone. That's the first time I saw.... When I first put my chain, there's a bone like that—it's a leg bone. I don't know how that thing ever got on that. You'd think he has a leg over here that (inaudible) over here so how can it go down in there? It's a real strange thing. I always remembered that. And then just recently I call[ed] my friend that (inaudible). We came back on the same boat and we still kept in touch and he told me the other day, yeah, you know—he was there too. We (inaudible) same time so he had to be there and he was in the same company as we were. I told him about that. "Yeah," he said, "I replaced that truck axle." He told me the same thing. There was a bone on the bumper. Yeah, I saw that but I didn't touch it. I left it there. He remembered that. It was the same truck that he worked on and I pulled out. This happened recently.


The Ordnance School

Certificate of Proficiency

This is to certify that

on the [illegible] day of [illegible], nineteen hundred and fifty-one successfully completed a course of [illegible] weeks' duration in [illegible] at The Ordnance School, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland

The certificate of completion earned by Katsuya Nakatani upon finishing Army Ordnance School. (Photograph courtesy of Katsuya Nakatani)

SU: Where there any *Nisei* in your group? The new group that you are now with?

KN: They were already there. There were three of them. One from Hawaii—he was in the same section as I was. One guy was a tank mechanic. I don't know what the other guy was doing. But he was in the same section. The same company.

SU: Did you guys talk?

KN: This guy named Joe Fukada. We were in the same tent. I used to sleep with those guys. I didn't sleep with my group. I used to sleep in a truck. There are welding machines. The welding machines are mounted on the truck. Night time it's warm. It wasn't me. Someone else made a bunk. Later on they didn't want us sleeping on the truck. They wanted to keep an eye on you. The Army truck and equipment were all WWII surplus. They're not all new equipment so lot of it break off. Spring hanger—they all used to crack. (inaudible) used to break off. I did a lot of work for tanks. Tanks used to slide off the cliff so we used to put a wedge

on certain tracks—space off so much—that's why I was able to drive some of those tanks. Test run. I made a mine sweeper. They wanted me to make a mine sweeper. They got a plate off the side of a tank which is maybe two inches thick. They got four of those and we welded two together—one for the right side and one for the left side. They had a chip for [a] bulldozer too. They wanted to put that on to the bulldozer blades for clearing out the mines. That was a pretty good project.

SU: When did you return back to the United States?

KN: I guess April. I rotated in April. I went into the reserve. When I got there, "Nakatani, you're going back to the States." I never even thought about it. I was getting close but I never thought about it. It's not good to think about going back to the States. You had to watch what you're doing. You start thinking about States—thinking about family—you might be in a daze so it's better that you don't think too much. They told me. I said, "wait a minute; I have to talk to Isao." Isao was a very good friend of mine. I said, "I got to talk to him. Is he going back?" "No. Just you." I talked to Isao. He said, "no, I want you to go back. Right now. Last year there's (inaudible). If something happens to you and I go back I won't feel good about it." So, he says, "I want you to go back and I'll catch up with you." I left right away. When I went to Japan the boat that I was supposed to be on was full. So, I had to wait for the next boat. Then he came along. He says, "I told you I'll catch up with you." It was lucky that the [first] boat was full. So we came back together.

SU: Do you remember how long it took you on the boat?

KN: At least fifteen to sixteen days. I think the fastest ones in those days was fourteen days. So maybe fifteen, sixteen, seventeen days. I don't know.

SU: Where did you go when you got back to the United States?

KN: San Francisco. I went over to Seattle and came back to San Francisco. I wanted to go back there but, I don't know what ever happened to her.

SU: You never saw her?

KN: Never saw her after that. Three or four years later she said "I want to get married." I had another one from New Jersey. I had a whole lot of letters. She told me she's going to get married. I said, "I guess I have to throw all the letters away." She said, "I didn't know you kept all the letters." I was kind of (inaudible). Not like today. What I know today is different. She's shy you know. There's another (inaudible) I went to school with had a friend over there. She wanted me to go see her. She was living in an apartment. I went up to the door and backed down. I just didn't have the nerve. I don't know what she looked like. Lots [of] things happened.

SU: After San Francisco where did you go?

KN: I came to Camp Roberts. I got [a] thirty day furlough and I went back to Camp Roberts and stayed there two to three months. Came back here on Memorial Day. I know I came back on May 30th. May, June, July, August. I got out in August. Three months I stayed in Camp Roberts.

SU: What did you do?

KN: Nothing. Just laid around. They said, "you can get out in twenty-one months if you want because you had to be in the reserves for five to six years." So I said, "I'm going to get out." I got out in twenty-one months. I was in the reserves for five or six years.

SU: When did you hear about Jimmy?

KN: When I came back I heard that—I don't know exactly when. He got killed in November 1951. I got there August. His body was shipped I think around December. I can't find the picture. I put it away somewhere. I found these but (inaudible). She sent me a photograph of the first year of service. That's what got me confused. How can it be over a year late? That photograph she sent me was one year service. I think at the funeral she showed us a picture and I'm not in it. I was [not] over there yet. I know how I found out. What happened [was] this guy Sumio came back. Sumio was a corpsman. He said, "Jimmy came to my operating table but we couldn't do anything for him. It was so bad. I couldn't identify him." His face—I don't know how bad—he couldn't identify him. The only thing he went by is the tag for identification. He died on his operating table. So, he said it had to be him because there's no other Jimmy Maruyama that got killed. So, that had to be him. So we talk about it every so often. (inaudible) it's a different story but, I don't know which is true.

SU: Which story is the story you heard?

KN: Well, the way I understand he volunteered for water. The water area or the water hole was mined. That's where he got it. He stepped on a mine; if it's a personal mine or all kind of mines, I don't know. They do

Task Force Smith arrives at the Taijon rail station. On July 5, 1950, near Osan, this untried force of about half a battalion, mostly teenagers, stood alone against a North Korean division and a large tank force. Alexander Bevin, *Korea: The First War We Lost* (New York, N.Y. Hippocrene, 1996), 55.

mine the place like that because they know we need water. That's the way I understood because that's the first thing he told me when he came back. Nobody told me any different. I told my friend—we had a Rohwer reunion one time—he was in our block—he was older than me—he was a nice guy. He was on the same table with me and he talked about Jimmy. He said, how did he get killed? I told him that what Sumio told me that he came to his operating table. He couldn't identify him. He died on the operating table. This guy James says, "does his mother know about it?" "No, I don't think she knows about it." He said, maybe he should tell her how he died. So, I told her. This is maybe over five years ago—maybe ten years ago. I told her about it because she asked, "do you know how he died?" So, I told her but, then the book says different. I just go by what my friend told me. I know he's a very honorable person. Had a lot of credibility. He came to his operating table and the kind of description he gave me about his condition and that he tells [me]that the dog tag and some kind of identification that

say J. M. and he died there. I go by what he says. All this time I've known him he never said any big story or lied.

SU: After you came back to San Francisco you don't have any girl friends now. What are you doing? How did you get back to Southern California?

KN: To Norwalk? My dad still had a house over there. Wait a minute now. Yeah, he still had a house there. I had a job right away. My dad, he went to store. He quit the produce business. I went to work for [an] International Harvester dealer. I used to pick up tractors and later on I did some welding. I used to go to Gardena and I went to Norwalk. Then he died. So, I started to go into [the] gardening business. Then I went into [the] nursery business. Then I went to work for [the] MTA.

SU: How did you meet your wife?

KN: Somebody introduced me.

SU: When did you get married?

KN: I don't know. About forty-five years I guess.

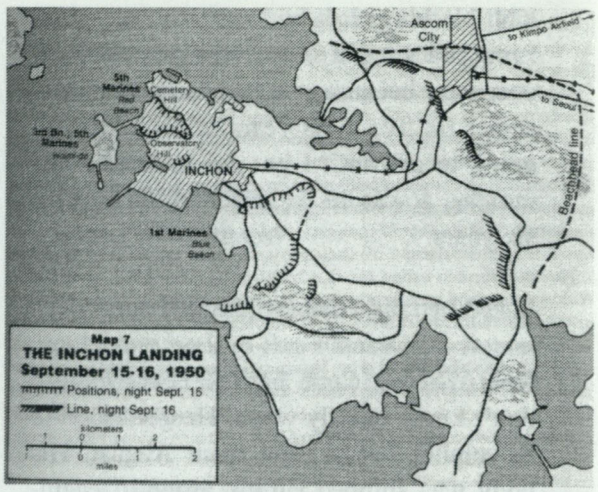
SU: How many children do you have?

KN: I have three.

SU: What are their names and what years were they born?

KN: Natalie, Joanne, and Glenn. He used to do fencing—kendo.

SU: What years were they born in?



Map portraying the Inchon Landing. Alexander Bevin, *Korea: The First War We Lost* (New York, N.Y: Hippocrene Book, 1996), 199.

KN: I don't know. Fifties I guess. I don't remember.

SU: What do they do now?

KN: The oldest one [is] working for Nordstrom, Joanne is working for the county. She's married. Natalie is not married and Glenn is not married either.

SU: How many grandchildren do you have?

KN: I have two.

SU: What are they?

KN: Boy and a girl.

SU: What are their names?

KN: Nathan and Hailey. Nathan is older.

SU: You said you were a nursery man for a little while.

KN: Yeah, I used to raise junipers.

SU: How long were you?

KN: I don't know—ten years.

SU: Quite a while.

KN: Yeah. I had all this. But then (inaudible) _____ . I used to sell to Gemco stores.

SU: I remember.

KN: I had the whole southern region for one item. They used to buy a lot. But (inaudible) used to give a lot of trouble. They give these guys a lot of trouble too. Then there were some law suits. A lot of nurseries had law suits (inaudible) right away because the neighbors said that insecticide or pesticide would drift. So I got kind of scared. I told my wife, "I think after I put everything together it's time to sell" because I had a lot of business. Then, Gemco sold out and they cut my delivery time. So I told my wife, "after I put everything together I think I'm going to sell." Two weeks—gone. Sold out. I kind of thought it was a little early but, it was the right time because four to five years later Gemco closed down. So, I told my wife it was the right thing. It was hard to work for somebody else. You had to punch in. I used to work for heavy equipment. I used to work on off-road stuff. Earth remover, like that. It's hard work. Then I went to work for [the] MTA. I retired from there. [The] MTA was a good place to work. It's not very hard. Heavy equipment [was] very hard work. But I learned a lot. You didn't work on the same machine twice.

SU: When did you fully retire?

KN: Over ten years now. '95, '96. '95 I guess.

SU: I remember you told me you built a boat.

KN: Yeah, I did.

SU: When did you do that?

KN: I finished building about 1994 I guess. Somewhere around '95.

SU: Right about retirement.

KN: Yeah, I think about a year before retirement. Yeah, that's right. Couple of years before. I had a plan that when I retire, I want to go out to sea. That was my dream.

SU: You want to live on the sea?

KN: No, no. I wanted to go fish for (inaudible) I didn't have plans to fish for the kind of fishing I did later on. I just go fishing around local. There's too many boats around there. They bother you. So, I started to go to Catalina and then I started to go to San Clemente Island. Sometime I'd go Santa Barbara Island. I caught a lot of tuna. Never thought I'd catch tuna that (inaudible) I thought I'd catch huge barracuda, calico bass but, it was a pretty sea worthy boat.

SU: How big was it?

KN: Thirty-four foot. I had a lot of fun with it. I used to go out three to four days. Sometimes five days. Go to San Clemente island, stay over night, and early in the morning go out another thirty to forty miles—fifty miles out and come back that night if it's windy. If it's a real calm night I'd stay out there. It's not a very good idea to stay out there. There's a lot of freighters that come by and the freighter, they don't see you. They don't care about you and they don't want

to change the course or anything because it costs them too much money to maneuver the boat—to drive another extra mile—so you can't rely on them. You had to watch out for yourself. If you go by yourself you had to stay up all night. How are you going to fish the next day? So you're better off to come back to an island and drop your anchor and relax. If you have to go out again—go out again. If you try to save some extra time or fuel and be out there, if they hit you they don't want to stop. You have a radar—radar on all the time. It'll give an alarm—it's a zone. Anything that come[s] within the zone the alarm go[es] off but, if you're too tired how are you going to hear that? So, you have to have somebody up there all the time. If you're by yourself you can't stay up there all night. So, it's better off to come back to the island and usually I catch something so I just come back the next day. It's nice out there. The air is cleaner. Out there, there's nobody there you know. Very few people out there except when (inaudible) real good. San Clemente Island (inaudible). Ah, like a city. All kinds of boats come out there. Nice big yacht[s]. Some people have a lot of money.

It's nice out there. The air is cleaner. Out there, there's nobody there you know.

SU: Sounds like you miss fishing.

KN: I do but, you know, you got to face the fact that I'm not as strong as before. You get tired right away, your balance is not good, your reflexes are bad, your eye sights are no good, and the hearings are bad. You could have some bad sounds and engine (inaudible) you can't hear. You have to know when to get in and out in anything you do. It was time for me to get out. I found a good buyer. He had money. He didn't chisel the price or anything. He just said, "okay. How do you want to get paid?" I wanted to sell because I was getting tired. I just took my grandson out. One day, he was waiting. I told him, "I have to take you home because it's kind of late. I see you. I'll come tomorrow." So, he was there tomorrow or next day. (inaudible) all afternoon. He had his mind made up. He asked me one question. He said, "how's that engine?" Well, the engine has been very good to me but, an engine could break down any time. You could go one block and, it'll break down. You go a thousand miles and it won't break down. You never know. I'm not guaranteeing you nothing. But I do have all this equipment. Nice stuff you know. I had a side scanning (inaudible) sonar. You go any direction, any angle, any depth, I had a good radar, I had a GPS. The GPS would put you right in this room—fifty miles out, 100 miles out. And it used to give you a trail of where you've been. If you had a bike over here you can go back there. That was the place where I had a bike so (inaudible). Maybe it's not there but, you have a chance. I had good equipment. He asked me about the engine and I told him, "here's this dip stick." I took it out and looked at it and my oil was very clean. Diesel engine you don't get that kind of clean oil and I know that because I used to work on diesel. "Do you see where the oil is at?" He said, "no, I don't see no oil mark." I said, "that's just it. That means it's clean oil or there's no oil there. There's no oil on the engine. You know I came back yesterday." So I get a rag, blot it, "there's your oil." He called me about his engine. He had a boat but his engine was no good. I said, "your engine clean like this?" He said no. I know because the engine is no good. He told me. He want to fix it so (inaudible). I told him

no, you got to pull it out and, do it right. You don't do half-way work on a boat. You could be out there and nobody is going to help you. You could be close to a rock. The engine dies (inaudible) you're going to be against the rock. On ground it's stable but on water (inaudible). On ground, you don't have anchor. Even anchor swings around. He wanted me to fix it but, no, I'm not going to do that way. It's either you pull it out and do it right or else (inaudible). Don't go and patch it up. That had a good diesel engine. I wasn't afraid to go anywhere with that. Yeah, I drove a lot. I used to have to go by myself. I don't like to take people out because they complain to me. Sometime[s] they can't catch any… They're eager to (inaudible) and they put pressure on me. I like to catch fish but if you can't get [one] you can't get it. That's all there is to it. You just have to forget about it until the next time. When you take people (inaudible). People who are real good on the land, sometime[s] they become demon out there. They completely change. Not like when they're on the land. Land they talk real nice but they got hold of a fishing rod he's a different guy. I had some *hakujin* (White) guy that I took him out there and I had a fight [with him] out there. He doesn't listen to me. I told him [to] bring certain kind of things—certain equipment. He doesn't bring. He brings whatever he wants to. That day he didn't catch anything. So I gave him a lure. He had to pay for the lure because he didn't bring what I told him to bring. All day he doesn't catch anything. I was catching. I fished port side so I could see better. He fished the starboard side. He thought the port side was better. By then I lent him a lure. He had a double hook up right away. By the time it was time to come back that's all he had—one. So the next day he said he'd catch all the fish that side. I said, "fine." He fished that side and I fished this side. You have to watch both sides because when I'm driving I have to see that side better. That's the reason I want to fish that side. I like to see it hit. You know what happened? There was a strike on this side for a shark. So I told him, "Jack, you take that one." He said, "you want me to take him?" "Yeah, I want you to take it." "But it's your side." "It doesn't matter. That might be the only fish for the day. We don't know. You bring it in." So, he brought it in. Then we caught a lot of fish. Then that night I told him we're going to drift that night. We didn't want to come back because it's cold weather. We dropped the anchor. The anchor doesn't reach but, it keeps the boat into the wind. I told him, "Jack, you better check your fish because you only have one fish the ice (inaudible) get all chewed up." "No, I'm going to check in the morning." I told him about the anchor in the water. I told him, "your job is to turn the switch on and off. When the anchor come up you turn it off." So the next morning we bring it up and he doesn't turn it off. I told him, "Jack, you have to turn the switch off." He already forgot. "No," he said, "I want to check my fish." I got irritated because I told him the night before to check his fish (inaudible) all night long rocking. It's too late. If it's damaged it's damaged but, I want the switch off because you step on the switch… everything turns around and, if you're near there it might tear up your feet or if you fell around there and hit the switch because it's alive and that's the reason I want to shut that off. So I go and shut it off myself. Then I go up there and start driving because we have to go fishing. He comes up and says, "you can't [wait] fourteen seconds? I just want to check my fish." I said, "I know but your feet or my neck or your leg is more important than your lousy fish you got. It's important that we don't get hurt and when

we get to the dock I want you to walk off yourself. I don't want to carry you off there because you have a broken leg or whatever or you bleed. I don't want that. I already told you last night, You didn't want to check it. Your only job is to shut that switch off." He's mad. "You don't want to wait fourteen seconds?" "When it comes to safety, I'm responsible for you. If you fall off and you die, I have to go and talk to your wife about it. I have to live with it. I don't want that. So, I don't care how you feel about it." That's the way I am. That's the way I run my boat. I want to come back. Come back after dark in one piece. It doesn't matter how many fish we got if you have to call the Coast Guard cause you passed out because you bump your head on the wall or something. It's no fun that way.

SU: I did want to talk about the bridge in San Francisco. I want to talk about how you discovered how your grandfather had built [it] and, does the story begin from the beginning.

KN: It starts from a book. When my mother passed away, we discovered a book with my grandfather's name, date, and where he came from. I knew my grandfather's name. There's another name that I'm not familiar. His name is Ichisuke Nakatani. My grandfather's name is Takuichi. Shinshichi is my grand uncle, I guess. He's my great grandfather's brother. My grandfather was a shrine builder also. I have a documentation on that.

SU: Your grandfather's name?

KN: Takuichi. He's the one that build the Japanese school building in Norwalk back in the '30s.

SU: So he built the building but the land was under your uncle's name?

KN: Yes.

SU: Norwalk Japanese School new building dedication, 29 November 1930.

KN: I think that's my grandfather right here in a suit. He's the one that built the physical structure. The way I understand from my uncle, he had a contractor put it up. He did all the figuring. He made all the pieces. That's the way shrine builder [s] do [it]. They don't make one piece at a time and try and fit it. When he gets done making the pieces, they better fit and they better have the right amount. Here's my uncle. They bought it under his name.

SU: Technically the school owner even though he never put any of the money the land is in his name.

KN: I'm trying to get this straightened out. I have a document… His wife had a deed to the land. She gave me the envelope to give it to the Norwalk Japanese School because she signed it over to the… I think it became incorporated.

SU: Mr. Kinzo Nakatani's name as *Issei* (first generation Japanese Americans) were not allowed to own…

KN: That's not right. It's Kinso. That's another thing I'm trying to straighten out. Not Kinzo. Kinso. They used the wrong Japanese character.

SU: You came across the bridge.

KN: I knew my grandfather's name. I didn't know who [the other] Nakatani was. So I called my uncle who was living [at] that time. He said they don't know. He didn't know his grandfather's name. So I called my mother's sister and she said there's a Nakatani living in Honolulu the same place where she's at—Masuyo Nakatani. She should know. She gave me the phone number and I talked to her. She said, "Oh, he's the one that built the bridge in San Francisco." I didn't understand what she meant. But, bridge in San Francisco—I thought she was talking about the Golden Gate Bridge. My uncle told me about that one time. They've been trying to tell me but I was so busy. She says, "He's the one that built the bridge over there." Then I talked and she says there's a Japanese village or something. "Oh," she said, "I have a picture. I want to send it to you." I start talking about that. She said she went to this house and that's where she got the picture. She said, "you talk to Yoshiyesan. She lives there and she was married to his grandson. He died and so she's staying there." I start talking to her and she says… She didn't tell me that there's a picture…. We talked but very little….. I'm talking about this lady living there. Because Masuyosan said—Masuyo is the one living in Honolulu—she says, "I'm going to send you a picture." She sent me a picture and right away I got interested. I kind of remember I saw in San Francisco the bridge. She said he's the one that built it. I never heard about it. Then one time my uncle said that some two old ladies came to him some time ago, that some relative—I thought he was talking about his father Takuichi but I think he was talking about his grandfather. He was a great carpenter. They built the San Francisco bridge. Now I know what they're talking about. It's not that Golden Gate Bridge; it's a little thing. Then I start thinking more—that's a long time ago. Gee, it must have been very hard to come out here. They don't get on an airplane and fly over in a few hours. It takes probably a month to get across. I start feeling gee, I want to check this out. Then I asked my cousin—her name is on here—this is my cousin—she died. She and I always get along, "ask your mother" and, I got this thing here… She was doing genealogy too. So, I told her, "I got this picture" and, I showed it to her. "You want to help me?" "Yeah, I want to help you." So, we went to Frisco many, many times—she and her husband and my wife—she'd go along but she wasn't interested. Nobody in my family was really interested. The only one—she's the only one. My aunt in Torrance didn't care. Somehow I got hold of the arboretum there [in San Francisco.] There's a Chinese guy. His name is Lin or something like that. I said, "we're going to start from here. This is the time frame." He says there's a book saying that tentatively [the bridge was] built by Nakatani. There's a book written by Tanso Ishihara and (inaudible) Wickham(?). Then I told Eleanor we better go see that. So we went—she and her husband and I. The three of us went. They had a stack of that much. She took the half and I took a half and I was looking through. She comes out and she says, "I found it." She says,

Shinshichi Nakatani and his wife Tami. Courtesy of http://www.nakatanifamily.com.

"tentatively Nakatani." Now we want to know which Nakatani. We got a copy right away. Copied the whole book. But we think somebody is going to destroy it because some other family has been claiming all these things. Hagiwara's been very strong but I don't want to hurt them. But I want to know who built it. Hagiwara's was never a shrine builder. But (inaudible) _____ Nakatani was a master builder. So I went to [the] Japanese Cultural Center and went to talk to Mr. Oka and he brought out three Nakatani names. He says, "I think you should just put down the three names there." I said, "no, I want to know who the master builder was. I want Ichisuke Nakatani to be the master builder. He's closest to me." It's agreed. I want more credit to my side than even though they're brothers closest to my side. I'm kinda greedy. So I said, "I want to know who." It turned out that my great grandfather was never a master builder. There's no documentation. But some of these things in Japan [say] my grandfather was a carpenter, a shrine builder. His father was a shrine builder. And then it comes Chiichi Nakatani, master builder. My grandfather was a shrine builder but not a master builder. That's why they wanted him to build the Japanese school. They knew he's good at it. I understand he had a nice loading shed—packing shed. In those days there were enough space[s] to put two trucks in there. He used to raise a lot of parsnip. He had a great old pool of water made of redwood. It never leaked. My uncle used to tell me, "See that roof? You look at any barn [and] it got a sway like that. But not this one. It's [as] straight as a day the first day he built [it.] It's a big timber." A guy told me—he died not too long ago—and I told him about my grandfather—he said, "I was wondering why such a big timber was on the bottom." It's his doing. That's the way he built to make sure the foundation is not going to change. He said one day why he built with such a big timber. That's the reason. So, anyway, the three of us went to—my wife went several times too—but, when I took my wife it didn't work out too good. When I take them it didn't work out too good either. They want[ed] to stay [in] one place a long time. No, we have to go back to Marsh (?). Marsh (?) was in charge of the project—E. T. Marsh (?). There's a girl that's married to his son or grandson who has an antique store in Monterey peninsula. So, I wanted to go over there because I wanted to get some information but, she didn't help us nothing. She didn't even want me to use the bathroom. I showed her some of the documents I got from Japan and he has a picture of his store. Nobody has that. Marsh (?) was a Japanese gift store. She said "I want that." I said, "I'll give it to you later but not now." Because there's a picture and I don't know whose handwriting but, it's got—you could make it out E. T. Marsh. I showed her that. "You know, my ancestor and your ancestor—they knew each other. So we're close." But she didn't want to say. She said, "I know what Marsh"—how do

A beaming Katsuya Nakatani stands next to his pristine 1964 Chrysler Imperial—his most prized possession. (Photograph courtesy of Susan Shoho Uyemura)

I know how to spell Marsh? But yet she wanted the other photograph. That's greed because she's in business. But I don't give her the picture because she didn't say that this does look like—it's hard to make out E. T. Marsh. I talked to Wendy. Her father was in the police department and they could bring that all up. They would come [up] with some method of doing it. But she said yes this is a E, this is a T, Marsh. I know they knew each other. There's one picture saying they're at a fair—cho chin—it's a lantern. It's a small thing like that. You see it at a festival—a small round thing of different colors. They have a kind of oblong [shape] with Japanese words—katakana—ma shi. If Marsh wasn't in charge of that why would they have ma shi on there.
That's why I say Hagiwara won't let that in there if they

were the ones that started it. But Marsh was the one in charge. I know that. You look at that. There's a Japanese guy let a *hakujin* guy's name go on that—they're in charge. I believe that part, that Marsh was in charge. What was I talking about before that?

SU: You were talking about how you went up to talk to her and she wanted the photo.

KN: We don't talk to her no more. I'll go back there again. I want to get that plaque relocated.

SU: Talk about the plaque. What plaque and where is it located? We're talking about the plaque that's located in San Francisco at the park. What does the plaque say?

KN: The plaque says (inaudible). My complaint is, see these steps here? It's on the other side of the bridge. Right in here somewhere. People step on this part and the shoe hits over here. You could see that it's wearing off. On top of that it's got (inaudible) crest on there. People are stepping on it all the time. Therefore, I told them that's not an appropriate area. I'm having a lot of problems trying to get it relocated. This is the dedication day.

SU: Where would you like it to be relocated to if you had a choice?

KN: Right in here.

SU: On a stand?

KN: Well, on a stand or rock. They (inaudible) on a rock. It's on this side—other side—and it's no good. They know that. Here's some of the article.

SU: Who carried this article? Nichibei Times.

KN: If you're interested in this I've got a lot of things on the Internet right now.

SU: You have it on the Internet?

KN: Partly. I'm trying to learn [to use the] Internet but I'm having problems. I had a friend put it on but the dates are not in the right sequence. Some are doubled. I had a lot of write-up.

SU: Did the Rafu carry it?

KN: Yeah, but they didn't do it right. You know what they wrote? See—I have a picture of him working. You know what they wrote down? Right down here this is "Kaz Nakatani." I got mad at that. I told the editor. He says, "that's the way it is." I said, "you look at the picture and if you have any brains—does that man look like a seventy

year old man? Does he look like a seventy year old man?" That settled everything. So we have to fix it.

SU: Did they run a reprint?

KN: No. They wrote a "sorry" article. Lot of things went wrong. You don't know what I had to go through. Even in Japan [I went through] so much trouble.

SU: If you could have your wish today, what do you want? You want the plaque moved.

KN: I want that plaque moved. After that, I want to work on the *Nisei* that were killed in the war.

SU: Once you get the plaque moved your job is done on this project?

KN: That's it. I'll be satisfied. They promised me they're going to… That's why I'm trying to find the letter I got. I can't think too good. I've got so many things put away and it's not organized. See—I've got this thing. I've got another album with all these stuffs. It's in a safe.

SU: Did you have everything duplicated in case something happens?

KN: Yes. That's why I don't put it in one place. I've got some in the safe. I've got some in the trailer back there. Then I have a complete one in San Francisco. Mrs. Hanson has it.

The Cause of Conflict: A Look at Arab-Israeli Tensions

Aron Marcellus

During the last few decades in the Middle East, negotiations for peace failed. From the creation of the Nation of Israel in 1948 through current peace negotiations, the process of establishing tranquility only led to more violence from the Israelis and Palestinians. Aron Marcellus discusses the tumultuous path of peace negotiations between these two peoples.

Two Islamic terrorists wielding AK-47s on a rooftop. Tad Szulc, "Who Are the Palestinians?" *National Geographic Magazine*, June 1992, 105. Photo by Joanna B. Pinneo.

The concept of an Arab-Israeli peace has taken on a cynical connotation as of late. While peace is a chief concern for many leaders and politicians in the Middle East and internationally, it is somewhat of a contradiction in terms in the minds of many. The process seems cyclical: violence, an attempt at peace negotiations, lack of compromise, then violence once again ensues.

There are so many facets to the Arab-Israeli conflict it is difficult to grasp what an overall view of peace might look like. The issues range from political to geographical, economical to religious, as well as issues over natural resources. Ideally peace would look like a general Arab recognition of Israel and a renouncing of violence from both sides. Israel would give complete autonomy to the Palestinian Authority (P.A.) as well as turning over the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza with unrestricted access to Jerusalem. The backbone of peace would have to be based on mutual respect and cooperation between Israel and its Arab neighbors to maintain a peaceful dialogue.

This straightforward approach sounds effortless in theory; however, due to the various issues involved it proves to be anything but effortless. Therefore, it would prove to be quite an impossible task to analyze every aspect of contention and come up with a final solution that will be universally accepted. This is not an attempt to make a blanket statement about peace in the Middle East nor will it propose a viable solution that all can agree on. This is, however, an attempt to give some insight into the peace process of the last two decades while examining the pitfalls and where they fell short. The structure will be two parts with the first section examining the recent peace process starting in 1993 with the Oslo Accords to the present. The second section will be an analysis of the religious aspect to the conflict in what could prove to be the greatest impasse to a lasting peace in the region.

The path to the current Middle East peace plan began in 1978 with the "Framework for Peace in the Middle East" signed at Camp David. This led to the Madrid Conference of 1991, which opened a dialogue for Arab-Israeli peace talks.[1] Although, the Oslo Plan of 1993 created a real sense that peace could be attained within the Arab-Israeli world in spite of everything.

The Oslo Process began with noble intentions, a mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. On 9 September 1993 the PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat together with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin met in Oslo, Norway. Arafat signed a document recognizing the State of Israel, rejecting violence, and promising to take steps to rescind those articles of the PLO charter that proved objectionable to Israel, specifically the call for Israel's destruction. Rabin returned the favor by signing a document acknowledging the PLO as the voice of the Palestinian people and accepting the PLO as a negotiating partner. Four days later on the White House lawn Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and PLO representative Mahmoud Abbas signed the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government for the Palestinians.[2]

The Declaration of Principles laid the framework for an independent Palestinian State within the Occupied Territories of 1967. It called for an interim self-government elected by the Palestinian people, for an intermediary period of no more than five years. It aimed to confer certain governmental functions to the Palestinians as Israel gradually withdrew its influence, militarily and politically, from the territories. During the interim period, the two parties would negotiate the permanent status regarding the Occupied Territories according to United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.[3] The agreement was conditional on Israel

[1] Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2007), 247.

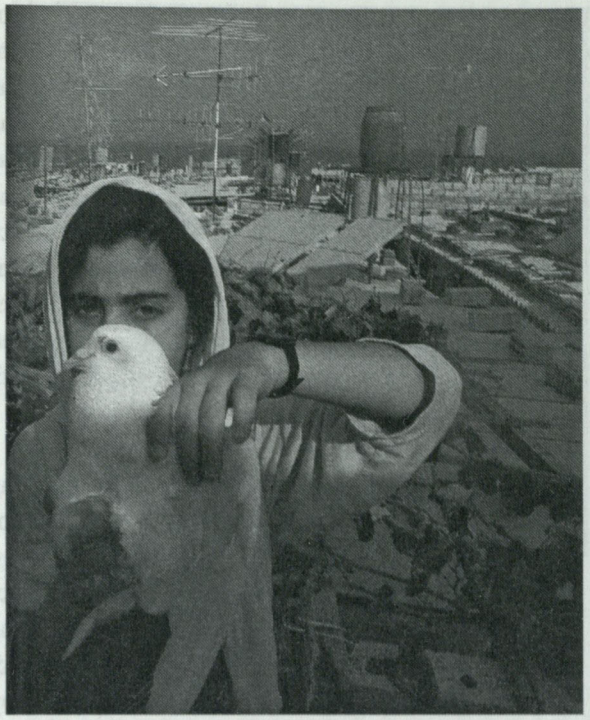
[2] Ibid., 256.

[3] Resolutions 242 and 338 implemented after the 1967

withdrawing its military from the Occupied Territories and the PLO containing terrorism and violence directed at Israel. Not without setbacks, the peace process continued with an agreement in 1994 specifying the terms of an Israeli departure from Gaza and Jericho as well as an agreement for the PLO to establish a Palestinian Authority in the territory.[4]

The progress made between the Palestinian Authority and Israel evoked interest among other Arab States who began flirting with the idea of peace with Israel, namely Jordan. A peace treaty between Egypt and Israel had existed since the original Camp David peace talks in 1979.[5] At the end of 1994 Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and Jordanian Foreign Minister Majali signed a formal peace treaty. In less than one year Israel had negotiated peace with Jordan with whom it shares its largest border.[6] With treaties signed between Egypt and Israel and Jordan and Israel, other Arab countries slowly began to see the benefit of diplomatic ties with Israel.[7]

Divisive factions continued violence in an attempt to derail the peace process, opposing peace and any form of negotiation with the enemy. Despite Israeli President Ezer Weizman's call for a brief cessation to the peace accords due to violence, 1994 and 1995 saw progressive talks that gave the P.A. increased authority and administrative power. The interim agreement or Taba Accord of 1995 set in motion talks on the final status of the P.A. in Gaza and Jericho that began in 1996.[8]



A young Palestinian girl holding a dove. Alexandra Avakian, "Gaza: Where Peace Walks a Tightrope," *National Geographic Magazine*, September 1996, 29.

When both sides met again in August of 1996 they made no real progress. Each side accused the other of violating principles of the accord. Chief concerns amounted to the P.A. not containing the terrorist actions of its people and the Israelis not withdrawing from Hebron. To make matters worse Palestinians in Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza began rioting due to the Israeli excavation of the Hasmonean Tunnel under the Temple Mount.[9]

An agreement on Hebron came about on January 1997 through the diplomatic resources of King Hussein of Jordan. Israel agreed to hand over 80% of Hebron to Palestinian control and the P.A. allowed 1,000 Israeli soldiers to stay in the region to protect Israeli settlers.[10]

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and 1973 war, respectively, called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territory and a solution to the refugee problem. It affirms the independence of every state and their right to live in peace free from violence and aggression. It also calls for an enduring peace in the Middle East.

[4] Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 413-2.

[5] Pappe, 215-6.

[6] Itamar Rabinovich, *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs at the End of the Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 62-3.

[7] Bickerton, 275.

[8] Ibid., 276-7.

[9] Ibid., 290.

[10] Ibid., 291-2.

After the significance at Hebron the remainder of 1997 witnessed a halt to the peace process due to violence and internal problems within Israel. The P.A. and Israel did not attempt talks again until the Wye River plantation in October of 1998. With the help of President Clinton and King Hussein of Jordan peace talks progressed with an agreement for an Israeli redeployment plan and security cooperation plan. However, both sides felt the heat of anger from dissidents within their own people, those who opposed a peace process and negotiations with the enemy.[11]

Talks on a final peace accord for the outstanding issues began on 13 September 1999, but by November it became apparent that talks would go nowhere. Each side wanted something contradictory to the other.[12] Despite apparent impasses the peace process seemed to be hanging on by a thread. In late 1999 Israel and Syria initiated talks but by early 2000 they proved to go nowhere.[13] On the other hand, in 2000 the Israeli cabinet declared that they would withdraw from southern Lebanon by July of that year, ending almost twenty years of occupation.[14]

The Camp David II summit convened in July of 2000 in an attempt to resume the stalled peace talks; however, they yielded nothing positive, as both sides still would not compromise on certain issues. As if this animosity was an indicator of things to come later that year in September a second intifada[15] broke out.[16]

The Second Intifada or Al-Aqsa Intifada began when Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif. In a speech he declared that Israel would never give up sovereignty over this area, which has religious significance to both Judaism and Islam. While Sharon's actions may have sparked violence, anger and frustration Palestinians felt towards Israel, the P.A., and failed peace accords became fuel for this massive uprising.[17]

Violence continued to influence the region due to the Intifada or perhaps the failed peace attempts or a combination of the two. Internationally the United States (U.S.), the United Nations (U.N.), Russia, and the European Union (E.U.) teamed up in 2002 to construct a "road map" to peace in an attempt to resuscitate a dialogue in the region. Its main objective called for peace in the region with an established Palestinian State neighboring Israel by 2005. It soon became apparent that negotiations would go nowhere and as the "road map" came to an end suicide attacks and violence toward Israel increased. In response to this aggression Israel reoccupied a majority of land it had just withdrawn from.[18] In 2005 Israel implemented a unilateral withdrawal from Gaza, in a move of self-preservation more than a precondition to peace, as violence against Israel continued to gain energy.[19]

Situations further deteriorated in 2005 and 2006. Violence escalated as Islamic militants gained power in both the P.A. and Lebanon. Within the P.A. Hamas gained influence among the population politically and ideologically. Hamas claimed personal responsibility and a decisive victory when

[11] Ibid., 308-9.
[12] Ibid., 316-7.
[13] Ibid., 318-9.
[14] Laqueur, 548-9.
[15] A term in Arabic that is defined as "uprising" or literally "shaking off the filth". Recently known for the two Palestinian movements against Israel.
[16] Bickerton, 327-9.
[17] Ibid., 330-1.
[18] Ilan Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 266.
[19] Bickerton, 363-6.

Israel withdrew from Gaza.[20] Hezbu'llah acted in a similar fashion when Israel withdrew from southern Lebanon in 2000.[21]

With the many facets to the Arab-Israeli conflict there are an equal number of reasons why the peace process failed to produce any substantial results. What critical problems did the peace plan begin with? What problems stalled its progress? The answer may be Israel's one-sided purpose, the differing opinions of what constituted a just settlement, Arafat, Israel's leaders, and terrorism all played a part in the breakdown of the peace process.

Although the Oslo Accords brought about a certain optimism regarding a lasting peace it failed almost from the start. Critics of Israel are quick to note the bias of the Oslo Accords. The framework gave Israel the upper hand in all negotiations and the Palestinians assumed a subservient role. The Palestinians recognized Israel's right to exist and yielded their right for a state until they met Israel's unspecified terms. At any time Israel had the right to negate Palestinian progress and halt the progress of the accord. Israel, on the other hand, simply recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians and agreed to an interim period where some authority would be handed over.[22] Israel made sure that it never explicitly stated that the Palestinians would be able to establish a sovereign state.[23]

Obviously in negotiations each party is seeking something that the other does not necessarily want, this is where compromise comes into play. Negotiations simply cannot work if compromise does not factor into the agreement. Another requirement is that both parties are of the same frame of mind.

Israeli soldiers bury one of their own during a military funeral. Tad Szulc, "Abraham: Journey of Faith," *National Geographic Magazine*, December 2001, 126.

With the Oslo Accords, however, it can be said that each party had a different view of the cause and the solution.

The Palestinians attributed the root cause of their suffering to the consequences of the 1948 war. The Accord merely addressed the problems that came from the 1967 war, specifically the occupied territories of Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Ultimately, Palestinians wanted restitution from the 1948 war, the refugee problem and a return to their original land. Israel claimed no responsibility over the circumstances of 1948. Therefore, the talks only mentioned the events of 1967.[24] This underlying theme of the Accord contributed in a large degree to the animosity the Arab world directed at Israel. While Israel and the Accords operated from a 1967 mindset the Palestinians and Arab world looked to 1948 as the foundation to their grievances.

[20] Ibid., 395-6.

[21] Amal Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbu'llah: Politics and Religion* (London: Pluto Books, 2002), 1.

[22] David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/ Nation Books, 2003), 21-2.

[23] Bickerton, 323.

[24] Pappe, 244-5.

Methods of leadership must be taken into account as this plays an important role in how each side communicates with one another. Arafat ran the PLO then ruled the P.A. without contention until his death. The sharing of power and resources did not exist and a true democratic Palestine would not have been possible while he lived. This aside, Arafat did a great deal for the Palestinians. He created a separate Palestinian identity and brought their plight to the world's attention.[25] While it can be said that Arafat promoted the Palestinian cause further than anyone his shortcomings as a leader outweighed his accomplishments.[26] If the Palestinians had the privilege to freely elect leaders of their choosing the outcome may have progressed rather than declined.

Israel as a democratic state elects leaders that represent the collective feelings shared by its society. If a leader is not effecting change or serving the interests of its people they simply elect someone who appeals to their interests. Throughout the Oslo Agreement, Israel witnessed four Prime Ministers each adding a different element to the peace process, which reflected Israeli desires at the time. Yitzhak Rabin (1992-1995) implemented the initial phase of the Oslo Accord and aggressively sought a peace treaty with the PLO, which ultimately lead to his assassination by a Jewish zealot.[27] Shimon Peres (1995-1996) also advocated peace in the region but Israelis lost faith with him due to constant violence from Islamic militants.[28] Benjamin Netanyahu (1996-1999) proposed the idea of a "secure peace" in which Israel must first address its vital needs for security before it can cede land to its Arab neighbors.[29] Ehud Barak (1999-2001) avidly supported the Oslo process and planned to withdrawal troops from Lebanon, however, violence from the Al-Aqsa Intifada damaged his credibility as a leader.[30]

During the Oslo process, Israel voted for a prime minister based on peace or security. Throughout the early stages of the process Israeli's eagerly voted for peace. As the process advanced, violence escalated from those disheartened by the status of the accords and those who opposed peace. Eventually, Israel's desire for security outweighed its desire for peace and this reflected in the elected leaders.[31]

Of all the problems the P.A. and Israel faced during the Oslo Accords perhaps the most difficult element to control became terrorism. One of the stipulations of the peace agreement called for Arafat to control violence and terrorist acts in the occupied territories. It proved impossible for the P.A. to control militant radicals such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad, who continuously preached the destruction of Israel. Yet, Israeli's contributed to these violent acts as well under the guise of self-defense. Terrorism became a main theme of interaction between Israelis and Palestinians. Violence only creates more violence, as is often the case rarely does it solve problems.

While not all terrorist acts occur due to religious tension, some form of fanaticism usually incites them. Jewish zealots believe that the land of Israel cannot be compromised for peace so they attack Palestinians on God's behalf,[32] or in the case of Yitzhak Rabin, Jews kill other Jews for agreeing to give up Jewish land.[33] According to Islam all of Palestine is a *waqf*, or religious endowment. For this reason Islamic militants push to take back the land through armed struggle.[34] For every talk and agree-

[25] Bickerton, 368-9.

[26] Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), 767-8.

[27] Bickerton, 278-9.

[28] Pappe, 257.

[29] Ann M. Lesch and Dan Tschirgi, *Origins and Development of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 68.

[30] Bickerton, 314, 334.

[31] Ibid., 334.

[32] Bickerton, 273.

[33] Pappe, 255.

[34] Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 44.

ment between Israel and the PLO an outbreak of violence occurs in protest of Palestinians making concessions to Israel.[35]

There must be a distinction between religious terrorism and societal violence. Terrorism can be defined as an action by an individual bent on the destruction of another person, intended to affect many. It may not be directed at anyone in particular but used to send fear and panic into the population at large, whether a deranged settler attacks worshipers in a mosque or a suicide bomber walks into a crowded building. This type of violence makes the ideology of the perpetrator known, whether or not it will affect much change. Societal violence could be applied to events like the Al-Aqsa Intifada and other smaller riots that came about due to frustration with the peace process. Despite fundamental religious sects, a majority of Palestinians remained optimistic that Oslo would eventually lead to their own state. They believed that each side honestly wanted to pursue a peace that would eventually benefit both sides. When the delusion wore off the outlet of their anger took the form of violence.

Israel's main concern is over security while Palestinian's main concern is over land.[36] At this point it may prove useful for the Palestine Authority and the whole Arab world, for that matter, to take an initiative for peace. It is likely that if the Arab world showed Israel and the rest of the world, that they could institute peace by renouncing violence, Israel would listen. With the risk of violence gone and international pressure given Israel would be more that willing. It is not difficult to see that Israel has a majority of the leverage. They do not have to give into the Arab world even in the face of violence and international pressure. They proceeded with Oslo for the same reason the international community pushed for it, to bring stability to the region.

Palestinian terrorists demonstrated in the streets. Tad Szulc, "Abraham: Journey of Faith," *National Geographic Magazine*, December 2001, 124.

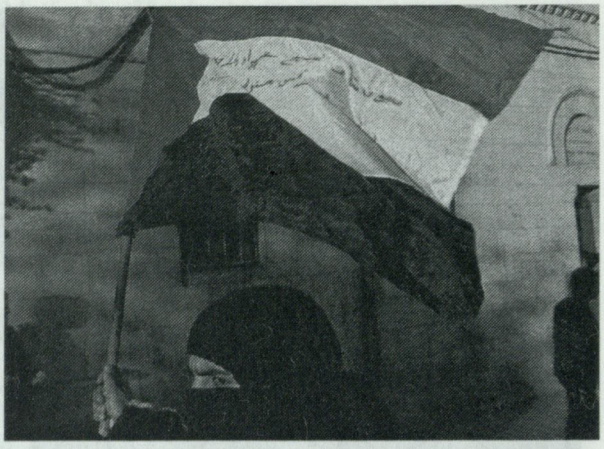
Unfortunately for the Palestinians, Israel has the power and those who have power have the power of negotiation.

The problem with the current peace plans is that they totally disregard the religious aspect of the conflict. The basis of the conflict began before the war of 1948 and even before the Zionist movement and the first *aliyah*.[37] It is a result of the incompatibility between Judaism and Islam, which began when Muhammad brought Islam to the Jews and they rejected him as a prophet of God. This causes

[35] Bickerton, 276, 281, 284.

[36] Ibid., 287.

[37] Aliyah, which means "going up", this was the first modern wave of Jewish Immigrants to Palestine from 1881 to 1903.



A Palestinian youth waving a flag. Tad Szulc, "Abraham: Journey of Faith," *National Geographic Magazine,* December 2001, 97.

a problem due to the fact that both religions hold Jerusalem and its surroundings sacred. Both religions hold the land sacred and consider it a disgrace for the land to be under foreign control.

How did this land become sacred to begin with? According to Jewish tradition God brought Moses and the Israelites out of Egypt and lead them into the Promised Land where He planned to flourish them. The land of Ancient Israel already had special significance to its people, as a gift from God. After King David conquered the city of Jerusalem in 1000 B.C.E. it gained special significance as the city of David. Still, through his son King Solomon, who constructed the Temple, the city gained religious significance as the center of Judaism.[38] Even through conquests, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, the land and Jerusalem in particular have always had a special place in the heart of the Jews.

According to Islam, Jerusalem has significance as the land of the prophets, from Noah to Jesus. Islam is a combination of Hebrew and New Testament scripture and principles, along with teaching given directly from Allah to Muhammad. As such, it holds in common the sanctity of Jerusalem. Muhammad instructed his early followers to pray in the direction of Jerusalem. Many scholars see this as a way in which Muhammad tried to entice the Jews to embrace his new religion. It was not until they rejected him that he redirected the prayers to Mecca.[39]

More importantly, Jerusalem holds significance to Muslims since it is believed that Muhammad visited the Temple Mount on his night journey from Mecca to Al-Aqsa, literally meaning the "furthest mosque".[40] There is some speculation that when Muhammad spoke about his night journey he is actually talking about his *hijra* or flight from Mecca to Medina in 622 C.E., during which time he escaped from his enemies, the Meccan leader's, that opposed his new monotheistic religion.

In an article published in the Egyptian weekly *Al-Qahira,* columnist Ahmad Muhammad 'Arafa claims that during the Prophet Muhammad's life no such mosque existed in Jerusalem. Yet, it is not the absence of a mosque in Jerusalem that makes his case due to the fact that a mosque could simply constitute an open area where Muslims pray. It is a fact that at the time the people of Palestine did not know Muhammad or follow Islam. At the time the furthest mosque would have referred to the mosque of As'ad ibn Zurara in Medina.[41] Therefore, the night journey may have been an elaborate metaphor of Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina. Furthermore, the Caliph Omar conquered Jerusalem in 638 C.E., six years after the Prophets death, and built a temporary mosque on the Temple Mount. About seventy to eighty-five years later the Caliph

[38] Abraham E. Millgram, *A Short History of Jerusalem* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson Inc., 1998), 4-7.

[39] Thomas A. Idinopulos, *Jerusalem Blessed, Jerusalem Cured* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Inc., 1991), 215-6.

[40] N.J. Dawood, trans., *The Koran* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1990), 197. (Surah 17:1)

[41] Ahmad Muhammad 'Arafa, "The Prophet Muhammad's 'Night Journey' was Not to Jerusalem but to Medina." *Al-Qahira* 3 Sept. 2003 [article online]; accessed 10 Dec. 2006; available from http://www.memri.org/bin/opener.cgi.

al-Walid built the Al-Aqsa Mosque.[42] The Al-Aqsa Mosque did not exist in the Prophet's time, so how could he have referred to it in the Koran?

This is not in an attempt to discredit Islam or refute Islam's claim to have religious heritage in Jerusalem. Controversial insight will not change the Muslim world's view of Palestine. This discussion is not an attempt to change anyone's mind about whose land it is. It is simply to make the point that to Islam, Jerusalem runs a distant third place to Mecca and Medina. For Judaism, Jerusalem is the city of David; its land is a promise from their God. Since both religious groups hold the land of Israel/Palestine sacred, there is a requirement of understanding that gives everyone involved the respect they are due.

A religious tolerance and respect between both Jews and Muslims would not only affect the fundamental religious groups but would bring an added sense of unity to the secular groups battling for a peaceful coexistence. A true peace would look like Islam accepting Judaism as its legitimate forerunner along with Judaism respecting Islam's view of Jewish prophets and holy sites as a precursor to Islam.

Jerusalem and its surroundings have been sacred to Islam for 1300 years. History cannot change in order to agree with only one religious view. However, the current land of Israel has been of primary importance to Jewish people. Jewish history goes back 3000 years and must be respected even by Muslims. Both groups of people have an equal right to the land and it is important that they understand the religious significance the land holds for each group. However, without Judaism, Islam as well as Christianity would not be what they are today. This demands that we show Judaism its proper respect no matter how we feel toward Israel.

The Oslo Accords ended in failure for both sides. It did not produce stability in the region; in fact it unleashed some of the most violent attacks the land has witnessed in recent years. This is due, in part, to religious intolerance on both sides. The Accords attempted to treat the symptoms rather than the cure. An interfaith dialogue could prove to be of some assistance, intending to bring the two faiths together in an attempt to mend the past atrocities both sides have committed against one another.

Perhaps we will find that peace is not possible after all, no matter how much effort is made. Some issues are at an impasse such as the refugees' right of return. Allowing the refugees from 1948 to return to their original land would border on committing national suicide for Israel. In this instance there is no clear way that religion could solve their problem. Although, the peace must start somewhere and it seems more advantageous to start at the beginning of the problem rather than 1250 years down the road.

[42] Millgram, 57-8.

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"With His Assistance, I Cannot Fail": The Effects of Religion on Lincoln's Views of Slavery and the Union

Jean Fiddler

Abraham Lincoln struggled with the relationship between ideas of religion, slavery, and the Union during his presidency. While religion played an important role in Lincoln's life, his speeches often reflected a man trying to please a conservative nation. Jean Fiddler examines Lincoln's changing rhetoric during his political career. She shows Lincoln's dilemma between following his own beliefs and satisfying the greater population during the threat of Union dissolution.

An illustration of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address from *Harper's Weekly*. Robert L. Polley, ed., *Lincoln: His Words and His World* (Waukesha, Wisc.: Country Beautiful Foundation, 1965), [69].

Abraham Lincoln was a self-taught lawyer who managed to move through the political ranks during his relatively short career. He served in the Illinois State Assembly in 1834, advanced to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1846, and finally became president in 1861. Throughout his career, Lincoln regularly made references to God in his public addresses and private correspondences, but the fact that he never joined a church led some of his contemporaries, as well as historians, to suggest that Lincoln had no faith. However, abundant evidence exists to suggest that Lincoln strongly believed in a divine being. Although he never officially joined any church as an adult, Lincoln's upbringing in the Separate Baptist church significantly influenced his world view. Like most nineteenth-century Americans in the North and South, Lincoln looked to religion for guidance on the issues of slavery and the Union; however, the political atmosphere of the 1850s and 1860s frequently prevented him from publicly expressing his belief that God disliked slavery and his doubt that God favored the Union during the Civil War.

LINCOLN'S RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND AND BELIEFS

As a child, Lincoln attended the Pigeon Creek Baptist Church in Southern Indiana with his parents but never became a member of this or any other church. Historians have largely ignored the importance of faith in Lincoln's life because he did not participate in organized religion as an adult. Even Ken Burn's documentary, *Civil War*, which historians consider to be one of the most accurate and comprehensive accounts of the U.S. Civil War, failed to consider the impact that religion had on Lincoln despite the fact that a number of his speeches and letters included in the documentary are ones in which Lincoln made direct references to God.[1] Some may conclude that Lincoln was not religious because he did not attend church; however, like most aspects of his life, Lincoln's religious beliefs were more complicated than they appeared. Although he broke away from his parents' religion, James Tackach argued that the beliefs instilled in Lincoln during his childhood "took hold in him in important ways during his early adult years and remained with him throughout middle age."[2] He did not fully accept the theological ideas of the Separate Baptists, but Lincoln never abandoned the most basic and fundamental beliefs that he learned from growing up in a deeply religious household. These beliefs always influenced Lincoln personally and eventually came to dominate his world view.

The most important of these ideas was the belief in the power of a divine being. Lincoln left his parents' religion when he moved to Springfield, but he never stopped believing in God. Even during his middle life when Tackach claimed that "Lincoln in matters of faith was still exploring," it remained evident that he did not doubt the existence or importance of God.[3] In 1851, Lincoln sent a message to his dying father via his stepbrother: "Tell him to remember to call upon, and confide in, our great, and good, and merciful Maker; who will not turn away from him in any extremity."[4] These are clearly not the words of a doubter; they show that Lincoln understood the power of religion to comfort in times of darkness. Further, they reveal that he believed in God as a creator and savior, as did the majority of Americans in the nineteenth- century. In fact, those who did not subscribe to these basic protestant beliefs were considered heathens.[5] In this respect, Lincoln's beliefs followed the mainstream Christian views of his time.

[1] *The Civil War*, prod. and dir. Ken Burns, 60 min., Florentine Films, 1989, videocassette.

[2] James Takach, *Lincoln's Moral Vision: The Second Inaugural Address* (Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi University Press, 2002), 62.

[3] Ibid., 57.

[4] Ibid., 65.

[5] Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 16.

Lincoln not only believed that God created man, but that he played a significant role in their lives. He believed that men did not hold sole responsibility for their condition on earth and expressed great gratitude to God for the blessings he believed the Almighty bestowed upon the nation. In a proclamation delivered in October 1863 declaring Thanksgiving a national holiday, Lincoln said, "I do therefore invite my fellow citizens in every part of the United States... to set apart and observe the last Thursday of November next, as a day of Thanksgiving and Praise to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in Heaven."[6] This idea, that God influenced worldly events in the form of blessings and punishments, played a significant role in Lincoln's ideology about slavery and the Union.

However, Lincoln did not believe that men had no control over their actions. As a child, Lincoln's father exposed him to the puritanical ideologies of the Separatist Baptists, who followed the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. They believed that God had already chosen the saved and the damned and that man had no free will. A number of historians have argued that Lincoln fully embraced this ideology; as William Wolf put it, "Lincoln never became a Baptist, but he never ceased to be a predestinarian."[7] However, it is more accurate to say that Lincoln struggled with the concept of predestination but eventually settled on the belief in a powerful God who played an important role on Earth but who had not foreordained events. Allen C. Guelzo used Lincoln's "Letter to the Editor of the *Illinois Gazette*" to argue that Lincoln publicly admitted his belief in predestination.[8] At the end of this letter,

President-elect and his family at the First Presbyterian Church in Springfield, Illinois. Wayne C. Temple, *Abraham Lincoln: From Skeptic to Prophet* (Mahomet, Ill.: Mayhaven Publishing, 1995), xvi.

written in response to a political rival's accusation that he was an infidel, Lincoln described what he called the Doctrine of Necessity: "that the human mind is impelled to action, or held in rest by some power, over which the mind itself has no control."[9] Guelzo took these comments out of context for the full statement read, "It is true that in early life I was inclined to believe in what I understand is called the 'Doctrine of Necessity'...I have sometimes...tried to maintain this opinion in argument- the habit of arguing thus however, I have, entirely left off for more than five years."[10] Therefore, Lincoln actually made this statement in order to deny rather than affirm his belief in this doctrine. Lincoln's statement

[6] Abraham Lincoln, "Proclamation for Thanksgiving," 1863, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 727.

[7] William Wolf, *Lincoln's Religion* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970), quoted in Stewart Winger, *Lincoln, Religion, and Romantic Cultural Politics* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003).

[8] Allen C. Guelzo, "Abraham Lincoln and the Doctrine of Necessity," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 18, no. 1 (1997): 64.

[9] Abraham Lincoln, "Religious Views: Letter to the Editor of the Illinois Gazette," 1846, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 188.

[10] Ibid

about the "Doctrine of Necessity" demonstrated that he struggled with certain aspects of theology, such as the role of God in men's lives. However, he always believed that God existed.

Although he did not believe in predestination, Lincoln had no doubt that God played an active role in his life. The farewell address that Lincoln delivered to the people of Springfield before he left for the White House in 1861 further revealed his belief about the role of God. This very brief speech read in part, "I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With his assistance, I cannot fail."[11] Lincoln unequivocally asserted here that he needed God's help to in order to succeed as president, yet he in no way hinted that the outcome of his presidency had been predetermined. This idea of God's will and men's action was important to his philosophy on slavery and the Union.

Just as religion played a significant role in Lincoln's life, it played a major role in Antebellum American society. In a study of nineteenth-century church attendance, Roger Finke and Rodney Stark revealed that in 1860 one-third of all Americans belonged to a Christian church.[12] However, this study only took into account church membership and said nothing of those who, like Lincoln, had a deep faith but chose not to join a church or those who attended but did not officially join. Therefore, historians can reasonably conclude that religion became an important part of the lives of a significant number of Americans before and during the Civil War. Lincoln's contemporaries recognized this as well; Henry Clay explained that if not for religion "there will be nothing left to bind our people together but trade and commerce."[13] Clay's comment demonstrates that although denominational differences existed, the belief in Christianity tied most Americans together. Lincoln certainly included himself in this group, but because he primarily focused on simply discovering and fulfilling the will of God, his religious views often differed from other Christians.

Lincoln's simplicity of faith has prompted historians to speculate on the sincerity of his beliefs. Some historians have suggested that Lincoln's faith was more of a political act than a sincere belief because he frequently changed his views on theological ideas such as predestination and never joined a church. However, two documents exist to explain why a man with such a deep faith as Lincoln declined to join any church, and both suggest that Lincoln had too deep and too pure of a faith for him to bother with religious ceremony and denominational conflicts. In 1889, Aminda Rogers Rankin recalled a conversation she had with Lincoln in which he told her, "If the church would ask simply for assent to the savior's statement of the substance of the law: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself,'- that church I would gladly unite with."[14] The credibility of this source is somewhat in question because Rankin did not record it until 1889; however, Lincoln expressed a similar sentiment in a comment that he inscribed in the cover of a Bible that he sent to a friend in 1859: "Live by the words within these covers and you will [be] forever happy."[15] Further, these statements are consistent with Lloyd Ostendorf's depiction of Lincoln in church with his

[11] Abraham Lincoln, "Farewell Address at Springfield Illinois," 1861, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 568.

[12] Roger Fink and Rodney Stark, "Turning Pews into People: Estimating 19th Century Church Membership," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 25, no. 2. (1986): 11. Http://jstore.org.

[13] Bryan LeBeau, *Religion in America to 1865* (Washington Square: New York University Press, 2000), 163.

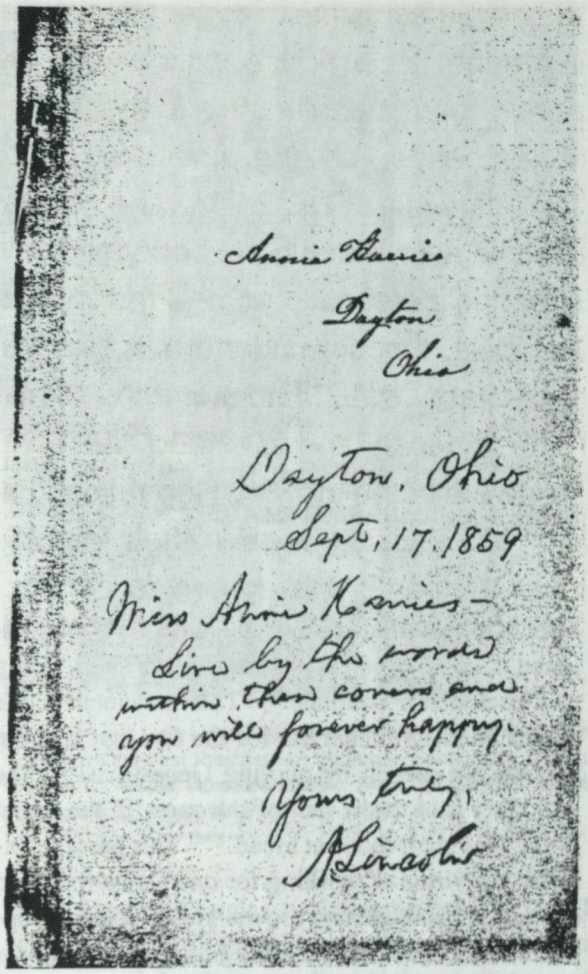
[14] Stewart Winger, *Lincoln, Religion, and Romantic Cultural Politics* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003), 165.

[15] Tackach, *Lincoln's Moral Vision*, 62.

family.[16] In this drawing the family stood silently and focused on the scripture. Symbolically, a stream of light shined through a window to show that the word of God enlightened them. This scene is the exact opposite of the loud, emotional revivals of the nineteenth-century of which Lincoln did not want to be a part. Each of these examples demonstrated that Lincoln held a simplistic faith – based on the Bible and a belief in God- that he could not find in any church. Therefore, when he needed guidance on the issues of slavery and the Union, rather than looking to contemporary religious leaders, Lincoln went straight to the word of God.

RELIGION AND SLAVERY

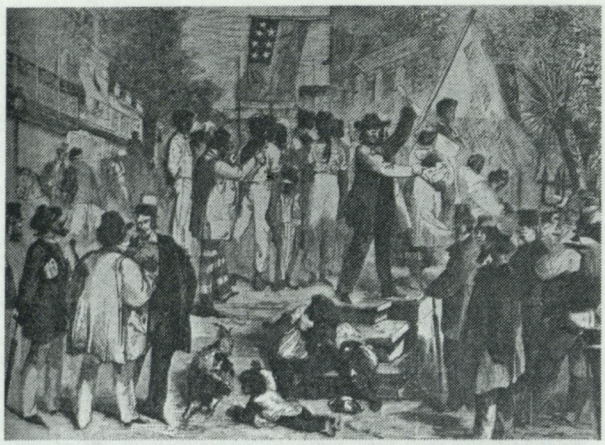
The conflict over slavery divided the country so deeply that a common religion could not bridge the gap between the North and the South, and even led to factions within the regions and denominations. The Second Great Awakening played a significant role in this because the activism encouraged by revivalist preachers led many to join the abolitionist movement. According to Bryan LeBeau, Northern evangelists preached against slavery as a sin and argued that Christians had an obligation to work against it.[17] On the other hand, Southern evangelists argued that the scriptures supported slavery by the fact that Jesus lived in a time when slavery existed but did not speak against it.[18] Although he was not an evangelist, throughout the 1850s and 1860s, Lincoln struggled to reconcile his personal views on slavery with the contemporary public opinion.



Abraham Lincoln's religious creed summed up by his inscription in the Bible of a young lady c. 1859: "Live by the words within these covers and you will [be] forever happy." Wayne C. Temple, *Abraham Lincoln: From Skeptic to Prophet* (Mahomet, Ill.: Mayhaven Publishing, 1995), 82.

Lincoln's aversion to slavery clearly had roots in his religious beliefs. His first introduction to anti-slavery sentiments occurred as a child in the Separate Baptist Church. According to Elton Trueblood, Lincoln's father, Thomas Lincoln, moved his family from Kentucky to Indiana partly because he disliked slavery. Once in Indiana, the family joined the Separate Baptist Church where young Lincoln frequently heard anti-slavery sermons.[19] These ideas clearly stayed with him because throughout his career Lincoln repeatedly condemned slavery on moral and religious grounds. While serving in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1847, he gave a speech on slavery in which he argued that "some

[16] Lloyd Ostendorf, "Illustration of Lincoln Family in Church," in Wayne C. Temple, *Abraham Lincoln: From Skeptic to Prophet* (Mahomet, Ill.:.Mayhaven Publishing, 1995), xvi.
[17] Ibid., 166.
[18] Ibid., 168.
[19] Elton Trueblood, *Abraham Lincoln: Theologin of American Anguish* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 11.



Slave auction in the South that appalled Northerners. Robert L. Polley, ed., *Lincoln: His Words and His World* (Waukesha, Wisc.: Country Beautiful Foundation, 1965), 31.

have laboured, and others have, without labour, enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue."[20] This statement alone would be insignificant but for the fact that Lincoln opened the speech by quoting Genesis 3:19: "the Almighty said to the first of our race 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.'"[21] This passage extolled the virtue of working for one's own food and earning it through one's own sweat. Lincoln applied this to slavery by arguing that it is wrong for slave owners to enjoy the "bread" for which their slaves "sweated."[22] Here, he essentially answered the Southerners' argument that the Bible does not condemn slavery. And while supporters of slavery looked to Noah and Jesus to justify their actions, Lincoln referred directly to the word of God to explain why slavery was wrong.

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s Lincoln continued to publicly denounce the institution of slavery, but he backed away from his earlier religious rhetoric. He did not completely abandon all mention of God in his arguments, but he focused more on politics, legality, and constitutional liberties rather than on the will of God. Lincoln's comments during his final debate with Stephen Douglas in 1858 exemplify his rhetoric during this period: "I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world."[23] Later in the speech he continued, "there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence."[24] With these arguments Lincoln appealed to the political ideals of liberty and justice for all Americans but stopped short of invoking the name of God.

To argue that God disapproved of slavery would clearly make a stronger argument. Why, then, would Lincoln decide not to publicly proclaim that God wished to rid America of slavery? As a brilliant political thinker, Lincoln knew that he could not maintain this position. If one argued that God did not want slavery to exist, then the only consistent action would be to abolish the institution. However, Lincoln was not yet prepared to advocate this because of the state of public opinion on abolition in the 1850s. Many assume that all Northerners believed in abolition; however, this is far from the truth. Many Northerners disliked slavery, but in 1854, Horace Greeley admitted that a "strong, pervading, overruling anti-slavery sentiment in the Free States" did not exist.[25] Rather, as Gerald Sorin explained, Northerners had an antipathy towards slavery but actually hated the Southern states because they believed they held too powerful.[26] Sara Tappan Doolittle Lawrence Robinson supported this in a May 1856 diary entry in which she explained that it was important for Kansas to join the Free

[20] Earl Schwartz, "'A Poor Hand to Quote Scripture': Lincoln and Genesis 3:19," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 23, no.2 (2002): 3.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Abraham Lincoln, "First Debate, at Ottawa, Illinois," 1858, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 442-443.

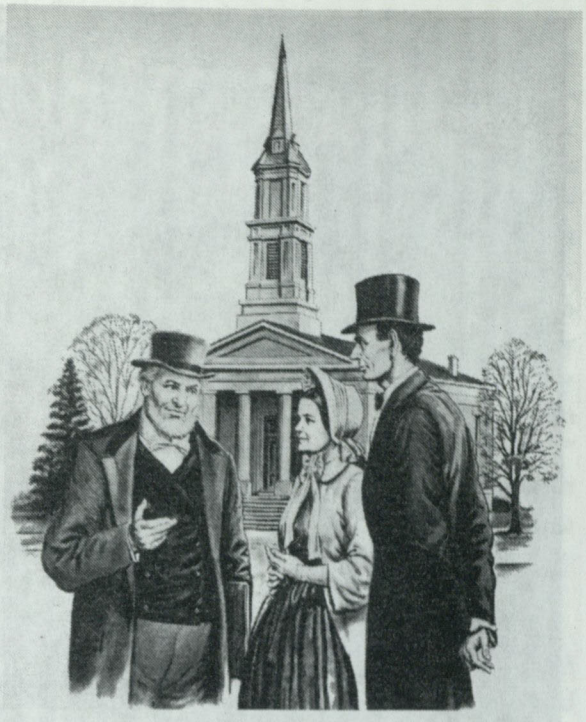
[24] Ibid., 445.

[25] Gerald Sorin, *Abolitionism: A New Perspective* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 121.

[26] Ibid.

states in order to diminish the power of the South in Congress, as well as a letter written by Lydia Maria Francis Child in October 1856, who complained that the Supreme Court always decided in favor of the "overgrown slave power."[27] These women clearly disliked the South, but their statements did not show nearly the amount of passion against slavery as Lincoln's Genesis 3:19 speech did. Further, John Murray Forbes described the slavery issue in December 1856 as "a struggle for political power between the North and the South."[28] None of these Northerners supported slavery, but they based their arguments against the institution on politics rather than morality. Although many of them did not oppose gradual emancipation, most would not support any plan that seemed too radical. Although many saw slavery as unjust, they were unwilling to disrupt the nation's political system and risk going to war.[29] These attitudes prevailed in the North, and Lincoln could not afford to alienate voters by allowing them to think he favored abolition. He knew that he could not win a seat in the Senate or the presidency with only the support of abolitionist Republicans. This caused Lincoln to carefully watch his words when he spoke about slavery in public.

Generally, Lincoln either preceded or followed his harsh criticism of slavery with a reminder that he did not have any intentions of abolishing the institution where it already existed, as he did in a debate



Abraham and Mary Lincoln converse with the Rev. James Smith in front of the First Presbyterian Church in Springfield, Illinois. Wayne C. Temple, *Abraham Lincoln: From Skeptic to Prophet* (Mahomet, Ill.: Mayhaven Publishing, 1995), xii.

with Stephen Douglas in Springfield in 1858: "I have said again and again that I would not enter into any of the States to disturb the institution of slavery."[30] This is important because it demonstrated Lincoln's knowledge of the fact that even Northerners were not willing to vote for a candidate who advocated a radical solution to slavery, and declaring that God wanted slavery to end could appear radical to many. The fact that the Free Soil party did not carry a single Northern state in the election of 1848 demonstrates this point. However, the Republicans did much better in their first election in 1856 because they did not make slavery their sole issue, and they did not advocate abolition.[31]

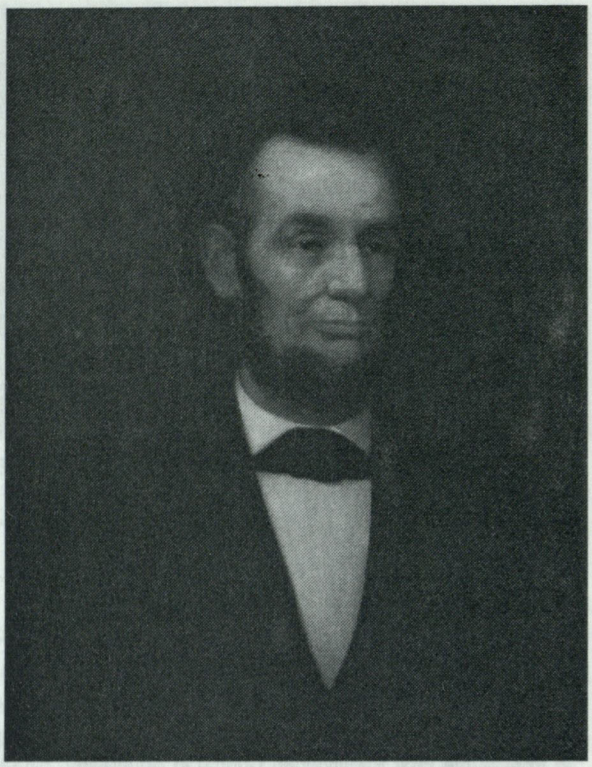
[27] Sarah Tappan Doolittle Lawrence Robinson, *Diary of Sara Tappan Doolittle Lawrence Robinson*, 1865, in *Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life, 4th ed.* (Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 1856), 366. The American Civil War: Letters and Diaries, http://www.alexanderstreet4.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu.; Lydia Maria Francis Child to Lucy Osgood, 1856, in *Letters of Lydia Maria Francis Child* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1883), 280, The American Civil War: Letters and Diaries, http://www.alexanderstreet4.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu.

[28] John Murray Forbes to J. Hamilton Cowper, 1856, in *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes vol. 1*, ed. Sarah Hughes (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900), 300, The American Civil War: Letters and Diaries, http://www.alexanderstreet4.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu.

[29] Sorin, *Abolitionism*, 130.

[30] Abraham Lincoln, "Speech in Reply to Douglas at Springfield, Illinois," 1858, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 415.

[31] Sorin, *Abolitionism*, 137.



Oil Portrait of Abraham Lincoln by George F. Wright with his signature beard painted after 1960. Robert L. Polley, ed., *Lincoln: His Words and His World* (Waukesha, Wisc.: Country Beautiful Foundation, 1965), 23.

Knowing this, Lincoln took great care to appear as a moderate, which sometimes meant not publicly expressing his beliefs.

During this period, Lincoln appeared to contradict himself in a number of public addresses and private communications. In one speech, delivered in 1858, he seemed to retract his earlier Biblical reference when he commented that "The Almighty gives no audable answer to the question [of whether it is the will of God that some men are enslaved]."[32] Yet, only months later in a letter to H.L. Pierce, Lincoln argued, "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it."[33] Here Lincoln reverted to his original opinion that God did not approve of slavery; he even went as far as to suggest that there would be retribution against those who disobey God's will. This opinion expressed in the letter to Pierce more accurately reflects his actual beliefs than the argument made in his speech because Lincoln would have most likely expressed his true beliefs privately to a friend rather than in a public address. This set of contradictions indicated that Lincoln felt he had to take a more moderate approach to slavery in order to appeal to the public, but he did not actually give up his conviction that slavery violated the will of God.

Through the critical events of 1860 and 1861 Lincoln continued to privately denounce slavery using religious rhetoric. In 1860, in a personal letter to Alexander Stephens, the future vice president of the Confederacy who supported Lincoln up to 1861, Lincoln wrote, "But you say that slavery is the corner stone of the south and if separated, would be that of a new Republic; God forbid."[34] He continued to explain that when he first saw slaves in Kentucky as a child he "prayed" that the leaders of the United States would implement a plan that would lead to its "extinction."[35] This letter is significant because it supports the contention that Lincoln's aversion to slavery was connected to his belief in God. Even more significantly, at the end of the letter Lincoln told Stephens that "this is to, only you alone, not to the public."[36] By this point, after having lost the Senate election of 1858 to Douglas, Lincoln under-

[32] Abraham Lincoln, "Fragment: On Slavery," 1858, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 477.

[33] Abraham Lincoln to H.L. Pierce, 1859, in *Letters and Addresses of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Mary Maclean. New York: Unit Book Pub. Co., 1907, The American Civil War Letters and Diaries. http://www.alexanderstreet4.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu.

[34] Abraham Lincoln to Alexander Stephens, 1860, in *Letters and Addresses of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Mary Maclean. New York: Unit Book Publishing., 1907, The American Civil War Letters and Diaries. http://www.alexanderstreet4.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

stood how carefully he had to choose his words; he knew that condemning slavery on religious grounds could alienate voters in both the North and South.

Once Lincoln won the presidential election in 1860, he had to continue to tread lightly on the subject of slavery in an attempt to return South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas to the Union. In fact, between his election in November 1860 and his inauguration in March 1861, Lincoln made six public addresses, but did not mention slavery in any of them.[37] The most critical speech of Lincoln's career was his first inaugural address, which he delivered on March 4, 1861, between the two waves of secession. In this speech, he made only three religious references and all of them referred to matters of saving the Union rather than slavery.[38] Lincoln did not speak out against slavery in his first inaugural; in fact, he made all of his comments about slavery with the intention of convincing the Southern states that he would not interfere with the institution. Here, he reiterated a comment he made in a debate against Douglas, "'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.'"[39] This time, Lincoln did not follow up with a moral condemnation of the institution because doing so would defeat the purpose of his address. The South clearly understood Lincoln's moral position on slavery; to repeat it here would only undermine his attempts to reconcile with the seceded states and retain the loyalty of those considering secession. Lincoln clearly understood that this was not a strategic time to declare that God wanted the practice of slavery to end.

However, after the war began, and it became clear that the South would not peacefully return to the Union, Lincoln became bolder in his religious condemnations of slavery because he had less to lose. In August 1861, Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring a national day of fasting and prayer. Referring to the war, he said, "it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation…to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though most justly deserved…"[40] Lincoln did not explicitly mention slavery in this proclamation, but no other "crime" committed "as a nation" could possibly have led to the Civil War. This is significant because Lincoln had finally returned to publicly denouncing slavery on religious grounds.

Toward the end of the war Lincoln also returned to using Biblical references to indicate his hatred of slavery. In 1864, he responded to a document that the American Baptist Home Missionary Society printed; he explained that when the Southern leaders created, in the name of God, a Confederacy based on slavery "they contemned [sic] and insulted God and His church, far more than did Satan when he tempted the Saviour with the Kingdoms of the Earth."[41] Here, for the first time during the war, Lincoln quoted the Bible when referring to slavery. This demonstrated that he felt more comfortable with the public's views on abolition.

By the end of 1864, Lincoln was so confident that the Union's attitude had changed that he deliberately used the press to share his beliefs regarding slavery and religion with the nation. Lincoln wrote a short description of an incident that he sent to the *Washington Daily Chronicle* in which he talked about a Southern woman who came to him to beg for the release of her husband, a prisoner of war.

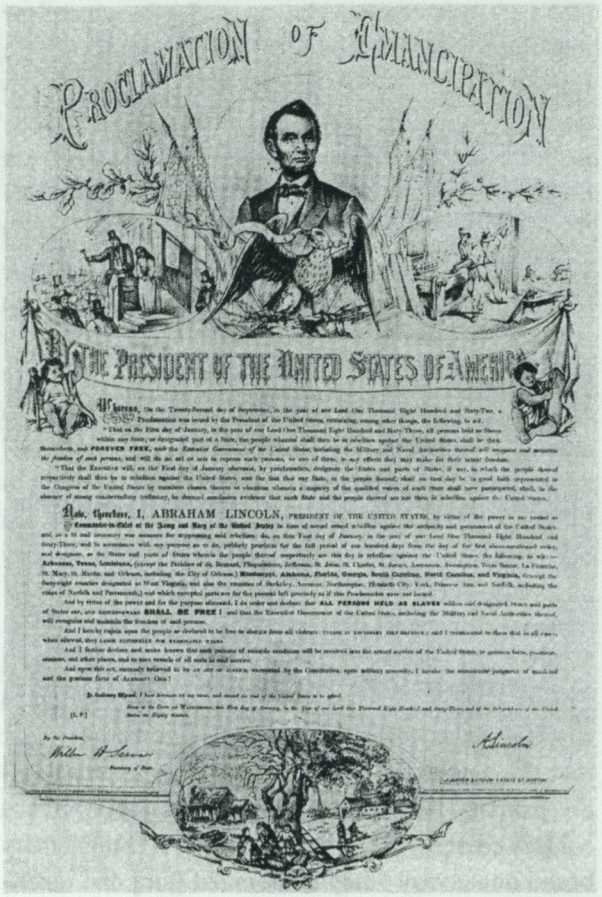
[37] Roy P. Basler, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 568-578.

[38] Abraham Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address," 1861, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 588.

[39] Ibid., 580.

[40] Abraham Lincoln, "Proclamation of a National Fast-Day," 1861, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 610.

[41] Schwartz, "A Poor Hand to Quote Scripture,"5.



Proclamation of Emancipation: Abraham Lincoln's Executive Order for the freedom of all slaves by D. B. Russell c. 1865. Frank J. Williams, *Judging Lincoln* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002), [4].

The woman repeatedly mentioned her husband's Christian faith. Upon ordering his release, Lincoln told the woman, "I am not much of a judge of religion, but…in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government, because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help *some* men eat their bread in the sweat of *other* men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven."[42] This second comment showed a significant change in Lincoln's perception of public opinion; just four years earlier he warned Stephens to keep his references to slavery away from the eyes of the public, but this time he wrote with the intention of expressing his opinion to the nation. By this point in the war, he felt secure in doing so because, as Sorin explained, public opinion about slavery in the North had changed: "the abolitionists helped to convince Northerners that emancipation was both a necessary war measure and consistent with the ideology of democracy."[43] He noted that by 1864, they had collected 400,000 signatures to petition for a Constitutional amendment to abolish slavery; by January 1865 the House of Representatives, in which the Republican's held only a slight majority, passed the amendment with a two-thirds vote.[44] These events signaled to Lincoln that popular opinion regarding slavery had changed and that the public would more readily accept his religious views on slavery.

By the time Lincoln delivered his Second Inaugural Address in March 1865, the war had nearly ended and the political environment was such that he did not have to restrict his language as he did four years earlier. With the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation and the recent passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, Lincoln finally had the freedom to fully express his beliefs regarding God and slavery:

> The Almighty has his own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offences! For it must needs be that offence cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that he gives

[42] Abraham Lincoln, "Story Written for Noah Brooks," 1864, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 772.

[43] Sorin, *Abolitionism*, 146.

[44] Ibid., 153.

> to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came...[45]

Here, Lincoln finally expressed what he had most likely believed throughout his career but could not fully express without fear of political retribution. He plainly asserted that slavery was wrong because it contradicted the will of God. In this passage he asserted that God used the Civil War to end slavery and punish, or bring "woe" against those in both the North and South who allowed slavery to exist. Never before had he used such dramatic language or direct references to God's disapproval of slavery. The last sentence of this passage is the most striking because it suggested that Lincoln not only saw the war as God's way of ending slavery, but as his retribution against the nation. For the first time during his presidency Lincoln expressed these sentiments clearly and strongly:

> Fondly do we hope- fervently do we pray- that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword... it must be said 'the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether.'[46]

Lincoln explained the effects of the war- the high monetary cost and the loss of human life- in terms of retribution for the evils of 250 years of slavery. He saw the money lost as a consequence of depriving the "bond-man" of payment for his work and the bloodshed as payment for the cruel treatment of slaves. Most significantly, he argued that even though he prayed the war would end, he could not question the righteousness of God's actions. He essentially said that because of the grievously sinful nature of slavery "this mighty scourge of war" was just punishment. Here he depicted a God who greatly involved himself in Earthly events and who provided retribution for those who had been wronged. Lincoln could not express this at the beginning of his presidency because most Northerner did not have a great concerned for the morality of slavery, but by the end of the war their views had changed.

GOD AND THE UNION

Lincoln knew for certain that God disapproved of slavery, but for political reasons he could not fully express this view in public before 1864. On the other hand, he had less faith in God's plan to save the Union, yet he could not publicly express his doubts. However, no uncertainty existed in the minds of the people of either section of the nation that God favored their side. Northerners who saw slavery as evil knew that God would eventually bring justice. Even before the South seceded, Sara Tappan Doolittle Lawrence Robinson, who witnessed the war in Kansas, confided to her diary that "above all these commotions, this treachery, this fraud of man, holding these seals of justice, sits God upon his throne. And out of it all, in his own good time, he will again bring the reign of righteous men, and the laws of our country shall have for their basis love and truth."[47] Essentially, Robinson believed that the will of God would eventually prevail and the nation would be ruled by men who follow the will of God. Other writers made more simple and direct assertions. In August 1861, Lucy Larcom wrote in her diary that "God will prosper us now as then," and later that year she wrote, "We are sure that God is on our side."[48] Typical of Northerners, these women's

[45] Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," 1865, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 792.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Robinson, *Diary*.

[48] Lucy Larcom, *Diary of Lucy Larcom*, 1861, in *Lucy Larcom: Life, Letters, and Diary* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1894), 295, The American Civil War: Letters and Diaries, http://www.alexanderstreet4.com.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu.

Union soldier reading the Emancipation Proclamation to a slave family. Frank J. Williams, *Judging Lincoln* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002), 48.

comments show that they believed that because the Union's cause- slavery for some, preventing secession for others- was holy, God could not forsake them. They saw God as a force that would always allow the righteous to prevail. Believing that the Union was more righteous than the Confederacy convinced them that God would provide the Union with victory.

The fact that the Northerners believed that God favored their side was also evident in popular culture of the era. The last section of "Always stand on the Union Side" by M.C. Bisbee proclaimed,

> Always stand on the Union side, 'Tis better, as you see, Heav'n will crown our gallant arms, With Union victory! If you would have your children learn, To speak with holy pride,Of this their dear beloved land! Stand on the Union side![49]

Those who sang this song proudly asserted that God would reward their "gallant" efforts with victory. They clearly believed that God favored their side and would ultimately provide a successful outcome for the Union. This song did not explicitly say whether the North's "holy pride" came from its support of the Union or its opposition to slavery, but Julia Ward Howe made it clear in the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" that God favored the Union because they fought against slavery:

> In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,While God is marching on.[50]

Howe used very clear religious imagery, comparing Christ dying for man's sins to Union soldiers dying for the sin of slavery. The fact that this occurred "while God is marching on" indicated approval from the Almighty. It also makes sense in the context of an earlier line that read, "He is sifting through the hearts of men before his judgment seat."[51] This clearly pro-Union song, asserted that God would judge the hearts of the Confederates. Further, "The Portent," a poem by Herman Melville written during the war and published immediately afterward, used religious imagery to discuss the war. In it, Melville described abolitionist John Brown as a Christ figure "hanging from the beam."[52] Literally, this refers the beam from which he hanged at his execution, but it could also be a beam on the cross. "The cut is on the crown," invoked images of the crown of thorns.[53] Melville's makes the point that if a Christ figure had died for the North, God cannot forsake them. This poem, as well as Brisbee's and Howe's songs, demonstrate that the belief that God would save the Union held a deeply engrained place in Northern culture during the Civil War.

[49] M.C. Brisbee, "Always Stand on the Union Side," 1863, Poetry and Music of the War Between the States, http://www.civilwarpoetry.org/.

[50] Julia Ward Howe, "Battle Hymn of the Republic," in *The Civil War Song Book: Complete Original Sheet Music for 37 Songs* (New York: Dover Publications, 1977), 8.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Herman Melville, "The Portent," 1859, in *The Battle Pieces of Herman Melville* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1963), 35.

[53] Ibid.

Lincoln certainly had an awareness of popular opinion and for the purpose of morale could not dispute it, but he did not feel certain that a Union victory was God's will. This does not mean that Lincoln lacked the resolve to fight the war. At his first inauguration, he took his oath with his hand on the Bible, as all former presidents had done.[54] However, this gesture held more significance for Lincoln than his predecessors because moments later he gave his Inaugural Address in which he announced to the South, "*You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'"[55] Lincoln made a promise to God on the Bible that he would preserve the Union; however he did not feel entirely confident that God supported this.

Although he never publicly expressed his doubts once the war began, Lincoln initially refused to announce to the nation that God endorsed Union victory . In his first inaugural address, delivered one week before the war began, Lincoln declared, "If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North or on yours of the South, that truth, and that justice, will surely prevail."[56] Here, Lincoln admitted that the Almighty may not be on the side of the North, but because he addressed the South, Americans saw it more as a challenge to the Confederates than as an acknowledgement that God may not favor the North. In this case, he could safely express this in public. Lincoln's uncertainty is consistent with Mark A. Noll's argument that Lincoln's religion was marked by a "confidence in Providence along with a humble agnosticism about its purpose."[57] Lincoln firmly believed in a just God, but he was not so arrogant as to suggest that he fully understood His purpose or how to achieve it. Northerners certainly did not want to hear this as they prepared about to go to war; so again, Lincoln had to keep an important part of his ideology to himself.

The greatest demonstration of Lincoln's humility before God appears in his "Meditation on the Divine Will," written in September 1862. According to John Hay, Lincoln never intended for anyone to see this short document.[58] In it he wrote, "In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be, wrong…In this present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party."[59] In this passage Lincoln acknowledged, despite the fact that he desperately wanted to save the Union, that he still doubted whether God approved of his actions. His humility allowed him to realize that he could not be certain that his actions followed the will of God, but in a time of war he could not speak against the opinion of the people and admit this.

Not until the war had officially ended did Lincoln completely believe that a Union victory was part of God's plan. Two days after Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant on April 9, 1865, Lincoln delivered his last public address in which he expressed his joy at the surrender and said, "He from whom all blessings flow, must not be forgotten. A call for a national day of thanksgiving is being prepared."[60] Lincoln had always acknowledged God's involvement in the war, but here he recognized for the first time that God clearly favored the Union.

[54] Inaugural Bible, 1861, American Treasures Exhibition, Library of Congress, http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/trt040.html.

[55] Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," 792.

[56] Abraham Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address," 587.

[57] Mark A. Noll, "'Both… Pray to the Same God': The Singularity of Lincoln's Faith in the Era of the Civil War," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 18, no.1 (1997): 7.

[58] Basler, *Abraham Lincoln*, 655.

[59] Abraham Lincoln, "Meditation on the Divine Will," 1862, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 655.

[60] Abraham Lincoln, "Last Public Address," 1865, in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1946), 796.

This time, his changed stance did not result from having to comply with public opinion but from his own changing beliefs.

Lincoln undoubtedly had a deep faith in a diving being. Growing up in the Separate Baptist Church, he had exposure to a number of puritanical beliefs, which he eventually rejected in full or in part. Yet, throughout his life, Lincoln never ceased to believe in the power of God. During the nineteenth century, the majority of Americans shared Lincoln's faith in the Divine, but differed with the president on the issues of slavery and the Union. Lincoln's religious views on these subjects did not align with popular opinion; therefore, for the sake of his political career, he chose not to express these beliefs publicly. Ultimately, public opinion on slavery and abolition changed, and in his second Inaugural Address, he finally had the opportunity to tell the nation that slavery was against the will of God. As for God's role in saving the Union, Lincoln did not publicly announce his opinions on this until his own views changed and he agreed with the nation that God was on the side of the Union. Lincoln spent his career trying to reconcile his own religious views regarding slavery and the Union with the popular opinion on these subjects, and in his last two public addresses before his death he was finally able to speak freely and fully express his beliefs on both issues.

True Womanhood: Female Soldiers of the Civil War

Nicole Rhoton

In examining the two published memoirs of Loreta Janeta Velázquez and Sara Emma Edmonds, Nicole Rhoden analyses feminine qualities of piety, submissiveness, romance, and love of country. She explores literature which articulated acceptable and patriotic duties for the dutiful wife or daughter.

Illustration of 1st Lieutenant Harry T. Buford. Loreta Janeta Velázquez, C. J. Worthington, ed., *The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures, and Travels of Madame Loreta Janeta Velázquez, Otherwise Known as Lieutenant Harry T. Buford, Confederate States Army* (Richmond, Va.: Dustin, Gilman, 1876), 60a.

Nineteenth-century gender constructions defined women's roles within an ideology of domesticity wherein true womanhood consisted of virtues including piety, purity, and submissiveness.[1] Adherence to these virtues dictated separate gendered spaces and activities for women and men. Popular literature reinforced and encouraged gender roles and during the Civil War, novels, and magazines articulated acceptable and patriotic duties for the true woman. As a dutiful wife and mother, she encouraged her husband and son to fight for the cause and prayed for safe return. She prayed for the nation and contributed to the war effort through her domestic labor sewing uniforms, or preparing and packaging provisions.[2] Popular fiction supported these ideas yet also offered an alternative genre that included sensational and romantic stories of women who disguised themselves as men to act as soldiers or spies in the war—a seemingly radical departure from nineteenth-century gender strictures. In reality, many women disguised themselves as men and embarked for war. However, in both print and reality, women soldiers did not operate outside the cult of domesticity. Rather, feminine qualities such as piety, submissiveness, romance, and love of country informed their ambitions and experiences, even when dressed in men's attire. These themes figure predominately within wartime novels and memoirs of female soldiers and demonstrate the pervasiveness of the cult of true womanhood.

Nineteenth-century social ideals of submissiveness and domesticity informed popular wartime fiction authors who sensationalized the adventures and romantic excursions of women who dressed as men and fought in the Civil War. Feminine aspects of love and romance figure into the heroines' experiences as predominant themes throughout their escapades.[3] Fictional and real female soldiers either followed lovers to war, or fell in love during the course of battle. To find acceptance within the domestic ideology, the Civil War stories offer circumstances or plot qualifiers that enabled women access to masculine military roles based upon women's relationship to men. Plot qualifiers generally included disruptions in the home, such as the loss of a husband or father, which allowed a female participant to break from her domestic sphere without social condemnation. Another typical scenario involved a dutiful wife or daughter who followed a husband or father to war.

Qualifying themes involved adventure stories that included elements of patriotism usually encouraged by a male superior. Everyone in society sought a role to play during the war. Patriotism served as an appropriate element for the female soldier, especially when encouraged by her father or dictated by a patriarchal society. Miss Madeline Moore, the protagonist in E.E. Barclay's 1862 pamphlet *The Lady Lieutenant,* joins the army and fights in western Virginia under McClellan and in the battles of Bull Run, all to be near her lover. Fighting not only for cause of country but in loyalty to her lover, Miss Madeline Moore's femininity remains intact. Left without parental guardians at an early age, her orphan status further justifies abandonment of the household—her proper female sphere.[4]

Using the same plot device, wherein a daughter is relieved of domestic obligations upon her father's death, Metta V. Victor's heroine in *The Unionist's Daughter: A Tale of the Rebellion in Tennessee,* becomes free to adventure outside the home.[5] In

[1] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (summer 1966): 152.

[2] Catherine Clinton, *Tara Revisited: Women, War, & the Plantation Legend* (New York: Abbeville, 1995), 81.

[3] Lyde Cullen Sizer, *The Political Work of Women Writers and the Civil War, 1850-1872* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 178.

[4] Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North & South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 259.

[5] Metta V. Victor, *The Unionist's Daughter: A Tale of Rebellion in Tennessee* (New York: Beadle, 1862).

addition to qualifying event of her father's death, approval from her Unionist hero lover permits Eleanor Beaufort access to an adventurous alternative lifestyle. At her lover's suggestion, she participates in subversive activities such as courier and spy. Feminine acts of obedience and submissiveness to her lover justify her participation in male roles. In essence, she still adheres to two tenets of true womanhood even while participating in primarily masculine activities.

Another predominate theme that granted a fictional heroine access to leave the domestic sphere included the establishment of a new family in the course of her adventure. Like Miss Madeline Moore, and Eleanor Beaufort, Pauline, heroine in Barclay's *Pauline of the Potomac,* joins the army as nurse, only after her father bids her duty upon his deathbed. He encourages her to perform patriotic service to America as an obedient daughter. As the story unfolds, Pauline performs a number of jobs for General McClellan including, nurse, spy, and scout and at times must dress in male attire to accomplish assigned tasks. Pauline never dresses as a man on her own accord; she only does so when her father figure, McClellan insists. Eventually, Pauline falls in love with a soldier and together they seek McClellan's blessing for marriage.[6] Pauline's story demonstrates how even in her departure from conventional domesticity she entered into a new formation of family ensuring her proper place as a woman within the nineteenth-century domestic framework.

Miss Madeline Moore, Eleanor, and Pauline's loyalty and obedience to the men in their lives demonstrate the pervasiveness of the cult of true womanhood within popular literature and in nineteenth-century American culture in general. Ideals of womanhood informed popular literature to the extent that even fictional Civil War heroines real-

Madam Velázquez in female atire. Loreta Janeta Velázquez, C. J. Worthington, ed., *The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures, and Travels of Madame Loreta Janeta Velázquez, Otherwise Known as Lieutenant Harry T. Buford, Confederate States Army* (Richmond, Va.: Dustin, Gilman, 1876), frontispiece.

ized adventure away from home only when they met certain qualifications such as lack of a father or husband. A woman purely seeking the independence of masculinity, or freedom from confines of domestic life never played into a popular novel. Allowed to go to war only if no male superior resided at home, and only in pursuit of love or romance, the fictional Civil War heroine fit comfortably within nineteenth-century ideas of femininity.

Desire for action, adventure, love, and romance typify the sensationalist wartime novels, yet these themes also appear within the narratives of actual women soldiers of the Civil War. Like their fictional counterparts, real women soldiers often left

6 E. E. Barclay, *Pauline of the Potomac, or Gen. McClellan's Spy* (Philadelphia: Barclay, 1862); see also: Fahs, 1-3.

Illustration of S. E. Edmonds. S. Emma E. Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army: The Adventures and Experiences of a Woman In Hospitals, Camps, and Battle-Fields* (Hartford, Conn,: W. S. Williams, 1865), frontispiece.

disrupted domestic situations where there existed no marital ties or maternal obligations. Others followed husbands, fathers, or brothers into military service, and some fell in love in the course of adventure. Besides two contemporary published memoirs, a collection of letters published in the twentieth-century, fragmented private correspondence, newspaper articles and military records, very little primary evidence survives to document the existence of female soldiers in the Civil War.

Whether these women truly detailed their genuine desires and experiences, or manipulated their stories to please a conventional audience, their writing, nevertheless reveals the pervasiveness of the ideology of true womanhood. This little evidence, particularly the memoirs, reveals striking thematic similarities to the sensationalist wartime fiction. Accounts of adventure and romance abound, and feminine elements of love and righteousness are apparent throughout.

Recent scholarship suggests that over 1,000 women fought in the Civil War. Mary Livermore, a U.S. Sanitation Commission agent recorded in 1889 "as little less than four hundred" women "disguised themselves and enlisted in the service." She believed even more served.[7] Historians Deanne Blanton and Lauren M. Cook verified the existence of roughly 250 in the ranks of both Union and Confederate armies.[8] Of these, only two published their memoirs. Their stories disclose similarly to fiction, complete with plot qualifiers and themes of romance and adventure, perhaps in order to find acceptance within nineteenth-century ideology.

Their stories highlight fictional themes of romance and adventure similar to fictional accounts. Loreta Janeta Velázquez followed her husband and Sarah Emma Edmonds fell in love. Both fought in famous battles, survived deaths of comrades and lovers, spied and toted guns, and eventually returned home and reverted to female identities. Because both women produced accounts for a public audience, some events remain questionable. The elements in question, however, are incidents they most likely elaborated, or minimized in order to achieve rec-

[7] Deanne Blanton and Lauren M. Cook, *They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 7.

[8] Mary Livermore, *My Story of the War* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington, 1889), 116, 119-20; see also: Elizabeth D. Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier: Women in the Civil War Armies* (New York: Norton, 1999), 310-11; Leonard in introduction to Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, *An Uncommon Soldier: The Civil War Letters of Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, Alias Pvt. Lyons Wakeman, 153rd Regiment, New York State Volunteers, 1862-1864*, Lauren Cook Burgess, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), xiv; Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Mothers of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 202.

ognition and avoid criticism from a society that highly revered specific attributes of the ideal woman. Fictional female Civil War soldier Sara Emma Edmonds on 25 May 1861, at age twenty, enlisted with the Flint Union Greys, Company F of the Second Michigan Infantry.[9] She subsequently published her memoirs in 1865, before the conclusion of the Civil War and donated her profits to the U.S. Sanitation Commission.[10] Loreta Janeta Velázquez assumed her male identity as Lieutenant Henry Buford in the Confederacy and published her elaborate accounts more than a decade later in 1876. She received harsh public criticism for profiting off her accounts of the war.[11]

The two women fought on opposite sides of the battle yet their domestic situations and motivations for joining the army figured almost identical. Interestingly, both note that early female warrior stories encouraged them to venture to war. Velázquez admired fictional heroines from her childhood of whom she idolized Joan of Arc as "the greatest and noblest of all."[12] Edmonds recalls reading antebellum sensational novel, *Fanny Campbell, the Female Pirate Captain: A Tale of the Revolution* and being moved to emulate her bravery.[13] Alluding to acceptable fictional female heroines, the soldiers attempted to further justify their manly actions for their audience.

In comparison to fictional soldiers, both women left disrupted domestic situations, which made society more comfortable with their gender transgressions. Velázquez left home after the death of her three children and first husband. Her anti-American father returned to Cuba after his defeat in the Mexican-American war which left Velázquez without a head of household. She requested from her husband, but he simply ignored her wishes. Instead of blatantly disobeying his orders, she waited until he enlisted before she followed.[14] Relieved of father, and children, and in attempt to reunite with her second husband on the battlefield Velázquez qualified herself for enlistment to the Confederate cause.[15]

Similar to Velázquez's background, Edmonds' lack of male companionship rationalized her departure from home. Edmond's motivations for embarking for war fit comfortably within the socially acceptable plot formations created for the heroines in the wartime novels, specifically piety and patriotism. In *Memoirs of a Soldier, Nurse and Spy*, Edmonds reveals her longing for a part to play in the "great drama" of the Civil War. In a spiritual dilemma she "carried this question to the Throne of Grace, and found a satisfactory answer there."[16] Her religious endorsement justified her behavior, and revealed her feminine characteristic of piety that was so essential to nineteenth-century women's reputations.

While Edmonds conveniently neglects to reveal her identity to the reader in the beginning of her memoir, she provides subtle hints when she addresses the restrictions society imposed on women in regards to wartime participation. She recalls, "...I could only thank God that I was free and could go forward and work, and was not obliged to stay at home and weep." Edmond's quote accurately depicts the expected patriotic duty for women. A true woman best demonstrated her patriotism at home.

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[9] Ibid., 9; Bonnie Tsui, *She Went to the Field: Women Soldiers of the Civil War* (Guilford, Conn.: Globe Pequot, 2003), 10.

[10] Edmonds originally published her memoirs in 1864 titled *Unsexed;* or, *The Female Soldier,* however, the book was reissued a year later under the current title. Sarah Emma Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army,* 1865; reprinted with introduction and annotations by Elizabeth D. Leonard (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1999), xviii.

[11] Loreta Janeta Velázquez, *The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures, and Travels of Madame Loreta Janeta Velázquez, Otherwise Known as Lieutenant Harry T. Buford, Confederate States Army* 1842; *electronic* resource (Chapel Hill: Academic Affairs Library, University of North Carolina, 1999) http://docsouth.unc.edu, accessed: 4 December 2006; updated 25 March 2006; Tsui, 34.

[12] Ibid., 36, 42.

13 Fahs, 230; Wheelright, 22; Tsui, 7.

14 Velázquez, 51.

15 Tsui, 26-8.

16 Edmonds, 3.

Disguised as a *Contraband* [Black Slave]. S. Emma E. Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army: The Adventures and Experiences of a Woman In Hospitals, Camps, and Battle-Fields* (Hartford, Conn,: W. S. Williams, 1865), 112.

She supported her son's conscription, and wept and prayed for the soldiers. [17] Even fictional lady lieutenant, Miriam Rivers' retorts, "women's work is to stay home and pray." [18]By society's standards, Edmonds did not fit the description of a true woman, however, her religious and patriotic motivations made the relation of her experience more acceptable to the public.

Like Edmonds patriotic motivations, Velázquez reiterates her own "disposition to serve the Confederacy" throughout her memoir. Velázquez dramatically and repetitiously demonstrates her willingness to "venture into great peril for the sake of the cause."[19] At the same time, she gloats in the independence and liberty she achieves dressed as a man, presumably another reason why her publication failed to obtain respectability in the nineteenth century. However, her womanly characteristics of patriotism, love for the South, and desire to reunite with her husband, conformed to social expectations for women.

Never as blatant as Velázquez, Edmonds undoubtedly believed she served a patriotic and religious cause. Nevertheless, her male disguise offered her freedoms unavailable to women, which she nevertheless relished and enjoyed. Edmonds departed home when her father insisted she marry an older man. As a door-to-door bible salesman, she lived disguised as a man for five years before enlistment and earned large sums of money compared to other nineteenth-century rural women.[20] These details however, remain unelaborated within her memoir. Edmonds never states that she sought to escape oppressive social restrictions placed upon women, yet her actions reveal such motivations. Ever sensitive to her readers, she plays more strongly on themes of religious and patriotic duty.

In addition to securing a sympathetic audience, Edmonds also had to make sense of her actions within her own mind and to understand her place in the society in which she lived. Dressed in men's clothing to fight a man's war, Edmonds was virtually stripped of her female identity. She grasped to hold

[17] Welter, 172; Fahs, 122. A woman's patriotic duty to weep for men is most famously portrayed in the photograph, "The House-Tops of Charleston during the Bombardment of Sumter," *Harper's Weekly*, 4 May 1861 in Faust, 14.

[18] P. M. C., *Miriam Rivers, The Lady Soldier; General Grant's Spy* 1865, electronic reproduction, (Bloomington: Indiana University Digital Library Program for the Committee on Institutional Cooperation, Wright American fiction, 1851-1875), 45.

[19] Velázquez, 129, 144.

[20] Edmonds, xiv; see also: Wheelwright, 22-3.

onto feminine qualities without revealing her sex. Like Velázquez, Edmonds highlights friendships with women nurses along the way and illustrates her romantic interests with fellow male soldiers.

The experiences revealed in Edmonds and Velázquez' memoirs compare almost identically to the stories of fictional Civil War heroines. Plot devices of domestic disruptions appear in fiction and biography. Themes of love, adventure, patriotism, and romance dominate the lives of fictional characters and real actors. While the real soldiers wrote for the same public as the sensationalist novelists, they also sought to understand their place within a gender-stratified society as they boldly transgressed its boundaries. The way Edmonds and Velázquez wrote their memoirs, the themes they chose to highlight, reveal the importance and pervasiveness of the cult of true womanhood.

Besides Edmonds and Velázquez, no other women soldiers who fought in the Civil War left published memoirs describing their adventures, yet military records, obituaries, and newspaper articles account for at least 250 female soldiers. Newspaper articles and cemetery headstones reveal that many of these women followed a husband or father to war.[21] Newspapers and popular fiction romanticized the aspect of women following their lovers. In reality, some women chose to serve independently and continued to fight even after their husbands died. Some deserted their ranks after a husband's death, yet many fought until mustered out. Martha Lindley served with her husband in the 6th U.S. Cavalry from October 1862 to July 1864, despite her husband's injury only two months into service.[22] Frances Hook originally enlisted with her brother until his death at the Battle of Shiloh when she reenlisted in another regiment.[23] Sarah Rosetta Wakeman followed no man, and served from 1862 until her death in 1864. Her private letters, published in the late twentieth century, reveal that she chose to enlist for monetary gain and a life of independence.[24]

With little documentation of their motivations, the real reasons real women fought remains obscured. However, from the memoirs and wartime stories it is clear that most people understood themselves within nineteenth-century domestic ideology. That women dressed as men and fought in the Civil War is significant given the prevalent understanding of women's place in society during the war. This social ideology even shaped women soldiers understanding of themselves as they wore men's clothing.

[21] Deanne Blanton, "Women Soldiers of the Civil War," *Prologue,* 25 (spring 1993), 30.

[22] Blanton and Cook, 43.

[23] Ibid., 44.

[24] Wakeman, 10, 58.

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No Progress without a Struggle: Women and African Americans in the United States, 1830–1869

Rachael E. Amaro

Between 1830 and 1869, the U.S. struggled to remain united. The issue of slavery between northern and southern states split the young country in two, yet at the same time united women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony to a cause. They advocated the abolition of slavery and equal rights for women. In an eloquent narrative, Rachael Amaro addresses the triumphs and defeats African American slaves and women experienced during this turbulent period. Most importantly, Amaro details the culminating events that led to the dissolution of a once valuable partnership.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton on the porch of Anthony's Rochester home, about 1895. Geoffrey C. Ward and Kenneth Burns, *Not for Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, (New York: Knopf, 1999), frontispiece.

> But the business of this…is to demand for every man, black or white, and for every woman, black or white, that they shall be this instant enfranchised and admitted into the body politic with equal rights and privileges.
>
> Susan B. Anthony

Although the Declaration of Independence guaranteed freedom and liberty to all Americans over 200 years ago, the sentiments of leading suffragist Susan B. Anthony still rings true today. Anthony's statement, given in 1869, encouraged both newly freed African Americans and women of the period to jointly fight the injustices placed upon them by the U.S. government.[1] Throughout the early nineteenth century, the establishment of several collective organizations, comprising individuals from both disregarded groups, vigorously pursued the justice they felt belonged to them as it did white men. Unfortunately, the Civil War, which brought the issue of equal treatment to the forefront of the U.S., created problems within the black and women's rights movements that caused increased tensions and reversed the few positive gains they made.

Most scholars disregard or ignore the Civil War's destructive role in women's and African American history. Popular notions sustain that through these marginal populations' participation in the war effort, an increase in their social status occurred throughout the nation. However, from a new perspective, this particular conflict actually further agitated the resentments already held by these groups. Historian Wendy H. Venet concurs, "The Civil War marked both the pinnacle of women's abolitionist contributions and the end of a once fruitful relationship."[2] She implies the destruction of a long-held partnership between blacks and females who strongly supported one another's causes until the 1860s. Through a closer examination of the relationship between slavery, abolition, women's rights, and the Civil War, one can clearly identify how negatively this military clash affected a powerfully united front at the time and for decades to follow.

During the early decades of America's inception, wealthy citizens offered to pay the traveling and living expenses of fellow settlers in exchange for free labor. After a predetermined period, usually four to seven years, these laborers worked off their debt and received the same freedoms as other newcomers in the land. This system became known as indentured servitude and flourished between the late 1590s and early 1630s. In fact, "between half and two-thirds of all white immigrants" who came to the American colonies arrived through this method.[3] Such a large number of transplants during this time resulted from lowered working wages in England and the desire to establish a better life in a new land. Moreover, the British government further encouraged this mass emigration through promises of countless riches and adventure to ensure its stronghold in its newly conquered territory across the Atlantic.

Although indentured servitude remained the primary source of labor well into the 1670s, the first documented case of African chattel arriving in the colonies occurred in 1619.[4] During this year, a Dutch vessel overtook a Spanish ship and stole its cargo: a group of captured Africans. Residents of the fledgling Jamestown colony in Virginia wrote about these newcomers in letters and journals. John Rolfe, the famous leader of this first permanent set-

[1] Susan B. Anthony, "Debate, 1869," in *Failure is Impossible: Susan B. Anthony in Her Own Words*, ed. Lynn Sherr (New York: Times, 1995), 41.

[2] Wendy Hamand Venet, *Neither Ballots nor Bullets: Women Abolitionists and the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 2.

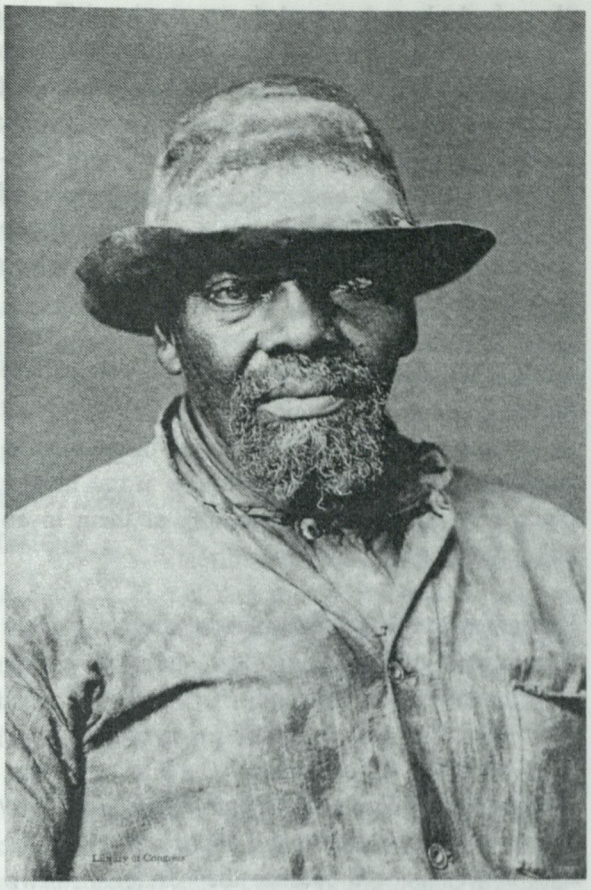
[3] Charles Johnson, et al., *Africans in America: America's Journey through Slavery* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1998), 35.

[4] Frederick M. Binder and David M. Reimer, *The Way We Lived: Essays and Documents in American Social History,* vol. 1, 1492-1877, 5th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 58.

tlement, wrote, "About the last of August came in a Dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars."[5] According to historical accounts, this initial group worked under the same conditions as European servants and eventually gained their freedom.

As landowners started developing successful crops of tobacco, rice, and cotton, they increased their holdings from small farms to large plantations. Since the acreage of their property greatly expanded, they required more bodies to work in the fields and support the demand for their goods in England.[6] With this escalation in production came amplified costs to plant and grow, which in turn, intensified the need for more affordable labor. Indentured servants soon recognized their importance in the livelihood of employers and began demanding better treatment, including education for their children, wearable clothing, healthier meals, and well-kept living conditions.[7] In terms of the law, courts agreed that masters treat workers equally and justly.[8] Quickly, owners realized that indentured servants knew their rights as citizens and held no qualms about fighting for those liberties.

Due to these social transformations, slaves slowly began surpassing indentured servants as the most important labor commodity in the New World. Additionally, England stopped complaining about its problem of overpopulation and many citizens began hearing tales of the maltreatment servants received from their masters in the colonies.[9] These factors set in motion a gradual decrease of white servants in the fledgling nation. Since owners did not want to



Former Black Slave, undated photograph. 1861 to 1935. Norman R. Yetman, *Life under the 'Peculiar Institution,'* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 341.

incur the increasing costs of supporting Caucasian immigrants, the prospect of buying enslaved beings, unprotected under the law, greatly increased.

Although many of the first large slave cargos came from different parts of the Americas and included people of mixed backgrounds, their comprehension of the English language and behaviors made it difficult for masters to see them as chattel. Fortunately, only through maintaining a competent grasp on such customs did these captives escape some prejudice.[10] Africans who arrived directly from their homelands, however, allowed white landowners to easily dismiss them as non-humans because

[5] Johnson, 36.

[6] Mary Beth Norton, et al., *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States,* vol. 1, *To 1877,* 6th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 70.

[7] Jon Butler, "The Evolution of Slavery in Colonial America," in *The Way We Lived,* by Binder and Reimer, 61.

[8] Kenneth Morgan, ed., *Slavery in America: A Reader and Guide* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 2.

[9] Butler, 60.

[10] Norton, 72.

they looked and sounded extremely different. Without the ability to clearly communicate with their captors, these people did not understand what happened to them or why. Writer Horace Greeley asserts, "The negroes…could speak no word intelligible to Colonial ears, when first imported and probably had a scarcely clearer conception of their own rights and wrongs than had those by whom they were surrounded."[11]

Sadly, they found themselves trapped in an unknown location without their family or friends and no sign of how to escape. Soon and through harsh treatment they learned their purpose in this bizarre place with strange faces shouting at them in an unknown tongue.

Rumors and racially motivated stereotypes quickly transformed African slaves into the most highly sought workers. In England, the widely accepted truth that black skin indicated a contract with the devil persisted for centuries.[12] General consensus during the early eighteenth century that continues to persist today suggested that the idea of dark versus light never balanced because they established two completely opposing sides: wickedness and faithfulness, the dark arts and godliness, and sin and purity. Most Europeans also noted that the Bible condoned slave societies and that because the institution came into existence in ancient times, it did not go against nature to own slaves.[13] Such long-sustained misconceptions exacerbated the perception of blacks as heathens or savages in need of correction. As a result, many whites viewed it their responsibility as God-fearing people to convert these barbarians through hard work and thorough chastisement then allow them to live free Christian lives. Unfortunately, relentless stereotypes continued to make it difficult for African servants to receive the fair treatment given to their white counterparts.

Even though many whites came from indentured servitude backgrounds, they did not empathize with black slaves because of new laws which "both reflected and encouraged" discrimination.[14] Courts and local governing councils established edicts making it illegal for blacks to testify in court, own property, or even marry. During 1641, Massachusetts became the first English colony to formally recognize slavery as a legal institution. Soon after, in 1663, the Virginia territory passed an act declaring that any child born to an enslaved mother automatically became a slave.[15] By the 1680s, countless laws supported the ever-growing business of slavery. After decades of proclaiming a desire to save "black heathens," a new ruling in 1682 pronounced that, "Negroes, Moors, Mulattoes or Indians [that arrived] by sea or land" must remain enslaved for life if their "parentage and native country are not [C]hristian."[16]

Such legislation also created a sense of justification in the views of white settlers who refused to compare themselves with Africans. Almost all agreed that as long as their skin color matched that of the wealthy gentlemen, they remained superior to the savage blacks.[17] Frequently, the lawmakers and upper-class men of the colonies established racial distinctions as a method to "divide and conquer." One of the best ways to ensure they remained in power relied on creating barriers between the constantly mistreated slaves and white servants.[18] In this way, even though both white and black settlers partook in a life of servitude, the Caucasian

[11] Horace Greeley, *American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America,* vol. 1, *1860-64* (Hartford, Conn.: O. D. Case, 1864), 29.

[12] Morgan, 2.

[13] Ibid.

[14] James West Davidson, et al., eds., *Nation of Nations: A Concise Narrative of the American Republic*, 3rd ed. (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2002), 48.

[15] Johnson, 41-2.

[16] Norton, 72.

[17] Davidson, 48.

[18] Johnson, 40.

group maintained an ethnocentric attitude that supported the rich landholders and condemned African slaves.

By the turn of the eighteenth century, a new structure called the Atlantic Trading System became the key method of acquiring slave labor in the colonies. European merchants traveled to western parts of Africa and exchanged manufactured products, such as weapons, for slaves. Next, they sailed to the Americas and traded the slaves for goods such as tobacco, indigo, and fur. Finally, they returned to Europe with these wares and re-stocked with more products to barter. Between the Americas, Africa, and Europe, this continuous operation flourished with each nation obtaining the objects or property they desired as well as selling their own commodities. Over the next one hundred years or so, this triangular trade established the largest forced migration in history, displacing millions of Africans from their homelands.[19]

American colonies began enforcing a series of laws known as slave codes.

Part of this system also included the treacherous journey through what became known as the Middle Passage, the 500-mile stretch across the sea to the Americas. Forced below the decks of ships, up to 200 captured people found themselves chained to one another and trapped in small compartments where they did not have room to stand or sit upright.[20] Medium-sized buckets or tubs rested in certain areas so that the slaves had somewhere to relieve themselves, yet these usually overfilled or sat too far for the shackled captives to reach it in time. When they did not make it to the tub, prisoners received harsh treatment from their fellow inmates and the mess caused various diseases to spread amongst them.[21] Some accounts claimed that more than ten percent, or even half of the entire cargo of humans died before reaching their destination from illness, heat, malnourishment, and even jumping overboard to escape their unknown fate.[22]

Throughout the early 1700s the slave trade proved a lucrative business for both Americans and Englishmen. Thousands of African men, women, and children shipped every year and their use in all the British colonies brought about a huge economic increase. Records show, for instance, that a single slave ship held the possibility of acquiring a net profit of 300 percent.[23] In Brazil and the Caribbean, blacks working on sugar plantations enriched the pockets of wealthy merchants and slave traders while New England owners profited from the six-day work week of their workers in tobacco fields and lumber yards.[24]

With an increasing black population, the American colonies began enforcing a series of laws known as slave codes. Slave codes strengthened the initial edicts placed upon slaves in the late 1600s, but new policies in the eighteenth century included provisions, which detailed the types of punishments meted out to servants from their masters. One law specifically stated that "branding on the cheek or thumbs, amputation of body limbs, splitting noses, castration and the death penalty" stood as fit disciplinary actions owners impressed upon their human chattel. Another code made it illegal for enslaved persons to argue in court over the "hereditary nature of slavery," which shut down all possibilities of obtaining one's freedom through the legal system in the colonies.[25] Even harsher actions taken against

[19] Butler, 63.

[20] Davidson, 47.

[21] Alexander Falconbridge, "Recollections of the Middle Passage, 1788," in *Witnessing America: The Library of Congress Book of First Accounts of Life in America, 1600-1900*, ed. Noel Rae (New York: Penguin, 1996), 35.

[22] Butler, 63; see also: Falconbridge, 38.

[23] Johnson, 46.

[24] Norton, 73.

[25] Morgan, 5.

these oppressed people came to fruition following a few isolated slave revolts in the years 1712, 1740, 1791, 1800, and 1831, which increased white fears that rebellion might occur.[26]

As the 1750s approached, the slave trade continued to thrive with nearly 5,000 new captives arriving each year.[27] Many African descendants now spoke English and understood the customs of America while retaining pieces of their heritage through the constant addition of natives from their homelands to America. From these fusions of two worlds arose a distinct African American culture that most Caucasians mistook for barbaric traditions, which further perpetuated the "need" to reprimand heathen slave behavior. Societal views of blacks as inferior beings persisted to create a massive divide between them and white colonials.

Ideas surrounding the issue of race acted as a central component in quickly escalating the submission of slaves to the New World. Before the mid-eighteenth century, all thirteen American colonies passed laws of "race and slavery," creating a caste system that marginalized every black man, woman, and child.[28] Phrenology and studies about physical differences between races spread wildly across the land. Even one of the country's Founding Fathers, Thomas Jefferson, actively promoted these analyses and wrote in great detail about fundamental distinctions in his famous pamphlet titled *Notes on the State of Virginia*. His work labeled black people as talented in song and music, a still widely accepted notion, but incapable of composing great musical works. He asserts,

> The first difference which strikes us is that of colour. Is it not the foundation of a greater or less shared of beauty in the two races? ...that immoveable veil of black which covers all emotions...they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous...never yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration...[29]

An entire century of subjugation elapsed, and the same stereotypes that native Africans faced continued to plague their African American offspring.

Ironically, these same views remained as Jefferson and his compatriots began a struggle for their own freedom from the tyranny of England. With the onset of the first American Revolution (1775-1783), the issue of slavery "soon proved [America's] chief source of weakness and of peril."[30] If colonists, who deeply desired independence and liberty, fought for their natural rights as free humans, then how did they expect to continue supporting the institution of slavery? Many of them decided to argue the same points that upheld the legality of the system for centuries: blacks did not maintain the ability to lead Christian lives, they lacked the same intelligence as whites, and simply, they were property, not people.

African Americans in bondage faced even greater uncertainties as the war continued. British leaders recruited slaves to fight for the Red Coats in exchange for their freedom. Virginia's Royal governor, Lord Dunmore, extended this offer, and over 800 blacks abandoned their owners in attempt to gain independence. Sadly, similar prospects often resulted in English capturing runaways and then selling escapees back into slavery.[31] After learning about these deals, Americans viewed their servants with great caution. Throughout most of the war, colonists and their leaders refused to allow blacks in the Continental Army for fear of an insurrection

[26] Ibid., 7.
[27] Johnson, 141.
[28] Morgan, 5.
[29] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. Frank Shuffelton (Paris: unknown, 1785; reprint, New York: Penguin, 1999), 145-7 (page citations from the reprint edition).
[30] Greeley, 35.
[31] Davidson, 167.

within ranks. In truth, no document or eyewitness account of slaves planning an armed revolt ever materialized.

For the duration of the Revolution, those in bondage held only one true goal: find a way to escape from their chains. Such a great desire guided many to seek out English officers, like Dunmore, in order to earn freedom by fighting against colonials; of course, this often proved ill advised. Others decided their best chance at liberty lay in running away during the chaos of war. Many fled to the North where the number of slaves never exceeded 16,000 due, in large part, to lack of workable soil.[32] New England's rocky terrain and colder climate made it impossible to successfully yield large amounts of crops, which decreased the need for a free labor force in the North.

At the war's conclusion in 1865, the "first emancipation" began in northern colonies. Quakers, who made up a large portion of Pennsylvania's population, actually abolished slaveholding among their members in 1776.[33] Yet, not until 1780 did the colony as a whole begin passing gradual emancipation laws. Between 1780 and 1804, Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey also ended the institution of slavery within their borders.[34] Unfortunately, this did not become popular in southern colonies where governments strengthened slave codes and restricted the ability of owners to release bonds people.

With the end of their fight for freedom, slave owners argued even more vehemently that blacks retained no rights, and did not qualify as human beings. Most whites agreed that inherent differences between the races, as pointed out by Jefferson and others, indicated inferiority of blacks. It became crucial for masters to rework the theory of freedom and equality they used in separating from England so it did not apply to African Americans in any manner. In letters and newspapers, Caucasian colonists reiterated their slaves' uncivilized demeanors, which included a lack of intelligence, a tendency toward laziness, and promiscuous behavior.[35] These views influenced a majority of American people; thus, even in an era that brought forth the Declaration of Independence and freedom for a new nation, black people remained in bondage.

Former Black Slaves, undated photograph. 1861 to 1935. Norman R. Yetman, *Life under the 'Peculiar Institution,'* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 348.

Although this appeared as a bleak situation, there did exist some who disagreed with the institution of slavery. Abolitionist movements started to mate-

[32] Sylvia R. Frey, "Liberty, Equality, and Slavery: The Paradox of the American Revolution," in *Slavery in America*, ed. Kenneth Morgan, 108.

[33] Davidson, 82.

[34] Norton, 173.

[35] Ibid., 175.

rialize by 1776, the same year Quakers in America declared it immoral for any of its members to own slaves.[36] Also known as Society of Friends, Quakers believed in the equality of every human since all housed the inner light of God within their bodies. As a result of their strong beliefs, the first Antislavery societies formed under supervision of these congregations throughout the quarter century following the Revolutionary War.[37] Through sermons, speeches, and letters, Friends championed rights of African Americans and all marginalized people across the country for decades. Despite their unrelenting attempts, Friends found it difficult to change popular opinions and gained little success.

In the Constitution of the United States of America, the country's framers listed 1 January 1808 as the end date for the slave trade.[38] However, this provision did not, in any fashion, call for abolishment of slavery as an institution. With growing popularity of the cotton gin and acquisition of new territories, enslaved labor remained a crucial asset to the South. Cotton composed nearly two-thirds of American exports and sixty percent of the world's supply came from the southern portion of the U.S.[39] Furthermore, with purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 came the realization that more land equaled more opportunity to cultivate cash crops.[40] Territorial expansion required a steady supply of workers to tend fields at low or no cost to owners. For these reasons, enslaved blacks and their families, along with antislavery proponents, still faced a tough struggle.

Actually, not until the 1830s did a noticeable increase in abolitionist activism occur. Most researchers credit journalist William Lloyd Garrison with leading the major transformation from "a moderate antislavery movement to [a] more militant abolitionism."[41] In his publication, *The Liberator*, he advocated immediate emancipation for all enslaved humans in America and held to the conviction that anyone who owned slaves committed a great sin in the eyes of God. He once printed, "Let the Southern oppressors tremble; let their Northern apologists tremble; let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble!"[42] Garrison's fervor attracted attention of numerous citizens., particularly those who shared his opinions, such as Wendell Phillips, Lewis Tappan, Theodore Weld, and James G. Birney.

William Lloyd Garrison and his daughter Fannie, undated photograph. Milton C. Sernett, *North Star Country: Upstate New York and the Crusade for African American Freedom* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 27.

[36] Morgan, 7.
[37] Davidson, 184.
[38] Greeley, 66.
[39] Davidson, 255.
[40] Norton, 222.
[41] Davidson, 325.
[42] William Lloyd Garrison, "To the Public," *The Liberator*, 1 January 1831 in *The Abolitionists: A Collection of Their Writings*, ed. Louis Ruchames (New York: Capricorn, 1963), 30.

Religious leaders in a variety of settings began to preach against the evils of exploiting people for one's own benefit. As a result, churches also became major proponents of antislavery causes. As mentioned earlier, Quakers began their mission to end slavery in the late 1700s with a firm belief in equality of all God's children. Often times these ministers, reverends, and priests appealed to empathy they knew rested in the souls of their flock. By reminding congregations of God given freedoms they just received and those stated in the Declaration of Independence, spiritual clerics deeply affected many souls to change their views on slavery.

Then, in the 1840s, two of the largest and most important denominations began struggling over the issue of abolition.[43] Methodist and Baptist congregations grew out of the Second Great Awakening, a massive religious movement of the period, to reach thousands across the country. Of course, this meant that members who lived in the North held a different view of the enslaved than those residing in the South. Heated conflicts arose over the morality of the institution between parishioners and clergy, worshipers themselves, and among bishops.[44] Infighting quickly led the organizations to separate into northern and southern sects, which still exist today.

During the late 1790s and into the 1800s, these massive church populations mostly consisted of women. Before and after the Second Great Awakening, females in America devotedly attended religious services to fulfill their role as primary spiritual officer to their families. Ministers called on ladies of the congregation to uphold Christian values and implement them at home by educating their children using the Bible. Young wives and mothers, some suggest, also realized that choosing to actively practice their religion materialized as one of the few aspects of their lives that they actually controlled.[45]

Before this change occurred in the latter eighteenth century, the so-called "cult of domesticity" emerged in the U.S. as a formidable power that kept women away from public life. Through male-dominated society, theories about feeble minds and delicate natures of the opposite sex permeated everyday life. Under the watchful eye of their fathers, women received little or no education and learned that their main purpose lay in marriage and motherhood. A majority of religious leaders perpetuated the notion that since Eve, a woman, brought about original sin and banishment of men from Paradise, then all women must repent through submission to men. One Catholic spokesman stated, "We do not believe women…are fit to have their own head. Without masculine direction or control, she is out of her element and a social anomaly, sometimes a hideous monster."[46] Ironically, within a few years of this cleric's protest, a dramatic shift in thought transpired.

Once ministers began to comprehend the stronghold women retained in terms of religion at home, they also encouraged active participation in church activities. From facilitating revival sessions to fundraising to joining missionary efforts, females in America crossed the threshold of their homebound lives into the public sphere. Before long, preachers never traveled without a lady companion or their wives. In fact, these women rapidly "became an integral part of Christian mission[s]" across an expanding nation.[47] With ability to hear

[43] Greeley, 120.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, rev. ed. (New York: Hill and Want, 1999), 43.

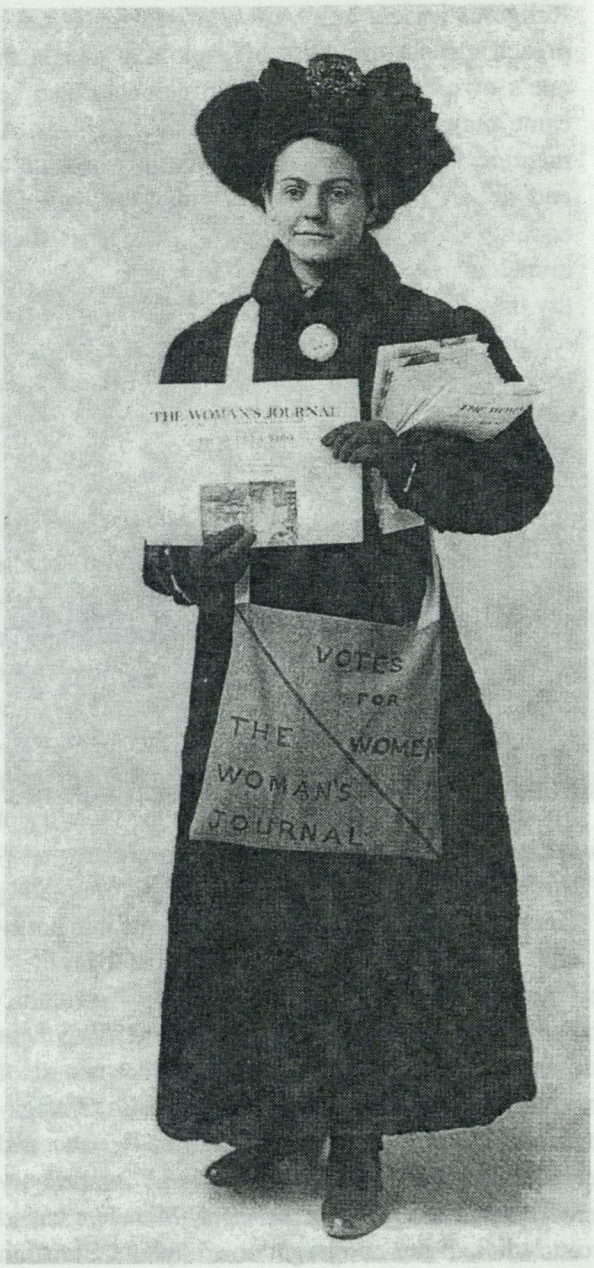
[46] Orestes Brownson, "We Do Not Believe in Women," in *The Ladies of Seneca Falls: The Birth of the Woman's Rights Movement*, Miriam Gurko (New York: Macmillan, 1974), 9-10.

[47] Clinton, 43.

firsthand, powerful sermons denouncing slavery and other immoral behaviors, it did not take long for women to recognize their role in ending the dreadful institution.

Soon after that realization, they started forming ladies-only groups to achieve slave emancipation. Initially, these circles aimed at improving the lives of the poor and ill as well as orphans, but that focus quickly changed once the issue of slavery became a major topic for most religious organizations. Women progressed from "evangelicism to politics, moving from a framework of individual sin and conversion to an understanding of institutional oppression and social reform."[48] They often discussed the immoral repercussions slaveholding held for their families, especially children, and for the society in which they lived. If this corrupt system that exploited fellow human beings continued, then everlasting souls of their kin stood to face damnation instead of the purity of God's love.[49]

Within the progressive Quaker community, women participated in a fight to eradicate slavery. Their stand that every human contained the inner light of God and all stood equal applied to both blacks and females. Susan B. Anthony, one of the most prominent Quaker abolitionists of the 1800s, regularly joined her father, Daniel Anthony, and fellow antislavery enthusiasts in discussions over the issue. Daniel encouraged Susan throughout her childhood to acquire an in-depth education, and once wrote that females held just as much intellectual capacity as men.[50] With his full support, Susan gained an unusually strong sense of self compared to other girls during the period. At one meeting held in Daniel's home, she met the famous ex-slave and abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass, with whom she established a long-lasting friendship. Her continuous



An unidentified woman carrying copies of *The Woman's Journal,* undated photograph. Geoffrey C. Ward and Kenneth Burns, *Not For Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 132..

encounters with African Americans and their supporters encouraged Anthony to speak and write for the cause of emancipation,

[48] Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America,* 1848-1869 (Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell University Press, 1978), 22.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Gurko, 109.

> We demand the abolition of slavery because the slave is a human being, and because man should not hold property in his fellow-man... What will you do with the Negroes? What arrogance in *us* to put the question, what shall *we* do with a race of men and women who have fed, clothed and supported both themselves and their oppressors for centuries.[51]

Lucretia Coffin Mott, another Friend, also came into prominence during the 1840s as a staunch antislavery supporter. Raised to believe in the natural equality of all, she, like Anthony, received a better education than most females. After taking a teaching position in 1811, she married abolitionist James Mott and together they shared a passion for the abolition movement.[52] Many historians concluded from the couple's letters that their marriage sustained a unique balance in which both worked for the same causes, with James holding no resentment toward the ever-increasing fame of his spouse. After meeting William Lloyd Garrison in 1830, Lucretia found an even greater desire to take action against slavery.[53] By the 1840s she played a key role in establishing the first Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women and as a leader of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.[54]

Abolitionism arrived at the attention of non-Quaker and less devout Christian women in different ways. Many, coming from families who utilized this system to gain wealth and prosperity, personally witnessed horrors of slavery. Most notably, sisters Angelina and Sarah Grimké found their way into antislavery reform after growing up in a South Carolina slaveholding family. After years of watching their mother, father, and older brother abuse and neglect their servants, Sarah moved north in 1813 and convinced her sister to follow in 1828.[55] Angelina became the first woman to speak in front of a legislative body about the decisive issue. On 21 February 1838, Angelina presented a petition signed by 20,000 women that called for an end to the inhumane system.[56] Both ladies continued this work throughout the 1830s, inspiring many with their strong convictions.

Another celebrated champion of equality also came from a wealthy background: Elizabeth Cady Stanton. In early childhood, Stanton faced the harsh reality of injustice when her father, well-known lawyer Daniel Cady, received a visit from Flora Campbell. After the sudden death of her husband, Campbell's son took ownership of the entire farm and her home without any allowance to her for survival. Cady explained that the law did not grant her right to sue for any possessions because of her sex. Upon hearing this, young Elizabeth approached the widow and whispered that as soon as her father left she intended to take a pair of scissors and cut the laws out of his books.[57] With this incident, Elizabeth's determination to change legislation in support of females came to pass.

Although her first experience involved the problems women faced in the nineteenth century, by her late teens she began visiting frequently with her cousin Gerrit Smith and learning about the plight of African Americans. Smith lived in upstate New York and owned vast amounts of land, which permitted

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[51] Susan B. Anthony, "Notes for Speech, 1857" and "Speech, 1862," in *Failure Is Impossible*, 33.

[52] Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott* (New York: Walker, 1980), 31.

[53] Beverly Wilson Palmer, ed., *Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), xiv.

[54] Bacon, 59, 72; see also: Venet, 6.

[55] Kathryn Kish Sklar, ed., *Women's Rights Emerges within the Antislavery Movement, 1830-1870, A Brief History with Documents,* Bedford Series in History and Culture (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 2, 6.

[56] Kathryn Cullen-DuPont and Elizabeth Frost-Knappman, *Women's Suffrage in America*, rev. ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 21.

[57] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815-1897*, new ed. (Amherst, N.Y.: Humanity, 2002), 31-2.

him to donate generously to abolitionist causes and support the famous Underground Railroad. His home became a refuge for runaway slaves and those assisting their escape. He constantly held meetings and discussions about the issue with leaders like Garrison, Mott, Douglass, Birney, Phillips, and the zealous John Brown.[58] Stanton found the environment filled with excitement and ripe with hopes for the future of reform in American society.[59] Several biographers note that the time Elizabeth spent at Smith's became the most influential in her resolve to end slavery.

Women generally received little or no true respect from men.

Each of these women found their way into supporting the abolitionist cause with both words and actions. Anthony, Mott, Stanton, and the Grimkés became especially skilled at speaking in public to anyone who might listen, although an audience often proved difficult to locate since society viewed public speaking as unladylike and only respected male speakers. Frequently, men in the crowds hissed or yelled obscenities while ladies in opposition shook their heads in disgrace. At the time, "It seemed rather bold and unladylike to venture out into the world..."[60] Despite cutting remarks, women abolitionists continued their work through participation in anti-slavery societies and with support of many male advocates; they knew that fighting against an evil did not permit them to remain quiet or unobtrusive.[61]

However, many gentlemen refused to join women activists, especially when community norms insisted the two sexes remain separated even when involved with associations that shared a common goal. In the spring of 1839, a group of male activists issued a formal petition to the American Anti-Slavery Society, the most vocal abolitionist organization of the time, denouncing incorporation of women. They cited that the U.S. Constitution only allowed men the freedoms contained in its pages, and that including females in their movement would "bring *unnecessary* reproach and embarrassment to the cause of the enslaved..."[62] A massive debate ensued, and abolitionists found themselves on opposite sides: one, led by Garrison, believed in abilities of women to advance their mission and the other, headed by Reverend Amos Phelps, unequivocally denied this point. By the end of the year this topic engaged both factions in several heated battles without resolution.

In the history of American society, women generally received little or no true respect from men. Recently, more researchers admit that wives, mothers, and daughters contributed a great deal to the country, both socially and economically, well before the nineteenth century. During the Revolution, many ran family farms and businesses while also defending them from the British, and participated in active organizations like the Daughters of Liberty.[63] Yet, despite these and other supportive actions taken, men returning home still refused to promote rights of females. Considered one of the most important documents of women's rights in the era of Independence, Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, "If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebelion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any

[58] Ibid., 54; see also: Gurko, 66-7; *Not for Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, prod. and dir. Ken Burns and Paul Barnes, 3 hrs. 30 min., PBS Home Video, 1999, videocassette.

[59] Stanton, 52, 55.

[60] Ethel Hall interview in *Not for Ourselves Alone*; see also: Venet, 4.

[61] Julie Roy Jeffrey, "Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement," in *Major Problems in American Women's History,* eds. Ruth M. Alexander and Mary Beth Norton, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003), 156.

[62] Rouchames, 160, 162.

[63] Davidson, 188; see also: Clinton, 3.

Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation."[64] Her husband, revered freedom fighter John Adams, replied with banter and refused to take his own wife seriously.[65] Even after an honorable request, Framers never acknowledged the question of female equality.

From the inception of this new nation, based on the Declaration of Independence and Constitution, arguments over the words "... all *men* are created equal" refused to go away.[66] Laws establishing permanent subordination of females arose quickly in America with males dominating politics and society under "protection" of those famous words. As briefly mentioned earlier, young women lived under their father's control until they married, then became a mere extension of their husbands. Post-Revolutionary courts severely enforced this "marital unity" code, which enabled men to claim a woman's legal personality and physical body as his property.[67] Even after she became a widow, legislative acts did not show any empathy. Often, widows received less than one-third of their husbands' assets due to legislation that automatically shifted ownership to sons or other male heirs.[68]

Marriage and divorce laws became increasingly restrictive by the 1840s. Once married, a woman usually lost all control of any property she might own, rights to her children, and her personal being. She also did not have the ability to "make contracts, keep or control her own wages or any rents, transfer property, sell property, or bring any lawsuit."[69] If a husband desired to divorce his wife, he merely needed to take her to court and allow the judge to decide on the outcome. Almost every time this unusual issue arose, the male received full custody of the children and essentially all belongings acquired during marriage. Normally, this type of battle left the mother with nothing more than the clothes on her back. [70]

Because of the persistent conviction that women had no reason to learn anything besides domestic duties, no formal education existed for women above elementary school until the nineteenth century. Establishment of a few female-only colleges and academies occurred sporadically, but most men "could not see the use of advanced education for a girl."[71] Not until the 1800s did a reform in higher learning emerge, and this only came to fruition when mothers effectively argued that they held a responsibility to gain knowledge for their children. Only by promoting their dedication to life in the domestic sphere did women win an improved status in schooling. In 1833 Oberlin College in New England became the first coeducational college in America. By 1837, the first women's college, Mount Holyoke, opened its doors and began a transformation in teaching young ladies more than how to clean and cook.[72]

By 1840, one year after the Phelps and Garrisonian divide, the question of what to do with women came to a climax. Several of America's most well known abolitionists traveled to London that July for the World's Anti-Slavery Convention. Delegates representing the U.S. included Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Henry Stanton (her husband), Wendell and Ann Phillips, and Garrison. Although the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society invited "'all friends of the slave" to attend, just before the conference started, they changed

[64] Abigail Adams, "Remember the Ladies, 1776," in *Women's Suffrage*, 11.

[65] John Adams, "Letter, 1776," in *The Way We Lived*, 131.

[66] Emphasis added by author.

[67] Clinton, 10.

[68] Joan Hoff, *Law, Gender, and Injustice: A Legal History of U.S. Women* (New York:University Press, 1991), 106.

[69] Jone Johnson Lewis, "Gains in Women's Property Rights during the 19th Century," *Married Women's Property Act: 1848, New York State*, [on-line article], (New York: About, 2006) , http://womenshistory.about.com/od/married-womensproperty/a/property_1848ny_p.htm, last updated 27 November 2006.

[70] *Not for Ourselves Alone.*

[71] Gurko, 125.

[72] Davidson, 324.

"friend" to "gentlemen."[73] As they attempted to enter the convention, officials and fellow attendees stopped female representatives because they did not have any business at public gatherings. Each of the American men went to the floor and vehemently defended the women's rights; the discussion went back and forth for hours. When a vote over the seating finally occurred, it did not pass and an escort took the women to a segregated section of the hall where they also did not have permission to speak.[74] In protest, Garrison joined the women while Stanton and Phillips continued arguing with clergy and fellow abolitionists.

As the first day concluded, the females began a lengthy discussion on the events that transpired. Stanton noted, "It was really pitiful to hear narrow-minded bigots, pretending to be teachers and leaders of men, so cruelly remanding their own mothers, with the rest of womanhood, to absolute subjection to the ordinary masculine type of humanity."[75]

All women shared a similar disbelief. They pondered over how fellow abolitionists, people fighting for freedoms of another race, held such strong determinations to keep half of their own people quiet and submissive. They began conversing about the lack of rights women held in general society. Stanton decided to act, and approached Mott with the idea of holding a woman's rights convention once they returned to America. Mott agreed, and so did other delegates.[76]

However, upon their return to the states, both Mott and Stanton found their time taken by familial obligations. Although they maintained a strong sense of woman's equality, they also felt obligated to their children and husbands. Mott became a popular minister in the Society of Friends whose group began to expand. James came down with an illness that kept Lucretia close to home for a short time. Once he recovered, she continued preaching and taking part in several other reform movements of the time in addition to her antislavery work.[77]

Stanton, who married only months before the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, wanted to spend the days with her new husband. She also gave birth to her first few children and moved from Boston to Seneca Falls, New York. With Henry constantly away at work, she began to understand difficulties in women's lives. Laundering, cooking, watching children, and other household duties consumed her time. She lamented, "I suffered with mental hunger, which, like an empty stomach, is very depressing."[78] Stanton demonstrated her determination to help wives and mothers of the nation discover their rights as dignified humans.

Luckily, in the midst of her brief misery, Stanton received an invitation to have tea with fellow abolitionist Jane Hunt on 13 July 1848.[79] Upon her arrival, she found Mott, Mary Ann McClintock, and Martha C. Wright all ready to welcome her. A dialogue on the subject of woman's rights occurred and, recalling the experience in London, they authored an announcement for "a convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman…"[80] They agreed to hold the meeting at a nearby church in Seneca Falls, and listed Mott as one of several keynote speakers; however, when they sent the advertisement out, no other lecturers consented to attend. On the following day, ladies gathered at McClintock's home and created an agenda for the event.

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[73] Frost-Knappman, 50; see also: Lois W. Banner, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: A Radical for Woman's Rights*, ed. Oscar Handlin (Boston: Little, 1980), 25.

[74] Stanton, 79-80. This incident became so famous that every book about the progression of women's rights in America includes it at some point.

[75] Stanton, 81.

[76] Banner, 25-6.

[77] Bacon, 124.

[78] Gurko, 91; see also: *Not for Ourselves Alone.*

[79] Frost-Knappman, 72.

[80] "Womans Rights Convention," *Seneca County Courier,* in Ibid., 77.

Each agreed they first needed a Declaration of Sentiments, a document explaining their reasons for the cause, in order to organize their thoughts and grievances.[81] Stanton soon decided it must follow the structure of the Declaration of Independence, a text whose wording consistently plagued females attempting to improve their station in society. Within the Resolutions she stated: "...woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator..." and "it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her."[82] While these appeared quite shocking for the time, Mott and other ladies became astounded by the ninth decree, which declared all women had a natural right to vote. Mott tried to convince Stanton that such a radical idea must wait, "Oh, Lizzie! Thou will make us ridiculous! We must go slowly." When husband Henry read this, he agreed that it went too far.[83] But, none of their attempts proved successful and Stanton refused to change a single word.

On 19 July 1848, the first Woman's Rights Convention commenced in New York under leadership of these phenomenal ladies.[84] Although they intended to allow only females access on the first day, the few men who arrived received permission to enter. Hundreds of people attended the two-day meeting, including Garrison and Douglass, who remained staunch supporters of the movement. In fact, as Stanton read the ninth resolution calling for suffrage and the crowd bustled with uncertainty, Douglass stood and gave an inspiring monologue advocating this idea.[85] At the conclusion, all resolutions passed unanimously except the ninth, which garnered the minimum amount of votes for approval.

All involved with the event saw it as a major success. Not only did they provide a clear view of their goals, but they shared them with hundreds of citizens. Stanton gave her first public speech, which started a nearly fifty-year lecture career. The gathering successfully connected both sexes together for the same cause. Furthermore, the female leaders completed the planning and implementation of the first-ever all-women convention, one which set out to generate support for and the encouragement of their own equality in America.

Sadly, many newspapers from across the country did not support the convention and its cause. Stanton commented, "All the journals...seemed to strive with each other to see which could make our movement appear the most ridiculous."[86] Male journalists and reporters claimed that equal rights, "would prove a monstrous injury to all mankind."[87] Still holding onto their prejudices, men constantly heckled Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and other female speakers during public forums. Some even sent personal letters asking why the ladies did not find good husbands to care and bare children for instead of lecturing. Some of these public outcries so thoroughly embarrassed many of the first Convention's attendees that they removed their signatures from the Declaration of Sentiments and its Resolutions.[88]

Many newspapers from across the country did not support the convention and its cause.

[81] Gurko, 96.

[82] "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, 1848," in *The American Sisterhood: Writings of the Feminist Movement from Colonial Times to the Present*, ed. Wendy Martin (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 45-6.

[83] Gurko, 98-9; see also: Norton, *A People*, 287; and Jean H. Baker, ed., *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited* (Oxford: New York, University Press, 2002), 35.

[84] Stanton, 148.

[85] *Not for Ourselves Alone*; see also: Gurko, 102.

[86] Stanton, 149.

[87] Gurko, 103.

[88] Stanton, 149.

In the face of these major oppositions, the foremothers moved on. At the conclusion of the meeting, they decided to continue their session a few weeks later in a larger venue. Again, Stanton read the Resolutions, but this time they all passed with great enthusiasm from those seated in the audience. By 1849, another Woman's Rights Convention assembled in Ohio and met consecutively for the next twelve years. Local meetings also rose in smaller communities and in October of 1850, the first National Woman's Rights Convention took place in Worcester, Massachusetts.[89]

Anthony, Stanton, and their newest partner Lucy Stone actively planned another significant series of gatherings, with a crucial one held in Akron, Ohio in 1851.[90] Here one of the most important speeches for women's rights transpired when emancipated slave Sojourner Truth spoke to the audience. Over a two-day session, Truth witnessed many clergymen and members of the general public heckle females as they presented their case. By the second evening she decided to challenge these critics: "...he say women can't have much rights as man, cause Christ wasn't a woman. Whar did your Christ come from? Whar did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him."[91] She further asserted her own mistreatment as a black woman through comparing her life as a slave with that of white women. Her persistent question, "Ain't I a woman?" became the most celebrated oration about injustice dealt to African American females. Fervent abolitionists, Stanton and Anthony, deeply admired Truth for her actions to combat both racism as well as sexism in the U.S.

Throughout the years following the first convention, women achieved great advances in their cause. Perhaps the most crucial result of this initial meeting lay in the establishment of a united front among American females. Seeing such a massive collection of strong ladies encouraged women to challenge laws that forced them into submission. Before the close of 1848, New York legislature passed the Married Women's Property Act, which allowed wives to retain their belongings despite their married state.[92] Those trapped in abusive or unhappy marriages gained courage to stand up for their rights as humans, even when courts continued to side with husbands. Although most men still received primary custody of children in these cases, they found it increasingly difficult to win after the Seneca Falls meeting.[93]

Through all of these efforts, however, one problem continued harassing newly empowered females: they did not have representation in politics. Suffrage became the primary goal for Anthony, Stanton, and other leaders as they battled with laws and legislators unrelenting in their prejudice against women. Although ability to petition the government found new life within the movement, it accomplished little when officials refused to take requests into consideration.[94] When Stanton initiated the idea of franchise at Seneca Falls, a small crack formed among those present, even after it received support from prominent men like Douglass and Garrison. However, as the 1850s moved on, these ladies made a crucial decision to push this initiative to the forefront of their movement once they realized that only with the vote did they have a real opportunity to affect change.

At the same time as these major transformations in lives of females occurred, African Americans remained ensnared in the confines of slavery. As Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass proved in their famous speeches and writings, the negative influence of this system on black men and women lingered well into the mid-1850s. Incorrectly,

[89] Gurko, 106-7
[90] Frost-Knappman, 88.
[91] Martin, 103.
[92] Lewis
[93] Hoff, 132.
[94] Frost-Knappman, 89.

Black and white teachers dedicated to teach freedmen, undated photograph. Geoffrey C. Ward and Kenneth Burns, *Not for Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, p. 105. (New York: Knopf, 1999).

early historians supposed that rising importance of women's rights caused reformers like Mott, the Grimkés, Stanton, and Anthony to ignore anti-slavery issues. On the contrary, since their participation in American social reforms began with the abolitionist cause, these key female leaders maintained a strong devotion to winning that battle alongside their own. In several speeches and letters, Stanton often conveyed her sympathies for blacks who, like herself, faced innumerable prejudices:

> Herein is woman more fully identified with the slave than man can possibly be, for she can take the subjective view...For while the man is born to do whatever he can, for the woman and the Negro, there is no such privilege.[95]

[95] Stanton, "Speech to the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society," in Laura Donnaway, "Women's Rights before the Civil War," *Student Historical Journal* 16 (New Orleans, La.: Loyola University Press, 1984-5), 3.

Serious debates over abolition and women's rights raged on throughout the 1850s until a combination of forces collided and gave birth to the American Civil War (1861-1865). Today, the issue of slavery retains its status as the central cause of this military clash, while several other factors receive less credit. After election of President Abraham Lincoln and passage of various edicts outlawing slavery in certain territories, southern states felt their economy was in danger and seceded from the Union. Many contended that without this system their businesses and homes faced financial ruin. Despite the attempts made for a peaceful reconciliation between North and South, war ensued and continued for half a decade.

For most Americans, the Civil War became a culmination of two central sweeping-reform movements that affected the nation starting in the 1830s: slave and women's rights. African Americans and women became absorbed by the reasons for secession and looked to war as an outlet from which they might increase their social standing. Slaves, as during the first Revolution, needed to choose on which side

their loyalties lay. However, unlike the fight for independence, the station of blacks became a key component in waging and winning the Civil War. African Americans in bondage quickly figured out that a Union victory equaled emancipation, so large numbers abandoned their masters and headed to the North.[96] By summer of 1862, Lincoln began feeling pressure to use emancipation as a means of defeating the South. Even after providing an option for the Confederacy and Border States to accept gradual release of black servants, his plan was still refused.[97]

Finally, on 1 January 1863, Lincoln issued his famous Emancipation Proclamation, which freed all slaves in the Confederacy.[98] Quickly, more slaves fled the southern states to obtain the liberty they long dreamed of from their youth. Once they arrived, many displayed a desire to join the Union Army as a method of proving their gratefulness and loyalty. Until the Proclamation went into affect, blacks had no right to participate in the military but Lincoln removed those restrictions soon after emancipation became law.[99] Frederick Douglass encouraged development of the first all-African American military companies, of which his two sons became members. Soon, thousands of freemen proudly donned their uniforms and served their country with dignity until they achieved victory or death.

Female abolitionists rejoiced at the idea of emancipation, but did not celebrate long because of their own problems. As war erupted, a majority of women's rights leaders decided they must halt their work and partake in the patriotic fervor engulfing the Union to prove their allegiance to the nation. A large number agreed to stop holding annual local meetings as well as the National Woman's Rights Convention until the country found peace. They decided the initiation of this second American Revolution required a pause in their movement in order to focus on the war effort.[100] They asserted that by providing examples of their devotion to the conflict, legislators and officials did not have any reason to deny them suffrage.

A few, however, including Susan B. Anthony, refused to accept this notion and argued that it showed naiveté on the part of the women.[101] She insisted that putting aside their movement, even for a short time, indicated that some other cause held more importance than their own. Moreover, despite the amount of patriotism they might show, without the vote they in no way participated in their own destinies.[102] Stanton sided with Anthony, and the two continued developing strategies to ensure equality of every person, black or white, lady or gentleman. Both toured the country giving lectures on the evils of slavery as well as the importance of universal suffrage. Stanton also published a pamphlet titled *The Slave's Appeal* in which she further denounced the South and its dependence on enslavement of humans.[103]

During this period, women participated in a wide variety of occupations that allowed them to dispel the myth of their natural weakness and inferior intelligence. Clara Barton worked as a nurse to injured and diseased soldiers as they lay in fields of battle and eventually utilized her skills to establish the American Red Cross. Fellow nurse Dorothea Dix successfully petitioned the government to improve healthcare for mentally ill. Lucy Gaylord Pomeroy founded an asylum for orphaned black children and aging black women. [104] Some even participated

[96] Davidson, 430.

[97] James M. McPherson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution* (Oxford: New York, University Press, 1991), 32-3.

[98] William E. Gienapp, *Abraham Lincoln and Civil War America: a Biography* (Oxford: New York, University Press, 2002), 124.

[99] Davidson, 431.

[100] Gurko, 208.

[101] Ibid.

[102] *Not for Ourselves Alone.*

[103] Venet, 27.

[104] L. P. Brockett, *Woman's Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism and Patience* (Philadelphia:

in active duty by disguising themselves as males, like Loreta Velazquez and Jennie Hodgers. Others worked as spies for North and South, both of which anticipated that neither suspected a female to outsmart them. Of these courageous ladies, only Sarah Emma Edmonds left a comprehensive memoir of her escapades, leading many to wonder how other spies viewed their role in the conflict.[105]

Regrettably, soon after the Union reunited, these accomplishments fell by the wayside and Anthony's predictions proved true. Even after hundreds of American females took action to improve the lives of soldiers, the ill, and the nation, little attention focused on their dedication. As occurred in past military clashes, the men came back, women returned to their homes, and life continued as before. Additionally, when their attention focused away from the movement, the few gains they made during the 1840s received severe cuts in supporting rights given to wives and mothers. Policies such as the Married Woman's Property Law regressed, granting men care of property and children more often than women. Without ability to exercise their political views, females held no recourse in changing their status.

African Americans and other equal-rights proponents also began seriously discussing how to ensure the vote for newly freed blacks. Garrison, Birney, and Douglass became deeply involved in this issue while Stanton and Anthony supported the idea of universal suffrage decades before. Since both groups promoted franchising all, they decided to merge and formed the American Equal Rights Association (AERA).[106] Unfortunately, Wendell Phillips, an abolitionist who did not support women's rights, took on the position of president for the AERA. Phillips intended to drive females out of the group by encouraging fellow members to endorse voting rights of all black *males* and not include the word woman or female in any important document.[107]

During the next few years, heated debates occurred at AERA meetings over the question of women's place in society. Then, in 1869, this infighting reached its climax when discussion about the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which specifically gave all *men* the right to vote, commenced. Members led by Douglass, Phillips, and even Garrison agreed with the measure and insisted that the time of "the Negro's Hour" had arrived.[108] Anthony and Stanton argued that the issue of precedence did not belong at an equal-rights gathering and requested that the group reject the amendment until it included the word *women* as well.

Douglass took a firm stance, insisting that even though all people deserved the right to vote, the life of the black man depended on that particular amendment. Anthony responded,

> When Mr. Douglass tells us that the cause of the black man is so perilous I tell him that wronged and outraged as they are by this hateful and mean prejudice against color, he would not today exchange his sex and color, wronged as he is, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton.[109]

Their exchange of words shocked and divided those present at the meeting. Some marched out of the hall in protest with Stanton and Anthony while

Zeigler McCurdy, 1867), 46, 127.

[105] Elizabeth D. Leonard, introduction to *Memoirs of a Soldier Nurse and Spy: A Woman's Adventures in the Union Army*, by Sarah Emma Edmonds (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1999), xiii.

[106] Judith E. Harper, *Susan B. Anthony: A Biographical Companion* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1998),8.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Sherr, 31; see also: *Not for Ourselves Alone.*

[109] Ibid., 41; see also: Frederick Douglass, "Proceedings of the American Equal Rights Association Convention, Steinway Hall, New York City, May 12,1869," in *Frederick Douglass on Women's Rights,* ed. Philip S. Foner, *Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies* 25 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1976), 88.

the rest stayed in support of Douglass and African American men. Some of the most influential leaders of time, such as Sojourner Truth and Lucy Stone, found themselves on opposite sides. In the end, the AERA voted to support legislation without any changes. After this fiasco, the women resolved to continue their fight for equality without assistance from any man.

Following centuries of partnership and understanding, the united front of African Americans and women bitterly dissolved. With passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, which resulted from the conclusion of the Civil War, the women's movement fell back a few crucial steps. Now that the Constitution explicitly stated that suffrage belonged to all *men*, Stanton and Anthony needed to reinvigorate their cause to new heights. Such a transformation did not come into fruition until nearly fifty years after the infamous AERA meeting.

Although several amendments and laws passed giving more freedoms to the African American population, they soon realized limitations still existed. With advent of Jim Crow and segregation in the U.S., blacks continued their struggle for true equality until the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. Yet, even today, they combat stereotypes that gained momentum hundreds of years ago and battle racial injustices. Women, too, continue to face inequality. Not until 1920 did females finally achieve suffrage with the Nineteenth Amendment. In contemporary American society, there still exists a few sexist stigmas such as: men who perform the same jobs as women earn a higher salary, young females must conform to a social concept of beauty, and gender discrimination continues to inconvenience empowerment of women.

Both groups squandered more than friendships on that fateful day in 1869 when two of the most important freedom fighters of the time clashed: they each lost key supporters. Without sponsorship of one another, dominant American society found methods for setting the movements back. As separate entities, black and female organizations still do not retain the justice and fair treatment they sought over 100 years ago. After the onslaught of the American Civil War, the combined force of women and African Americans lost trust in one another and, more importantly, the opportunity to gain their equality together.

Scenes of the Future: Landscape Photography of the West and the Optimistic American in the 1860s

Jo Summann

The author examines Alexander Gardner's work, as the official photographer for the Union Pacific Railroad, during the 1860s. Jo Summann correlates Gardner's 1867 landscape photographs and the construction of American na-tional identity by examining the temporal-spatial relationship through the new visual medium and Gardner's subject matter. Her analysis demonstrates how these landscape photographs of the West connected to ideas of progress and faith in the future and reinforce optimistic elements of the American character.

"Banks of the Kaw," 1867. Alexander Gardner's photograph of train tracks along a river near Fort Riley, Kansas. Brooks Johnson, ed., *An Enduring Interest: The Photographs of Alexander Gardner* (Norfolk, Va.: The Chrysler Museum, 1991), 90.

In the early nineteenth century, Europeans began writing about the unique qualities they identified with people of the young American nation, including their optimistic, future-oriented view of their individual lives, their country, and history itself. By the middle decades of the century, this optimism embraced the physical expansion of the nation and the associated leisure and economic possibilities for citizens. As railroads connected the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, explorers, settlers, and opportunists investigated newly acquired western lands and established homes and businesses. One such traveler to the West, Alexander Gardner, served as the official photographer of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1867. His pictures of rural and urban landscapes not only provide an example of the visual culture produced in the late 1860s but also reveal the relationship between landscape photographs and the construction of American national identity.

The earliest known portrait of Alexander Gardner, c. 1858. D. Mark Katz, *Witness to an Era: The Life and Photographs of Alexander Gardner, the Civil War, Lincoln, and the West* (New York: Viking, 1991), 17.

Gardner's landscape photographs of the railroad, towns, and countryside of the West both reflected and inspired a belief in progress and faith in the future by connecting temporal aspects to geographical space. Essentially, in showing human-imposed changes to the land, these photographs emphasize the possibility of improvement of an existing or past condition to a better one in the future, thus reinforcing the optimistic nature of the American character. This connection between time and space unfolds in two ways. First, the medium of photography depicts reality and expands spatial and temporal scope. Additionally, Gardner chose themes that visualize the temporal-spatial relationship, namely, industrialization, abundance, and man's ability to control the natural environment. Ultimately, Gardner's photographs expose the shift from a cyclical to a linear and progressive perspective of history that Americans accepted by the 1860s.

Photography, like other modern technologies, followed its own linear development throughout the nineteenth century. Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre introduced the first notable advancement in 1839. His daguerreotype process required long exposure times which could not capture movement, but the daguerreotype marked the beginning of modern photography and reigned as the dominant method of visual reproduction through the 1850s. The cheaper and more durable collodion method replaced the daguerreotype. The tintypes used for portraits of soldiers and their families during the American Civil War signify examples of the increasing popularity and accessibility of photographs for the general

population. Early photographers taught themselves and, with no formal school for the art, passed their knowledge on to apprentices.[1]

Besides producing individual portraits, these photographers employed the new medium to capture tourist destinations, to document monuments, sites of interest, and historic events like the Civil War, and to share and profit from these images with the public through holding expositions, selling prints, and converting them into wood-engraved illustrations to publish in newspapers. Railroad companies and the U.S. government also utilized photographs in land surveys to determine and promote train routes, learn about western geography, and settle disputed boundaries.[2] Railroad companies even directed photographers on the variety of views they wanted because this "combination of subjects—celebrations of the triumphant progress of technology over the hostile terrain, views of picturesque landscapes, and prosperous working sample farms—was the one likely to make the railroad the most money from investors, tourists, and potential settlers."[3] Photography brought the world to Americans with its ability to represent real people, objects, changing landscapes, and historical events with accuracy; in the process, it offered a modern way to view space and time, and in terms of western photography, positioned Americans as ameliorating agents within the western landscape by showing the changes technology brought to these lands.

Before joining the movement to document the West, Alexander Gardner studied photography in Scotland, came to the United States in 1856, and began working for Mathew B. Brady. He managed Brady's Washington studio and then joined his Civ-

Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, a pioneer of the photographic medium. Bates Lowry and Isabel Barrett Lowry, *The Silver Canvas: Daguerreotype Masterpieces from the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1998), frontispiece.

il War photographic corps before leaving Brady in 1862 to open his own studio.[4] In 1867, he traveled with the Union Pacific Railroad for its surveying expedition and "on that journey he documented the westward expansion and illustrated the fulfillment of America's Manifest Destiny" with his images of constructed rails and established towns and farms.[5] As "a photography of possibilities," Gardner's western images focused "on outdoor views that suggested the region's great potential."[6] Therefore,

[1] Robert Hirsch, *Seizing the Light: A History of Photography* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2000), 25-9, 37, 71-8.

[2] Ibid., 42-3, 63-7, 102-12, 135-9, 148-55.

[3] Peter Bacon Hales, "American Views and the Romance of Modernization," in *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 234.

[4] Brooks Johnson, "Introduction: A Man and His Era," in *An Enduring Interest: The Photographs of Alexander Gardner*, ed. Brooks Johnson (Norfolk, Va.: Chrysler Museum, 1991), 3-4.

[5] Ibid., 5.

[6] Martha A. Sandweiss, "Undecisive Moments: The Nar-

California Forty-Niner, c. 1850. Daguerreotype with applied coloring under glass to protect the fragile surface and in a typical hinged case. Marth A. Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 2.

his pictures have identifiable markers and place names, such as a particular river or street, yet also show scenes generic enough to inspire imaginations willing to recreate more of the success displayed in his pictures. Moreover, Gardner, like other photographers of the West, thought of his medium "as a narrative one, whose richest potential was realized not by one picture but through a string of images augmented with literary text."[7]

Because of this narrative quality of photography, to understand the whole story, Gardner's photographs must be viewed as collections from which common themes emerge, such as industrialization, abundance, and the ability of man to control the natural environment. These themes infuse three of Gardner's photographs: "Banks of the Kaw," of train tracks along a river near Fort Riley, Kansas, "Massachusetts Street," of downtown Lawrence, Kansas, and "Waukerusa Valley," of the countryside south of Lawrence.[8] The images convey the idea that what man has placed in these settings has improved the environment, following Tocqueville's observation that for the American, "the idea of the new is therefore intimately bound in his mind to the idea of the better."[9] Gardner captured this progress

rative Tradition in Western Photography," in *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 100.

[7] Ibid., 99.

[8] Alexander Gardner, "Banks of the Kaw," 1867, "Massachusetts Street," 1867, and "Waukerusa Valley," 1867, in *An Enduring Interest: The Photographs of Alexander Gardner*, ed. Brooks Johnson (Norfolk, Va.: Chrysler Museum, 1991), 90, 86, 94.

[9] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835; reprinted, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 387-8.

through time as well as the potential for more progress in the future through showing man's impact on the western landscape.

The medium of photography possessed qualities essential to Gardner's goal of portraying progress, namely, the fundamental ability to show reality; this encouraged people's faith in the existence of objects portrayed in the scenes. The photographer and historian Robert Hirsch explains that in the nineteenth century, "as seeing was equated with knowing, the more people saw, the more they could feel they possessed knowledge of the world."[10] With the arrival of photography, that knowledge increased exponentially because photographs offered accurate depictions of reality, letting people "count every brick in a wall" and then confirming the result with the actual building.[11] Jens Jäger applies this idea to landscape photography, stating that "photographs were seen as exact copies of the features of nature, not interpretations by an artist and, as such, better suited as proof of the distinct character of a landscape."[12] Janet Buerger shares his opinion and, in looking at the American frontier, explains, "William H. Holmes's panoramic topographical drawings . . . were drawn by hand, and Thomas Moran's paintings of western scenes were outright manipulations," however, "Jackson's photograph of the *Mount of the Holy Cross . . . proved* that a site previously thought to be a myth was actually there."[13] People could image and believe in a far away land that belonged to their nation. They had confidence that the right train would sooner or later carry them on the track running alongside the Kaw in Gardner's photograph, and that upon arriving in Lawrence, Kansas, they would see a bustling street lined with businesses and flourishing farms to the south.

Tintype photograph of a Union soldier, c. 1863. Floyd Rinhart, Marion Rinhart, and Robert W. Wagner, The American Tintype (Columbus: Ohio State University Press,1999), 50-1.

Building on the attribute of factual representation, photography also expanded the viewer's sense of space. As Joan Schwartz and James Ryan note in their compilation of photography studies, the medium "expanded human powers of observation and extended the range of observable space," that is, essentially, "at a time when steamships, railways and the telegraph made the world physically more accessible, photographs made it visually and conceptually more accessible."[14] Landscape photographs accomplished this expanded sense of space

[10] Hirsch, 97.

[11] Ibid., 136.

[12] Jens Jäger, "Picturing Nations: Landscape Photography and National Identity in Britain and Germany in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 121-2.

[13] Janet E. Buerger, "Ultima Thule: American Myth, Frontier, and the Artist-Priest in Early American Photography," *American Art* 6, no. 1 (winter 1992): 95, italics original.

[14] Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, "Introduction: Photography and the Geographical Imagination," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 2.

"Waukerusa Valley," 1867. Alexander Gardner's photograph of farms south of Lawrence, Kansas. Brooks Johnson, ed., *An Enduring Interest: The Photographs of Alexander Gardner* (Norfolk, Va.: The Chrysler Museum, 1991), 94.

to an even greater extent. Gardner's photographs show huge, flat tracts of land: a wide river and equally wide bank anchored by track that stretches far into the distance; a wide, level street with two full rows of buildings that also lead deep into the background; and a massive plain only broken up by a few rows of fence and dotted with homes and barns. These pictures help the viewer conceive of immense areas of land.

Furthermore, the way Gardner shot these scenes encourages an even greater sense of space. The ends of the river, track, and road extend out of frame, indicating their continuance to an unknown end. Similarly, by orienting the photograph of farmland to appear horizontal because of the generally horizontal fence lines, Gardner presents what appears to be only a small section of the whole plain that continues both to the left and right. He emphasizes this effect further by choosing a homogenous section of land for his subject, where the edges of the image are no different than the center. A viewer can expect to not only see the reality depicted in these photographs, but much more of that reality, even an unlimited supply of land and resources. The photographs proclaim that there exists enough space for enterprising plans to begin a business, start a farm, or simply explore the wilderness.

In addition to suggesting an expanded sense of space, photography impacted a sense of time. The fact that a picture presents a particular temporal moment helps reinforce a linear perception of time, because it implies that both a 'before' and 'after' also exist. Seeing the tracks along the Kaw in Gardner's photograph instantly reminds the viewer that at some point in the past this landscape lacked any sign of modern technology; a track without a train also immediately prompts the viewer to imagine the one that will travel through the actual site in the future. Likewise, the people, animals, and vehicles in Massachusetts Street would have moved on since Gardner visited the town, replaced by different people, new people, perhaps even the viewer. The farms also would not exist in the present if people had not planted and built them in the past, and they require a future harvest to have value for their owners. Historian David Nye relates this idea of a changing

temporal scope to his study of the Grand Canyon, pointing out that pictures showing the sedimentary layers of the Canyon led to "an interpretation of the site as the representation of geological time, stretching back to the origins of life."[15]

Noting the connection with identity formation, Nye further observes that "the Canyon was so much more ancient than the antiquities of Europe that it abolished any sense of American temporal inferiority to the Old World."[16] Through the earlier part of the nineteenth century, America acquired its Western lands, whether through purchase or war, and that ownership included an inheritance to the primeval past that intrinsically exists in nature. Owning the land, therefore, automatically placed America's history on a long timeline and emphasized the progress of the present. This ability of a photograph to capture an instantaneous span of linear time created optimism on different levels. First, in their understanding of the man-made development of these landscapes over time and envisioning their own movement through the spaces at some point in the future, viewers of western landscape photographs imagined possibilities for their own lives. Second, the larger timeline that natural landscapes like the Grand Canyon created around the nation of America produced pride and confidence in people for their country and the improvements they made to their land.

Gardner engaged the medium of photography to present themes that reinforced a linear perspective of time and consequently, promoted optimistic attitudes toward changes to the land and in the lives of Americans in the 1860s. One such theme, industrialization—the dominant development of the nineteenth century that impacted all aspects of society—appears in all three of Gardner's landscape photographs. Peter Bacon Hales points out how many in the 1860s considered landscape photography "an agent of modernization," showing Americans examples of new technology and modern ways of life and "shrinking the globe into its orderly frame."[17] This ability of photographs to convert the complexity of modernity into an understandable composition is evident in Gardner's clearly-defined scenes that show an improved present compared to the past. Thus in *Banks of the Kaw*, industrialization appears in the simple but powerful lines of the track laid through the wilderness. With the track's curves running parallel to the river, the viewer easily compares nature's offering of a slow transportation method on the water with man's fast and efficient land route.

An even sharper contrast between the natural and man-made environment exists in *Massachusetts Street*. Gardner implies that industry has claimed otherwise barren land by framing the view to emphasize the wide, empty street occupying the bottom third of the picture. As the viewer follows the road back, the scene fills with people, carts, and wagons conducting business in modern buildings. Man has, therefore, given this landscape usefulness by constructing a town with businesses. Similarly, in *Waukerusa Valley*, modern technology and agricultural methods have transformed a large plain into productive farms. In all three photographs, Gardner simplifies the message that industrialization has improved Americans' lives and even beautified these large tracts of natural landscape by focusing on single aspects of modernity and underscoring the otherwise unembellished western land.

While the theme of industrialization appears to deemphasize nature in favor of modern improvements, Gardner's photographs also highlight the benefits of the West in terms of space, natural resources, and opportunity in the theme of abundance. Peter Bacon Hales submits that western landscape photo-

[15] David E. Nye, "Visualizing Eternity: Photographic Constructions of the Grand Canyon," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 89.

[16] Ibid., 95.

[17] Hales, 209.

graphs such as these reflect the contemporary view that "perhaps most important, nature is bounteously benevolent, giving up her fruits to the American settlers."[18] The land, already belonging to America, tenders its inexhaustible riches to anyone willing to trade his labor for it. Even Tocqueville recognized this quality of American belief in noting,

> In the United States, fortunes are destroyed and rebuilt without trouble. The country is boundless and full of inexhaustible resources. The people have all the needs and all the appetites of a being that is growing, and whatever efforts they make, they are always surrounded with more goods than they can seize.[19]

The way Gardner shot these landscapes becomes especially important in conveying abundance. For example, the camera picks up the path of the river and train rail mid-route and both subjects curve out of sight in the distance, suggesting interminable ends and subsequently, countless destinations for settling or exploring. Additionally, the faded background of Lawrence, Kansas with buildings barely visible creates ambiguity regarding the size of the town, allowing the viewer to visualize a growing city with certain room for one more business. In the countryside photograph, stark cropping of the sides assures an unlimited amount of land where new farms could be established; the level horizon, but for one mound of earth, also suggests that the end of this fertile plain stretches well beyond the camera's reach. Through his carefully chosen evidence and framing devices, Gardner's photographs guaranteed that whatever one wanted to pursue in this vast western space—travel, enterprise, a homestead—was possible because the boundless land allowed for unlimited changes to improve the geographical space.

[18] Ibid., 211.

[19] Tocqueville, 594.

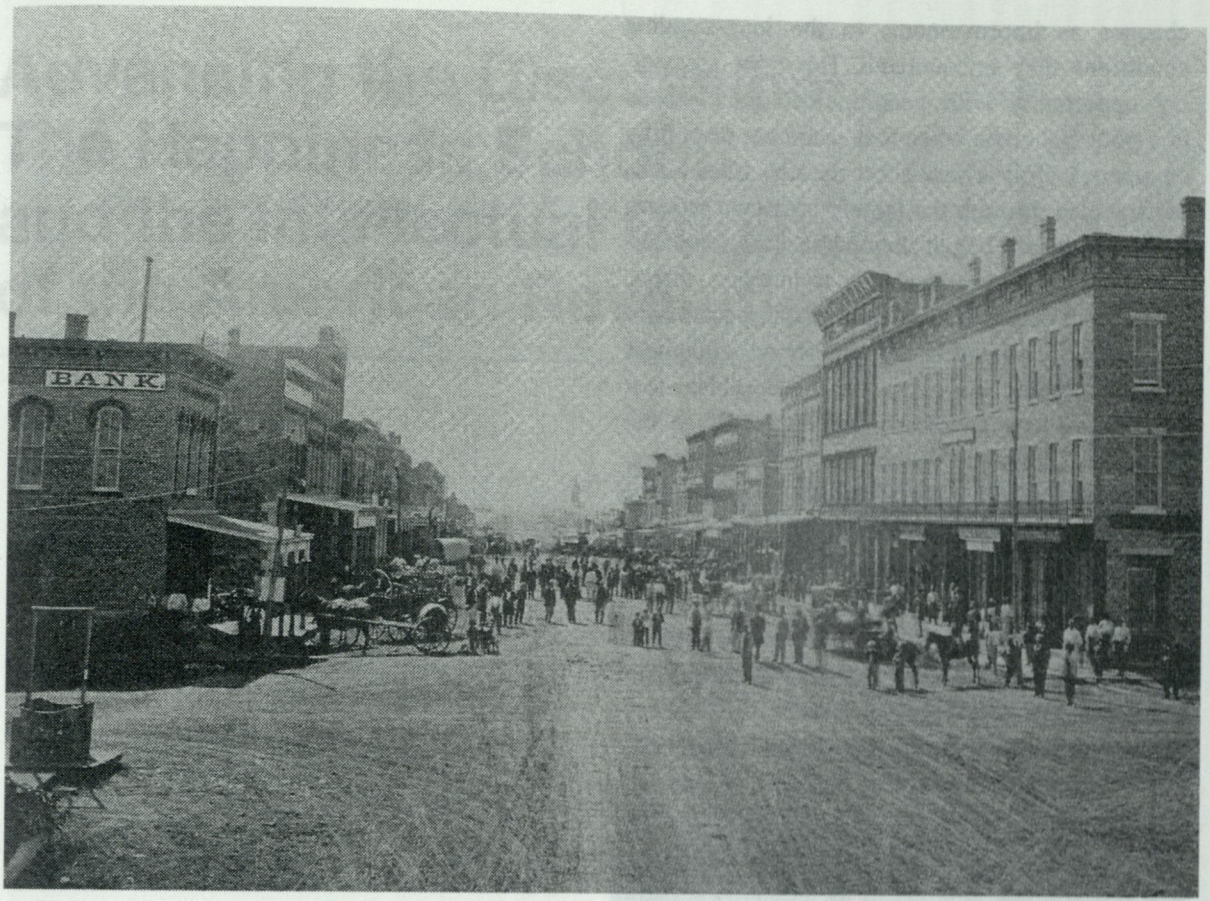
The perceived abundance of resources and opportunity within the western landscape provided the foundational idea of man's ability to impose order onto the natural environment, and thus, improve it. Anne Hyde describes how images of the West had special impact because "they depict the West as a blank place where white Americans make exciting things happen, not as a geographic region where the people and the climate have the power to limit what happens."[20] Additionally, illustrating the perspective of linear time, she refers to the change Americans brought to the existing conditions of these landscapes which "might be vast and alien, but if Americans could build a railroad across it, the Far West could be mastered by American ingenuity as well."[21] In other words, nature and native peoples may have reigned supreme in this space in the ancient past, but in modern times, Americans controlled the environment, demanding that nature yield to their will. Gardner's *Banks of the Kaw* proves man's ability to succeed within a wilderness of untamed rivers and undisciplined growth of trees and shrubs; the chaos of nature in this shot contrasts sharply with the stable, ordered train track.

In an 1873 travel guide, John Lester described his party's approach by train to the Rocky Mountains, to which "we look anxiously, as they seem impassable," but also displays his faith in man's ability, as "we await with eager eye to behold the triumph of the engineer who has laid the track for the iron horse over their very summit."[22] Most Americans shared his pride and confidence in taming the land, whether it involved traveling through wilderness or making the land produce as man desired. The raw, sprawling earth seen in *Massachusetts Street* will soon find itself fully conquered as the footprints of buildings in carefully-designed rows claim more of

[20] Anne F. Hyde, "Cultural Filters: The Significance of Perception in the History of the American West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1993): 367.

[21] Ibid., 364.

[22] John Erastus Lester, *The Atlantic to the Pacific: What to See and How to See It* (London: Longmans, Green, 1873), 34-5.



"Massachusetts Street," 1867. Alexander Gardner's photograph of downtown Lawrence, Kansas. Brooks Johnson, ed., *An Enduring Interest: The Photographs of Alexander Gardner* (Norfolk, Va.: The Chrysler Museum, 1991), 86.

its surface and lend purpose to what ground remains uncovered, that is, to bring people up to the doors of business. This same rambling land outside of town in the *Waukerusa Valley* becomes organized through defined fields separated by fence rows. In all of these photographs, man has tamed nature, transforming the disorder of the past into order in the present, and promising continued and increasing mastery over nature in the future.

Americans in the 1860s saw a world of possibilities in Gardner's landscape photographs of the West because they expressed unlimited opportunity for individuals and the nation. Tocqueville summarizes this optimism:

> The American inhabits a land of prodigies, around him everything is constantly moving, and each movement seems to be progress. The idea of the new is therefore intimately bound in his mind to the idea of the better. Nowhere does he perceive any boundary that nature can have set to the efforts of man; in his eyes, what is not is what has not yet been attempted.[23]

Possessing vast territory with an abundance of resources and space for development encouraged Americans to focus on creating changes to the existing natural environment and to perceive of those

[23] Tocqueville, 387-8.

changes as improvements to the long-standing conditions they encountered. However, associating opportunity with geographical space results in a potential crisis when that space has been fully conquered. Only a few short decades after Gardner traveled through the largely unknown western lands, Americans began claiming that the geographical frontier had disappeared as train tracks, farms, cities, and detailed maps left nothing unknown. Nevertheless, an end to the undefeated wilderness did not dissolve the overpowering optimism that Tocqueville saw so clearly and ingrained in the American character. Within the nation's borders, Americans have, in a sense, simply brought back a cyclical view of history which bonds well to a linear view in the context of today's modern world.

Replacing the natural world, that regularly regenerates itself, with material modes of transportation and living and working structures, simply means that man must continually regenerate his material world as it breaks down. This implies that man can still continually create the new, and therefore, the "better." For example, just as train tracks replaced rivers as shown in Gardner's photograph, highways later replaced tracks and unknown future transportation methods may replace highways. Likewise, buildings such as those in Gardner's shot of Lawrence, Kansas must be rebuilt as old ones become structurally unsound or cease to serve desired purposes. If Americans no longer have new land on which to build a business or farm, they will simply seek to take over space already, or no longer, used for those purposes. Thus the same geographical space is changed, and improved, through time. In this way, America still offers unlimited opportunity and success for those willing to pursue it. Consequently, optimism only requires perception of possibility and opportunity, not empty land. This explains why, rather than serving as a temporary pursuit during the period of western expansion, optimism remains a consistent and deep element of the American character.

Advancing the Discussion: The Happiness School and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution

John S. Schmeeckle

Eighteenth-century European philosophers shared common beliefs with leaders of the American Revolution, including the ideal of "happiness" and the ability for people to develop a "moral sense." Their philosophies solidified political thoughts of revolutionary Americans and influenced the Declaration of Independence, outweighing other philosophers, specifically John Locke.

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz refuted many of Locke's views on happiness and especially influenced Benjamin Franklin and James Madison. http://www.weltchronik.de/bio/cethegus/l/leibniz.html.

A coherent train of thought connected the European philosophers Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), Anthony Ashley Cooper, the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), Jean Jacques Burlamaqui (1694-1748), and Emmerich de Vattel (1714-1767); and all of these men influenced leaders of the American Revolution. Common themes in their thoughts include similar treatments of the concept of happiness and an optimistic view of human nature, which included the idea of an innate human potential to develop a moral sense. Various historians occasionally noticed that these philosophers individually influenced various revolutionary leaders, but no one previously observed the links connecting all five to each other, or that they reinforced each other in the minds of revolutionary Americans and thus embodied a collective influence on the Declaration of Independence outweighing that of other philosophers, in particular John Locke.

In 1904, Herbert Friedenwald proclaimed the overriding influence on the American Founding Fathers of one and only one philosophical work: John Locke's *Second Treatise on Government*.[1] In 1922, Carl Becker reiterated Friedenwald's claim that John Locke was the only natural law influence worth discussing.[2] Becker asserted that the signers of the Declaration of Independence knew their grievances against King George were insufficient to justify rebellion, so they turned to natural law as a justification for declaring independence.[3]

Bernard Bailyn, in 1967, downplays the influence of Vattel and Burlamaqui on the Founding Fathers in favor of Locke. Bailyn concludes that none of these Enlightenment philosophers, except for Locke, was "clearly dominant" or "wholly determinative" of the American revolutionaries' political thinking. "In America…the writings of Trenchard and Gordon ranked with the treatises of Locke as the most authoritative statement of the nature of political liberty and above Locke as an exposition of the social sources of the threats it faced." Trenchard and Gordon based their "radical Whig" views on "extreme solicitude for the individual and an equal hostility to government" and "pessimism concerning human nature".[4]

Gordon Wood, in 1969, pays homage to Bernard Bailyn as "the starting point for any further study of the political and constitutional ideas of the Revolutionary decades." Wood observes that the English "classical republican" writers seemed "eagerly received in the colonies across the Atlantic," and suggests that "eighteenth-century English political thought perhaps owed more to Machiavelli and Montesquieu than it did to Locke." Wood states: "By 1776 the Americans had produced out of the polemics of the previous decade a notion of a constitution very different from what eighteenth-century Englishmen were used to—a notion of a constitution that has come to characterize the very distinctiveness of American political thought."[5] Wood follows Bailyn in ignoring Ray Forrest Harvey's 1937 assessment of Jean Jacques Burlamaqui's contribution to emerging American constitutional thought (see below). Wood also ignores Vattel's contribution to emerging American constitutional thought. However, as Samuel Adams proclaimed in 1772, "Vattel tells us plainly and without hesitation, that 'the supreme legislative cannot change the constitution,' 'that their authority does not extend so far,'

[1] Herbert Friedenwald, *The Declaration of Independence: An Interpretation and an Analysis* (New York: Da Capo, 1974), 201.

[2] Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* (New York: Vintage Books, 1958), 27, 79.

[3] Ibid., 7.

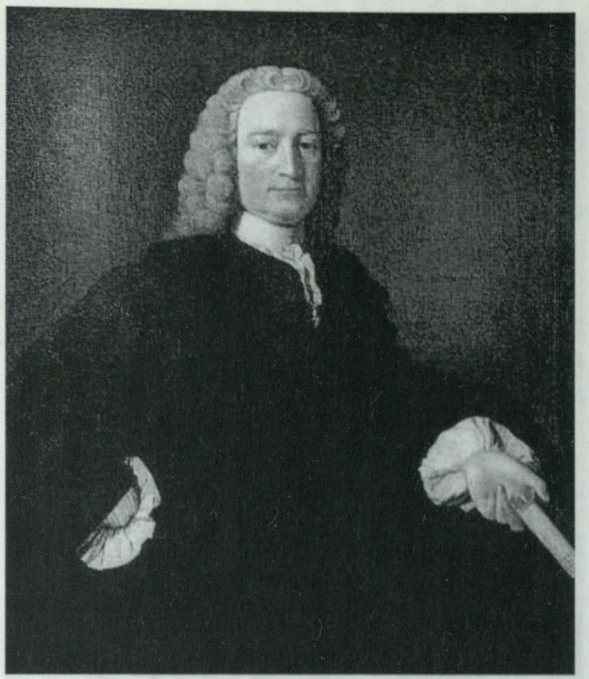
[4] Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 30, 36, 48.

[5] Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 623, 16, 29, 260.

and 'that they ought to consider the fundamental laws as sacred, if the nation has not, in very express terms, given them power to change them'."[6]

John Dunn, in a 1969 essay, portrays Locke's *Second Treatise on Government* as propaganda directed toward the English landed aristocracy, designed to convince them they could justifiably overthrow their king without losing their own privileged status.[7] Unlike Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*,[8] Dunn's *Two Treatises on Government* were not widely known or closely read in the decades following their publication, especially in the American colonies. Dunn rejects the notion that Locke's *Second Treatise* held any fundamental significance to the American Revolution.[9]

John Phillip Reid, in his *Constitutional History of the American Revolution*, argues that the American "Whigs" remained consistent throughout the pre-Revolutionary controversy in their objections to the innovative assertions of Parliamentary authority, and that this consistency of argumentation came from well-established English constitutional principles. Reid portrays Locke as essentially a commentator on such long-standing principles.[10] Reid further argues that the American colonists had good reason to fear that Parliamentary innovation and Parliament's constitutional "justification"



Portrait of Scottish philosopher Francis Hutcheson who influenced the ideas of American Revolutionary leaders including Thomas Jefferson. http://www.gla.ac.uk:443/newsdesk/avenue/32/na1.html.

thereof would destroy the customary constitutional arrangement the colonies had enjoyed for over a century and overthrow the shared British/American constitutional thinking that underlay this arrangement.[11] In rejecting a "Lockean" interpretation, Reid dismisses the preamble to the Declaration of Independence as a "rhetorical flourish," and invites us to "scoff at talk of 'good' and 'happiness.'"[12]

Henry F. May, in his 1976 work, *The Enlightenment in America*, characterizes John Locke as "empirical, verbose, and inconsistent."[13] According to May, Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, although…

[6] Harry A. Cushing, ed., *The Writings of Samuel Adams, vol. II* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 325.

[7] John Dunn, "The Politics of Locke in England and America in the Eighteenth Century," Chap. 4 in *Political Obligation in its Historical Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 60, 64; orig. publ. as Chap. 4 in John W. Yolton, ed., *John Locke: Problems and Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

[8] Dunn, on page 312, footnote 19, gives a set of references to Shaftesbury's attacks on Locke's denial of innate ideas of morality and justice.

[9] Ibid., 63, 77.

[10] John Phillip Reid, *Constitutional History of the American Revolution: The Authority of Rights* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 132-4; see also: Reid, *Constitutional History of the American Revolution: The Authority to Tax* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 135-6.

[11] Reid, *Authority to Tax*, 182, 192-3, 275, 281-2.

[12] Reid, *Authority of Rights*, 91, 79.

[13] Henry May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 40.

> ...fertile in suggestions, flexible, various, immensely penetrating, left almost all its main problems up in the air. The work that provided the main basis for the Enlightenment's confidence in the workings of the human mind proved in the not-very-long run to threaten value, causation, and even (since we are our perceptions) identity.[14]

Locke famously denied that the human mind contains any innate ideas. In Locke's view,

> *Happiness*...in its full extent, is the utmost pleasure we are capable of, and *misery* the utmost pain....Good and evil...are nothing but pleasure and pain... *Moral good and evil*, then, is only *the conformity or disagreement of our voluntary actions to some law, whereby good or evil is drawn on us, from the will and power of the law-maker...*[15]

Moral-sense philosophy stems from a direct challenge to Locke's denial of innate moral ideas of good and evil. This moral-sense challenge came from Locke's former student, Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftesbury, who regarded philosophy as the "study of happiness."[16] According to Shaftesbury,

> 'Twas Mr. Locke that struck at all fundamentals, threw all *order* and *virtue* out of the world, and made the very ideas of these (which are the same as those of God) *unnatural*; and without foundation in our minds....Thus virtue, according to Mr. Locke, has no other measure, law, or rule, than fashion and custom: morality, justice, equity, depend only on Law and Will...[17]

Shaftesbury insisted that in the course of normal development, humans inevitably develop a moral sense or ability to discriminate between right and wrong. At the center of Shaftesbury's view of humanity were the social affections, or natural impulses directed toward the general well-being of a group to which one belongs. Out of these impulses, develop the moral sense and the concept of the good.[18] As Stanley Grean summarizes:

> Since the substance of virtue is the social affections, and since the social affections are the source of our greatest joy, it follows that virtue is the true source of happiness.... One must not strive directly for pleasure or happiness, but rather for the good as embodied in a set of values."[19]

Grean notes the remarkable coincidence that Shaftesbury and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz "independently worked out similar forms of metaphysical optimism."[20] True, Leibniz noted how closely Shaftesbury's work paralleled his own Theodicy;[21] but perhaps Shaftesbury owes a debt to Leibniz that Grean did not recognize. In an earlier 1693 work, Leibniz suggested that "wisdom is nothing but the science of happiness itself...from this source flows

[14] Ibid., 8.

[15] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Book II, Ch. 21, sec. 43 and Ch. 28, sec. 5.

[16] Anthony Ashley Cooper 3rd, Lord Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, vol. 2 (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2002), 244.

[17] Benjamin Rand, ed., *Life, Unpublished Letters, and Philosophical Regimen of Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury* (London: Sonnenschein, 1900), letter VIII, June 3, 1709; quoted in Philip Valenti, "The Anti-Newtonian Roots of the American Revolution," *Executive Intelligence Review*, 22 (December 1995), 12-31, at 22; see also: Stanley Grean, *Shaftesbury's Philosophy of Religion and Ethics* (New York: Ohio University Press, 1967), 49, 217-8.

[18] Grean, 152-4, 199, 201-6.

[19] Ibid., 241, 243.

[20] Ibid., 4.

[21] Ibid., ix. See also Leibniz's "Judgment of the Works of the Earl of Shaftesbury," in Patrick Riley, ed., *Leibniz: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 195-8.

natural right...."[22] Shaftesbury's treatment of the development of the moral sense intertwines with his treatment of aesthetic taste,[23] which foreshadows—in the same passage of the same 1693 work—where Leibniz, in a discussion of love and benevolence, compares the contemplation of a beautiful painting to rejoicing in the happiness of another.[24]

Gordon Wood makes the sweeping claim that "The revolutionaries believed in Lockean sensationalism" which "told the revolutionaries that human personalities were unformed, impressionable things that could be molded and manipulated by controlling people's sensations." Wood portrays moral-sense philosophy as a modification, rather than a refutation of "Lockean sensationalism."[25] By contrast, the "underground" historian David Shavin claims: "'Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' is not a laundry list of rights. They are, and were for Benjamin Franklin, an encapsulation of Leibniz's political philosophy."[26] Benjamin Franklin's mentor during his young adulthood, James Logan (1674-1751), was a dedicated follower of Leibniz. Logan criticized Locke's "sensationalist" denial of innate moral principles, and endorsed Shaftesbury's moral sense.[27]

In 1703 and 1704, Leibniz wrote his *New Essays Concerning Human Understanding*, a thorough critique of John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, including a refutation of Locke's views on happiness.[28] Leibniz's *New Essays* were suppressed until 1765. The following year, Benjamin Franklin traveled to Germany to meet the men involved in finally publishing this work, who shared Franklin's (and Leibniz's) anti-Newtonian scientific outlook.[29]

Anthony Ashley Cooper, the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, emphasized the innate goodness and morality of humankind. This philosophy greatly influenced American revolutionary leaders in direct opposition to Locke. Stanley Grean, *Shaftesbury's Philosophy of Religion and Ethics* (Athens, Ohio: University Press, 1967), ii.

[22] Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Preface *Codex Iuris Gentium* (1693), in Riley, ed., *Liebniz: Political Writings*, 171.

[23] Grean, 205-6, 209, 249.

[24] Leibniz, Preface to the *Codex Iuris Gentium*, 171.

[25] Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1992), 190, 239-40.

[26] David Shavin, "Leibniz to Franklin on 'Happiness'," *Fidelio*, 12 (spring 2003), 45; available from http://www.schillerinstitute.org/fid_02-06/031_happinessA.html.

[27] Valenti, 27.

[28] G. W. Leibniz, *New Essays on Human Understanding*; Peter Remnant and Jonathan Bennett, trans. and eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 90, 163, 189, 193-4, 199, 207.

[29] Shavin, 49-56.

Henry F. May relates that the Rev. John Witherspoon, in his lectures on moral philosophy at Princeton, recommended the works of a number of philosophers to his students. First on Witherspoon's list was the *Theodicy* and letters of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. In 1783, Witherspoon's most famous student, James Madison, included works of Leibniz in his recommendations of books for the use of Congress.[30]

In 1948, Daniel J. Boorstin demonstrated that Jefferson held to a moral-sense view of human nature.[31] Merrill Peterson, in his 1970 biography of Thomas Jefferson, states that Jefferson "neither liked nor used" Locke's imaginary state of nature. "The natural state of man was the social state; man realized his true nature as a civilized being."[32] Following the moral-sense school of Lord Shaftesbury and Francis Hutcheson, conveyed by Lord Kames, Jefferson believed the pursuit of happiness involved a "commitment to the well-being of others."[33]

Jean Jacques Burlamaqui, whose ideas were well known to the people of the American Revolutionary era, is the likely source of the notion contained in the Declaration of Independence naming the "pursuit of happiness" as an inalienable right. http://www.efm.bris.ac.uk/het/burlamaqui/index.htm.

Similarly, John Patrick Diggins notes: "Influenced by the British philosopher the Earl of Shaftesbury, Jefferson saw virtue's deriving not only from reason but from 'imagination' and 'sentiment.' It had less to do with political institutions than with aesthetic appreciation."[34] As previously demonstrated, this constitutes a point of contact in the thinking of Shaftesbury and Leibniz, which the Scottish Francis Hutcheson also shared.

Garry Wills, in his problematic but overly maligned *Inventing America*, argues at length that Thomas Jefferson's thoughts closely correspond with that of Francis Hutcheson's. America never knew Hutcheson's views well, regardless of Jefferson's studies of Hutcheson.The Rev. John Witherspoon based his college "moral philosophy" lectures on Hutcheson's work as he taught a good number of America's revolutionary leaders.[35] Granted, Hutcheson integrated his concept of the moral sense with Lockean empiricist epistemology.[36] However, Witherspoon rejected this "sensationalist" denial of "innate ideas."[37] Thus, Lockean currents of thought definitely existed in revolutionary America, but so did prominent *anti-Lockean* currents of thought.

The Swiss philosopher Jean Jacques Burlamaqui borrowed the idea of the moral sense from Hutcheson, whom he cited by name.[38] In 1937, Ray Forrest Harvey demonstrated that America's revolutionary generation widely knew Burlamaqui.[39] Harvey credited

[30] May, 63, 97.

[31] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson* (Boston: Beacon, 1960), 141, quoting Jefferson to Peter Carr, 1787.

[32] Merrill Peterson. *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 94.

[33] Ibid., 55, 48.

[34] John Patrick Diggins, *The Lost Soul of American Politics: Virtue, Self-Interest, and the Foundations of Liberalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 226-7.

[35] Jeffrey H. Morrison, *John Witherspoon and the Founding of the American Republic* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 2005), 4, 52-3, 64-5.

[36] Wills, 193-4.

[37] Morrison, 125.

[38] Jean Jacques Burlamaqui, *The Principles of Natural Law and the Principles of Politic Law* (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1807) Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 3; available from http://www.lonang.com/exlibris/burlamaqui/index.html

[39] Ray Forrest Harvey, *Jean Jacques Burlamaqui: A*

Burlamaqui as the source of the Declaration of Independence's idea that the pursuit of happiness is an inalienable right. Harvey also argued Burlamaqui as an important source for the developing constitutional thought of the nascent American republic:

> The philosophy of Locke furnished the theoretic basis for the American theory of constitutional government. It may, however, be confidently asserted that it is impossible logically to deduce from Locke's doctrine such characteristically American principles as the written constitution, as the people's grant of power to government, personal separation of powers, coordinate departments, checks and balances, limited legislative power—except as limited by the natural rights of life, liberty, and property—and, most American of them all, judicial review. Instead, the earliest theoretic statement of these principles as a systemized method of government, with the exception of the last, which was at least adumbrated, is contained in Burlamaqui's *Principes du droit naturel*, 1747.[40]

Morton White, in his 1978 *The Philosophy of the American Revolution*, endorses Harvey's conclusion that the Declaration's unalienable right to the "pursuit of happiness" derived from Burlamaqui.[41] However, it seems Leibniz in 1693 (see above, notes 22 and 24) foreshadowed Burlamaqui's association of happiness with natural right, together with Shaftesbury's association of morality with aesthetics. Forrest McDonald credits Morton White for a convincing argument that the drafters of the Declaration of Independence drew upon Burlamaqui as well as Locke. "Harvey, in his *Burlamaqui in American Constitutionalism*, presents more evidence than White does but is less convincing, for he claims far too much."[42] Reassessing Harvey's work would be a useful project.

The Swiss jurist Emmerich de Vattel studied philosophy under Burlamaqui at the University of Geneva.[43] The English jurist William Blackstone, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, copied from Burlamaqui's exposition of natural law.[44]

> As is well known, the founders of the American nation derived their knowledge of international law mainly from Vattel as they derived their knowledge of the English common law from Blackstone. Vattel, therefore, like Blackstone, was generally found in every American library of note...[45]

Albert LaPradelle, in his introduction to a 1916 translation of Vattel's *The Law of Nations*, identifies Vattel as a follower of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who articulated "an optimistic philosophy which sets perfection, that is to say, self-development, before man as his object, and *happiness* as its result."[46](Emphasis added.) LaPradelle places Vattel as "among the first, in the realm of municipal public law, to conceive of the modern State, not as a maintainer of order but *as a promoter of happiness*."[47] (Emphasis added.)

Liberal Tradition in American Constitutionalism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), Chapter 4.

[40] Ibid., 17, 48-9.

[41] Morton White, *The Philosophy of the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 220.

[42] Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1985), 60, note 5.

[43] Harvey, 143.

[44] Gareth Jones, *The Sovereignty of the Law: Selections from Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), xxvi-xxxvii.

[45] James W. Garner, review of Emmerich de Vattel, *Le Droit des Gens* (Charles Fenwick, trans., 1916), in *American Political Science Review*, 11 (February 1917): 142-3.

[46] Albert de LaPradelle, "Introduction" (translated by George D. Gregory), in *The Law of Nations*, by Emmerich de Vattel, 1916 translation (New York: Oceana, 1964), vol. 3, viii.

[47] Ibid., xlvi.

Ronald Hamowy, in his overzealous 1979 critique of Gary Wills' *Inventing America*, ridicules Wills' claim that (as Hamowy phrases it) "Jefferson deliberately included a 'right' to pursue happiness while consciously employing the term as having the force of a physical law!"[48] However, Wills' interpretation of Jefferson corresponds exactly with this quote from Vattel:

> Experience shows that a people may be unhappy in the midst of all earthly enjoyments, and in the possession of the greatest riches. Whatever may enable mankind to enjoy a true and solid felicity, is a second object that deserves the most serious attention of the government. Happiness is the point where center all those duties which individuals and nations owe to themselves; and this is the great end of the law of nature. The desire of happiness is the powerful spring that puts man into motion: felicity is the end they all have in view, and it ought to be the grand object of the public will.[49]

Thus, Vattel employs the term happiness as both having the force of a physical law and as a moral obligation specifically divorced from sensual pleasure and material plenty.

In 1774, William Bradford wrote to his friend James Madison:

> The Congress sits in the Carpenter's Hall in one room of which the City Library is kept & of which the Librarian tells me the Gentlemen make great & constant use. By which we may conjecture that their measures will be wisely plan'd since they debate on them like philosophers; for by what I was told Vattel, Barlemaqui Locke & Montesquie[u] seem to be the standar[d]s to which they refer either when settling the rights of the Colonies or when a dispute arises on the Justice or propriety of a measure.[50]

In terms of relative influence, Bradford proved himself correct in placing Vattel and Burlamaqui ahead of Locke and Montesquieu. Furthermore, the preamble to the Declaration of Independence is an expression of the anti-Lockean moral-sense or happiness natural-law tradition common to Leibniz, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Burlamaqui, and Vattel, coupled with a happy adaptation of Lockean verbiage expounding the right to rebellion. It seems that Jefferson, in consultation with Franklin and John Adams, managed to dress up an anti-Lockean statement of political philosophy in terms that colonial followers of Locke could accept as their own view.

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[48] Ronald Hamowy, "Jefferson and the Scottish Enlightenment: A Critique of Garry Wills's Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 36 (1979), 503-23.

[49] Emmerich de Vattel, *The Law of Nations*, (London: 1797), Book 1, Chap. 11, Sec. 110.

[50] William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 126.

Women Citrus Packers and the Spanish Ideal in California, 1900–1950

Rebecca Millard

Citrus pickers and packers faced numerous challenges in the first half of the 20th century. Specifically, racism, poverty, sexism, and overriding class-consciousness permeated the lives of thousands of migrant workers who moved to southern California in search of an agricultural promised land. The burgeoning citrus industry depended upon these laborers and upon the elaborate advertising campaigns that enticed them to move to California in search of the American Dream. Advertisers and citrus producers employed a manufactured ideal of a Spanish-influenced bucolic paradise, though the reality of life in the citrus groves proved neither Spanish nor paradise.

Adios Brand Citrus and the Canoga Citrus Association used beautiful women and traditional Spanish dress to lure buyers. Gordon McClelland and Jay T. Last, *California Orange Box Labels* (Beverly Hills: Hillcrest Press, 1985), 63.

During the early 1900s, many growers in the California citrus industry spent large sums of money advertising the relatively unknown Spanish fruit called the orange. They utilized posters that promoted health, beauty, and the "Spanish Ideal"—a fallacy Californians invented about their heritage—to draw outsiders to the state, notably, to Riverside and surrounding counties.[1] The advertising venture proved successful and the citrus industry succeeded in forever changing the face of southern California.

Implementation of the Spanish Ideal began with Mediterranean-style architecture designed to construe California as a strictly Spanish state, thereby ignoring Mexican influences seen as undesirable. In reality, it was Mexican workers who moved from as far east as Oklahoma to fill jobs on railroads, work as *vaqueros* (cowboys or ranch hands), and become fruit pickers. The importance of these migrant workers in the state's citrus industry, particularly the women citrus packers, cannot be overlooked.

In popular perception, California became an agricultural promised land that could grow any crop. Unlike the American south with its single-crop, single-season cotton-picking industry, the California Navel orange picking season ran from November until May, overlapping the Valencia orange season which occurred from June through November or later. Workers thus harvested and packed citrus all year with a month's vacation.[2] This year-round schedule proved desirable for workers and business owners alike.

Still, immigrants lived difficult lives while working in the orange groves. Men went into the orchards as early as 4:00 A.M. and picked furiously since they earned their living according to the amount of fruit they harvested.[3] Women, too, went into the orchards to pick or into the packing houses to pack crates of oranges for many hours each day. The business owners showed little consideration for the backbone of their industry: the minority workers.

THE SPANISH IDEAL AND CITRUS CRATE LABELS

Citrus companies such as Sunkist used fruit as a marketing device to draw people to work in the California fields and packing houses. Numerous citrus crate labels depicted an appealing Mediterranean environment and portrayed California as the Spanish Ideal. For instance, the Old Baldy Brand label shows Spanish-style houses on each end of a boulevard and a Victorian mansion as the main focal point.[4] This label emphasized California and, in a wider sense, the United States, as the "land of plenty." The mountains coloring the background emphasized the different topographical environments of California and showed how simply a person traveled from one distinct region to another.

Adios brand citrus of Canoga Park likewise employed a label that supported the Spanish Ideal myth of California. This label portrayed a woman wearing a traditional Spanish dress and sombrero waving "goodbye" while a vibrantly colored, eye-catching Sunkist orange occupied the foreground.[5] Perhaps the illustration reminded the buyer how beautiful and tasty the orange was, while the attractive female character further enticed consumers.

Another advertiser, Doria brand, also appealed to the pleasant Mediterranean ideal. This representation of a beautiful fertility goddess with dark hair,

[1] *El Trabajo: Nuestros Antepasados, Riverside's Mexican Community, 1917- 1950*, Online Exhibit of Riverside Municipal Museum, http://www.riversideca.gov/museum/exhibit/pas4.html (updated: 9 October 2004).

[2] J. Eliot Coit, *Citrus Fruits: An Account of the Citrus Fruit Industry with Special Reference to California Requirements and Practices and Similar Conditions* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), 277.

[3] *El Trabajo*.

[4] Gordon McClelland and Jay T. Last, *California Orange Box Labels* (Beverly Hills: Hillcrest Press, 1985), 10.

[5] Ibid., 63.

Advertising the Mediterranean environment, Old Baldy Brand citrus shows tree-lined streets, luxurious homes, and majestic mountains. Gordon McClelland and Jay T. Last, *California Orange Box Labels* (Beverly Hills: Hillcrest Press, 1985), 10.

dressed in ancient Mediterranean clothing, created the perception of a good harvest and helped draw people into California's "Garden of Eden." With the bright sky at her back and the ripe orange ready for picking, the goddess on the Doria label emphasized the fertility of the California fruit industry while fruit itself represented exotic Spain, reinforcing the fallacy of California's Spanish origins.[6]

Unfortunately, the beautiful women pictured on the labels belied the reality of the long hours of hard labor pickers endured in the bright sunlight while clipping the stem in a particular way. Nor do they show the repetitive strain women suffered while wrapping, packaging, and setting oranges into crates for transfer to the east coast and abroad. The idealized images in the ads did not accurately represent California's orange industry. The crate labels

[6] Ibid., 42.

should have shown women packers and immigrant pickers, not goddesses or beautiful groves without people picking in the trees.

THE PACKING HOUSES

In 1914, two hundred houses used for packing actively operated in California. Women loaded citrus fruit into those beautifully labeled crates and also made up the majority of the packers, a job more intricate than it sounds. Packers often bore the brunt of decisions made by those in authority.

According to J. Eliot Coit, an early expert in the citrus industry, some growers would "sweat" or "gas" their fruit with ethylene at the packing shed to prematurely change the color from green to orange. Generally speaking, the greener the orange, the longer it had to be sweated. Sweating reduced the fruit's size and shelf life and increased problems with its rind and susceptibility to disease.[7] Still, east coast fruit purchasers offered good prices for the earliest Navel oranges sent east, which proved disastrous to the price of the better fruit that followed.

Consequently, on 13 June 1913, Florida passed a premature fruit law that forbade the transport of green fruit between 1 September and 5 November.[8] As a result, inspectors traveled around California and Florida looking for premature fruit by testing at various packing houses. Even though the fruit packers bore no responsibility for sweating the fruit, they lost wages due to the unexpected interruptions caused by the inspectors.

Nevertheless, women working in the packing houses seemed to enjoy their jobs and they often worked while raising children and caring for their homes. According to the Riverside Municipal Museum Online Exhibition, women relished their packing house positions because the conditions seemed so much better than if they picked in the cotton fields.[9] It allowed them to earn an income without relinquishing their domestic lives.

Women began working in the packing industry at a young age, as was the case with Eloisa Ruiz Beltran. Beltran packed oranges for Santiago Orange Company in Orange, Placentia, Riverside, and Yorba Linda.[10] According to her husband Basilio Beltran, whom she met within the orange industry, Eloisa began working in the packing house at age sixteen.[11]

Some women became champion packers, thereby earning the right to grade the produce which paid by the hour rather than the piece. "These jobs were the last to be vacated by Euro American women,"[12] and were highly prized because they were less physically taxing than most packing house work. Women who packed fruit for many years developed strained backs from lifting sixty to seventy pound crates. They also had a high probability of developing wrist or tendon problems similar to carpal-tunnel syndrome from the rigorous, repetitive work.[13]

THE ELEPHANT PACKING HOUSE

201 Truslow Street in Fullerton stands as one of the few surviving landmarks of the citrus industry, a symbol of its importance to the local economy. Built in 1924 by the Union Pacific Railroad and initially leased by the Elephant Packing Company of Redlands, the building's conveyor system made it a modern facility.[14] According to city records, in

[7] Craig Kallsen, "Citrus: Tips on Producing the Earliest Navels in the San Joaquin Valley," *University of California, Cooperative Extension Kern County Newsletter*, http://cekern.ucdavis.edu/Custom_Program143/Tips_on_Producing_the_Earliest_Navels_in_the_San_Joaquin_Valley.htm (updated: November 2001).

[8] Coit, 282.

[9] *El Trabajo.*

[10] Laura Gray Turner, *Thinking Back, Looking Forward: Villa Park Orchards Association, 1912-1997* (Orange: Villa Park Orchards Association, 1997), 94.

[11] Ibid.

[12] *El Trabajo.*

[13] Ibid.

[14] City of Fullerton, "Elephant Packing House, 201 W. Truslow," (Fullerton: City of Fullerton, 2001). http://www.

A beautiful fertility goddess in ancient garb strengthens California's perceived link with the Mediterranean. Gordon McClelland and Jay T. Last, *California Orange Box Labels* (Beverly Hills: Hillcrest Press, 1985), 42.

1932, the Chapman Company, owned by Charles C. Chapman, the "father of the Valencia orange industry," subleased the facility to pack Old Mission Brand Valencia oranges until the Orange County citrus industry declined in the 1950s.

Designed in the Mission Revival style, complete with Spanish tiles, the building's architecture reflected the Spanish tradition—or myth—of California's heritage. In fact, the prominence of this architectural style in Fullerton's history began with the Elephant Packing House's early association with the packing, shipping, promotion, and selling of Old Mission Brand Valencia oranges.[15] Orange

ci.fullerton.ca.us/historicplaces/elephantpacking.html. (updated: 2006).

[15] "Elephant Packing House."

County, and especially Fullerton, considered the Valencia the most prized citrus product. In turn, the industry spearheaded by Charles C. Chapman orchestrated Fullerton's development and prosperity during the first half of the twentieth century. The Elephant Packing House remains directly connected with the business that made Chapman a man of great influence in the county.

CALIFORNIA CITRUS WORKER COMMUNITIES

"Packing labels invoked imaginary histories of benevolent encounters between Spanish missionaries, California Indians, and the enchanted countryside," claims Lisbeth Haas in her article "San Juan Capistrano: A Rural Society in Transition to Citrus."[16] But, as Dr. Gilbert Gonzalez of UCI points out in "Women, Work, and Community in Mexican Colonias of the Southern California Citrus Belt," Mexicans barely made 500 to 800 dollars a year, even with both parents and all working-age children employed picking and packing fruit. Mexican women worked in the packing houses only if their parents or spouses granted them permission and they would frequently run small side businesses, such as providing lunches for single workers for a small fee and running boarding houses for traveling workers. Some families operated small stores selling sundries. These were deemed appropriate occupations because they kept women connected with the family unit.[17] Despite the hardships imposed by their working and living conditions, Mexican families were able to buy their homes and live on bulk purchases of beans, lard, and corn flour.[18]

In contrast, unmarried men and women lived in dormitories, segregated by race and sex into different living quarters and work shifts. Whether a woman packed on an occasional basis or full-time, seldom did she live independently or keep all of her earnings. If not married, her income went to her parents; even married women sometimes set aside funds for their parents and families.[19]

Citrus workers often lived in shack-like clapboard houses and citrus producers showed little concern with maintaining the roads between the picking camps and orange groves. The living quarters were usually built near the groves and packing houses, but at times workers had to travel for hours. The more difficult it became for a worker to get to his or her job, the less money they made due to the time wasted commuting as opposed to picking or packing.

MENDEZ V. WESTMINSTER, 1946

In 1946, Gonzalo Mendez instigated a landmark case for the Mexican-American community. Mendez and his wife Felicitas joined a small community of Mexican-American farmers in Westminster, California, where they leased an asparagus farm from a Japanese-American man during his internment in Arizona.[20] When Mendez tried to place his children in Westminster's Seventeenth Street School, the school district refused them admission and placed them instead in the Hoover Street School next to the railroad tracks. The children received leftover books that "white schools" did not need.

Mendez learned that in many surrounding Orange County districts, Mexican children only attended certain schools because the citrus producers wanted to keep their agricultural workers in specific pay brackets and therefore treated workers and their

[16] Lisbeth Haas, "San Juan Capistrano: A Rural Society in Transition to Citrus," *California History* 74 (spring 1995): 47.

[17] Ibid., 60-61.

[18] Gilbert Gonzalez, "Women, Work, and Community in Mexican Colonias of the Southern California Citrus Belt," *California History* 74 (spring 1995): 58.

[19] Gonzalez, 62.

[20] National Archives, Laguna Niguel Branch case Identifier # 294939, Civil 4292 Mendez v. Westminster School District of Orange County 3/2/1945- 7/18/1947, (U.S. District Court for the Central District of California. 03/18/1966, stored in NARA's Pacific Region, Laguna Niguel) NAIL Control Number: NRHL-21-LADC1-4292ARC, http://arcweb.archives.gov/arc/arch_results_detail.jsp?&pg=1&si=4&nh=1&st=b.

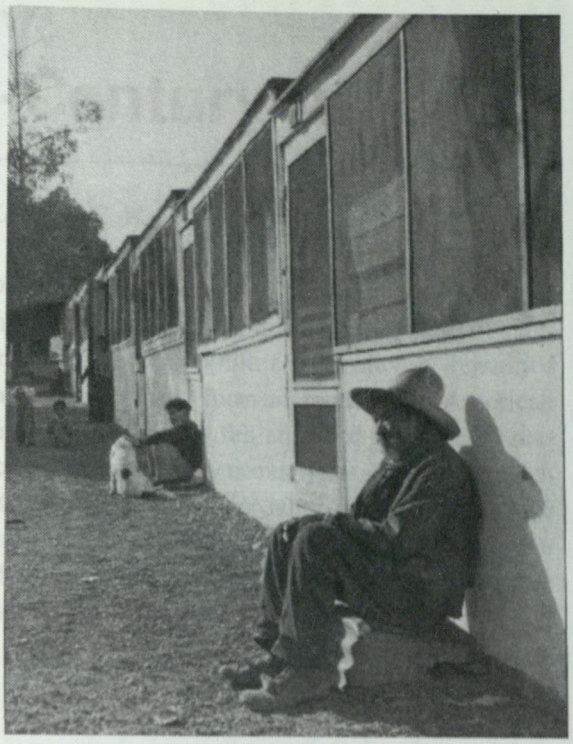
children as inferiors. When Mendez sued the city of Westminster, many other Orange County citizens filed similar, supporting complaints in an effort to prove that the growers discriminated against agricultural workers. According to the case notes, this early school desegregation case preceded Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, by many years.

Citizens of Orange County, California brought suit against several school districts. They charged that districts excluded children of Mexican and Latin descent from receiving the benefits of education, health, and recreation facilities in certain schools. Judge Paul J. McCormick agreed with the petitioners, issuing an injunction against the school districts' policies. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the ruling.[21]

This ruling encouraged the attorneys in the Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, lawsuit to continue their case to fight segregation. It also gave many other agricultural workers hope. Judge McCormick's injunction allowed Latino children to use the same books and facilities that white children accessed and, in extension, allowed agricultural workers to achieve higher standing within the industry and the community.

CONCLUSION

The citrus industry in California tried to draw both the worker and the consumer to an imaginary place filled with fertile fields, trees, and endless supplies of water. They primarily used a manufactured myth of a Spanish paradise portrayed in colorful and elaborate advertising art. This allowed them to distance themselves from association with Mexico, though the industry depended on Mexican labor. The reality of the immigrant workers' inadequate housing and long hours spent toiling in the fields, packing houses, and on transport trains disappeared in the background. Yet, beginning in the early 1900s and continuing through the late 1950s, the citrus industry boomed because of Mexican and women agricultural workers. The children of these immigrant workers fought their way out of a segregated school system, thereby enriching California society and encouraging other civil rights groups to fight in court for equal, integrated educational facilities. While the Spanish Ideal of Southern California proved mythical, the citrus industry successfully played upon its popularity to sustain a way of life for both immigrants and businesses, thereby changing forever the face of California.



An employee rests in front of the worker housing provided by the American Fruit Growers Association in 1929. Mary Bryner Winn, *Images of America: Corona* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 75.

[21] Ibid.

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Freedom and Slavery: Motifs in Nineteenth-Century America

Kenneth W. McMullen

Defining freedom during the nineteenth century involved identifying the different meanings of slavery and freedom. While chattel slavery remained the most explored form of bondage in American history, other groups felt enslaved for justified reasons. Exploring the various types of bondage such as wage slavery, convict labor, and even marriage slavery, Kenneth McMullen discusses the nuances of interpretations of freedom and citizenship during the nineteenth century.

African American convict laborers during the nineteenth century. Courtesy of http://history.sandiego.edu/.

In the United States, freedom frequently defines itself against slavery in the public discourse. Over the course of American history, different groups placed their specific interpretations upon these terms. During the nineteenth century some gained their freedom while others lost it after gaining it. The accepted definition of what constituted the free citizenry changed over time as the nation adapted to shifting social conditions. A discussion of re-occurring themes—such as gender, race, and slavery—that appear throughout a discourse on freedom and slavery must begin with defining freedom.

Originally Congress limited citizenship to free, white males.[1] White yeomen farmers in South Carolina believed that freedom consisted of "control of property and dependents."[2] Part of the definition of personal freedom for yeomen farmers also included owning land.[3] Slaves, however, held differing viewpoints.

As a slave, Frederick Douglass defined freedom as the opposite of bondage. He eloquently describes his enslaved status, through comparison of his lot, to that of a ship he spied out in the Chesapeake Bay:

> You are loosed from your moorings, and are free; I am fast in my chains and am a slave! You move merrily before the gentle gale, and I sadly before the bloody whip! You are freedom's swift-winged angels that fly around the world; I am confined in bands of iron.[4]

Thus, from his viewpoint, Douglass defined freedom as free-will and freedom of movement, attributes that he lacked as a slave. After having tasted freedom, one cannot be satisfied without it. Boston King, a slave who fled to the British in Charleston, South Carolina, arrived in New York City only to become re-enslaved in New Jersey. He found the treatment he received substantially better that the brutal conditions in South Carolina.

> I was thankful that I was not confined in a jail, and my master used me as well as I could expect; and indeed the slaves about Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New-York, have as good victuals as many of the English; for they have meat once a day, and milk for breakfast and supper; and what is better than all, many of the masters send their slaves to school at night, that they may learn to read the Scriptures. This is a privilege indeed. But alas, all these enjoyments could not satisfy me without liberty![5]

King defined freedom as being at liberty, free from restraint. For a large portion of their lives, these men, Douglass and King, experienced freedom's opposite: slavery.

The most prevalent form of slavery in American history remains chattel slavery: the enslavement of Africans brought to America to provide a consistent labor force. In the overwhelming number of cases, chattel slavery supported the stability for southern agricultural enterprises. Other forms of forced labor existed besides chattel slavery, including convict labor. For many, convict labor remains associated with the southern chain gangs of books and movies, but convict labor has northern roots.

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[1] Eric Foner, *Who Owns History?* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002), 153.

[2] Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, & the Political Culture of Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 92.

[3] Michael Morrison, *Slavery and the American West: The Eclipse of Manifest Destiny and the Coming of the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 5.

[4] Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave*, Deborah E. McDowell ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 62.

[5] Boston King, "Memoirs of the Life of Boston King," (Black Loyalists: Our History, Our People, Canada's Digital Collections, 2007), http://blackloyalist.com/canadiandigitalcollection/documents/diaries/king-memoirs.

In post-Revolutionary Pennsylvania, the government struggled with controlling criminal activity and experimented with convict labor. "Public labor [by convicted felons] promised an inescapable and generalized scenario of submission."[6] Furthermore, the "law mandated that prisoners perform a wide range of activities for the 'benefit' of the public."[7] One dichotomy for the Pennsylvania system derived from the fact that the process desired republican virtue to generate itself within the convict. Republican virtue included independence, yet "independence while under sentence equaled insubordination."[8] Thus, a model convict demonstrated submission, which itself showed a lack of republican virtue. Race did not seem to be part of the Pennsylvania system unlike that found in the post-Reconstruction South.

The southern convict system sprang from the need for a controlled, cheap wage-labor force. After the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, freedmen took their newfound freedom seriously. Freedmen did not want to work for their former masters, they wanted their own land. "The greatest obstacle to transplanting wage labor to the New South was the freedman's pursuit of independent land ownership."[9] This lack of desire to participate in a wage-labor system did not, of course, ameliorate the plantation owner's need for field hands nor did it satisfy the enterprising southerner who wanted to develop a manufacturing base in the South.

After 1877 whites developed convict labor and convict leasing to control ex-slaves and supply a workforce:. "Many of them were given harsh sentences for petty transgressions of laws specifically

Prisoners pose for this 1920's photograph at a Georgia convict camp. Reproduced from Alex Lichtenstein: *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* (New York: Verso, 1996).

designed to control impoverished African-Americans." The ex-slave who ran afoul of the law lost the freedom he recently received.

The convict labor system of the South "reduced all prisoners, vicious, petty, and innocent alike, to a commodity."[10] These ex-slaves served time in a "penal system remarkably akin to slavery. . . . The vast majority of southern convicts were black, punishment and rehabilitation were distinctly subordinated to labor exploitation."[11] To emphasize the slavery-like conditions, the private companies leased out the convicts who labored without receiving any wage. Convict leasing, did not originate in the South, "Nineteenth century northern prisons had several systems of penal labor which often included contracting the prisoners' labor out to private entrepreneurs."[12] The Southern convict lessees "were also 'laborlords' as slaveholders had been before them, buying and selling, and exploiting the labor of the convicts."[13]

[6] Michael Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760-1835* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 55.

[7] Ibid., 79.

[8] Ibid., 86.

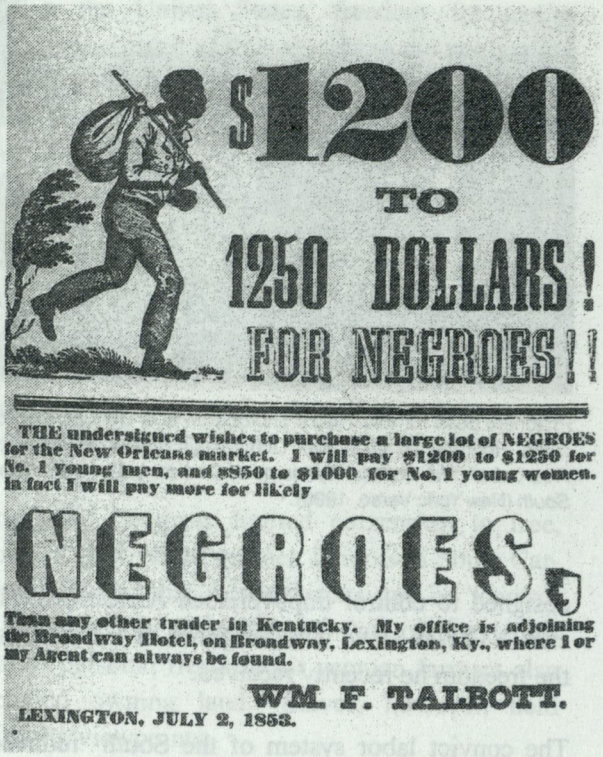
[9] Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 41.

[10] Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* (New York: Verso, 1996), xvi.

[11] Ibid., 2.

[12] Ibid., 3.

[13] Ibid., 9.



A slave trader advertises his desire to purchase a "large lot of negros." The advertisement also depicts a runaway slave. Reproduced from Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*, (Harvard University Press, 1999).

In addition to chattel slavery and the bondage of convict labor, a significant number of Americans in the early nineteenth century held that working for wages ranked as slavery. Early post-Revolutionary manufactured goods came from artisans who worked in a traditional setting: master, journeyman, and apprentice. The artisans advocated that they demonstrated republican virtue because of their business independence. They created an identity for themselves, "an urban variation of the Jeffersonian social theme of the virtuous husbandman . . . one that fused craft pride and resentment of deference and fear of dependence into a republican celebration of the trades."[14] As market conditions and manufacturing techniques changed, masters began to assume the role of capitalist entrepreneurs and looked to hire workers, either at a hourly wage or at a piece rate. In response to the image of a wage laborer as a dependent person, when the journeymen took a labor action, they "struck as free men for republican justice."[15]

> If wage status represented slavery's opposite, it nonetheless appeared incompatible with the rights of citizenship in the eyes of most political thinkers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. . . . However voluntary the transaction, to work for wages was to be dependent, to lose the autonomy requisite for citizenship—the autonomy associated with title to property, including one's productive capacities.[16]

In the view of Democrats, the deepest and darkest threats to personal autonomy and republican government included wage slavery. One supporter of the annexation of Texas argued that "personal dignity and happiness were dependent" on the cheapness of land. "With this [annexation] there can be no [wage] slavery, and without it, there can be no freedom."[17] While they argued for their identity as free men, the workingmen's ideology included an attitude of racial discrimination.

Shortly after the passage of the Compromise of 1850, local attention in New York focused on captured runaway slaves. "The labor movement for the most part could not have cared less. Racial animosities . . . remained strong among the membership. . . . One group of workingmen in the Eighth Ward argued that it was important 'to abolish Wages

[14] Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 94.
[15] Ibid., 100.
[16] Stanley, 9.
[17] Morrison, 16-7.

Slavery before we meddle with Chattel Slavery'." The radicals of the Industrial Congress did no more than "to pass a resolution stating that they 'utterly detest[ed] the entire system of slavery, black and white' and would work to end both."[18] The workingmen's concern for their own economic viability achieved greater importance when, in a move presaging the post-Reconstruction South, masonry contractors "turned to the state prisons to provide them with cheaper goods dressed and prepared by the inmates."[19]

Chattel and wage slavery do not exhaust the kinds of slavery active in the nineteenth century in the land of what now constitutes the United States. Beyond the western boundaries of America, along the New Mexico borderlands, a different variety of slavery existed – one without a parallel in the English settled colonies and resultant states.

Unlike chattel slavery in English North America, "borderland slavery found affinity with kin-based systems motivated less by a demand for units of labor than their desire for prestigious social units." These kin-embedded "structures of borderland slavery created immensely different gendered class realities from those contained in labor-oriented American slaveries." Because the captive children and women in this system "often found themselves integrated within the host community through kinship systems . . . they participated in the gradual transformation of the host society."[20] The importance of establishing a fictive kinship relationship cannot be stressed enough.

On the Spanish New Mexico borderlands, identity resolved in to two options: kin or "other". The capture of "enemy" women, and their assimilation into the tribe, allowed them to be kin in affinal or fictive terms. This allowed the natives to trade with the "other" group. "People with whom one dealt as equals had to be placed in some kin category; lack of such a relation could only imply slave or enemy status." Women's roles in the northern Spanish territory included operating as involuntary tools to permit nominally combative groups to meet peacefully and to trade.[21]

> More often than not, however, the exogamous exchange of women seems to have bolstered group vitality, albeit at the expense of women's security. A variation operated in the borderlands through the 'gift' of a woman-as-wife to an out-group man toward establishing diplomatic, trade, and kinship connections: the women remains with her natal group and the man cohabits with he only seasonally.[22]

Such exchanges often occurred when American and French-Canadian fur trappers moved into the northern Plains and the Rocky Mountains. "With the advent of Spanish colonialism in New Mexico the practice stretched to admit new players."

Diego Romero, the *alcade ordinano* of Santa Fe, and companions went out in the Plains to barter for buffalo and antelope hides. When he arrived at the *rancherias* he announced that he "had come to trade and to leave a son 'among those heathens'." The natives, after debating his proposal, performed a ceremony at the end of which they placed Romero in a tent and brought a maiden "whom they left with him through the entire night. On the next day in the morning the captains of the *rancherias* came to see whether Diego Romero had known the Indian women carnally." Thus Romero established trading connections with the tribe through the gift exchange of an Apache maiden. "By 'leaving sons' among the *rancherias*, these Spanish men established kinship

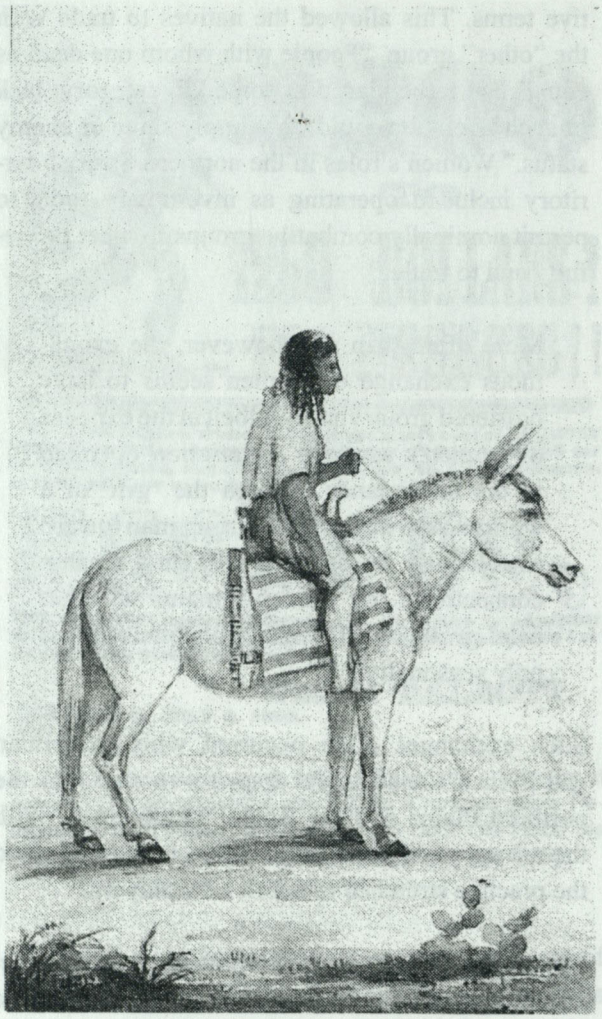
[18] Wilentz, 382.

[19] Ibid., 133.

[20] James Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 34.

[21] Ibid., 17-8.

[22] Ibid., 28.



The Spanish Girl (a Prisoner). 1845. The watercolor depicts a young female captive. Her captors exchanged her as a gift. Reproduced from James F. Brooks: *Captives & Cousins: Slavery Kinship and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

linkages that would be recognized, at least on the Apache side, across generations."[23] The roles women played in the borderlands, while different from those women fulfilled in the United States during the same timeframe, resulted from gender definitions created by males.

White women had been assigned the duties of 'Republican Motherhood' and men expected women to find fulfillment in the cult of domesticity. However, women often participated outside these social boundaries.

In his revivals, Charles Finney encouraged women to operate outside of their nominative roles.

> Evidence suggests that the revivals [in Rochester] were family experiences and that women were converting their men. Traditionalists considered Finney's practice of having women and men pray together the most dangerous of the new measures, for it implied new kinds of equality between the sexes. . . . The evangelicals assigned crucial duties to wives and mothers. In performing those duties, women rose out of old subordinate roles and extended their moral authority within families.[24]

Although some women used religion to break out of the expected roles, other women in different situations did not find the same acceptance.

Working as part of the "sweating system", "the seamstress and tailor's wives--consigned the most wearisome work (shirt sewing worst of all) and subjected to the bullying and occasional sexual abuse of the contractors—bore the most blatant exploitation."[25] The women began to resist this treatment and attempted to defy their assigned gender roles. Wilentz relates that "a group of tailoresses organized their own strike in 1825, the first in the country in which women alone participated." Also, by the mid-1820s the expanding system of outwork brought about an import shift in the sexual boundaries in the needle trades. "Women, once confined to sewing female clothing in the regular female

[23] Ibid., 29-30.

[24] Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 108.

[25] Wilentz, 124.

apprenticeship system, began to assume an ever growing share of slopwork and the easier chores in men's clothing work." Men became upset as this "offended their bedrock belief in the inherent superiority of skilled male labor." The males rejected the "preposterous and truly ridiculous idea" that women sewed vests as well as the men.[26]

Even with the expansion of their roles in the burgeoning wage system, males refused to take women, and their needs, seriously. While many unskilled laborers formed various unions, benevolent associations, and protective organizations, "working women proved a different case." This occurred "in part because of the machinations of the reformers, [and] in part because of a resurgence of plebian paternalism in the unions. . . . [W]omen were left with only the unionists paternal insistence that women's work was degrading and ought to be abolished."[27]

Out of the struggle of women in the wage labor system, and women's activism during the Second Great Awakening, a women's rights movement started. Some female activists began to claim that, besides chattel and wage slavery, a different kind of slavery existed—marriage slavery. In the early nineteenth century the law recognized women as having few, if any, legal rights. Historian Stephanie McCurry recorded a South Carolina legal decision which stated that "wives had few rights the court was bound to accept." One advocate of legal reform characterized "women's rights at law as tantamount to 'matrimonial slavery'."[28] A woman moved from residing under her father's control to dwell under the authority of her husband. Any property she brought to the marriage became the husband's to expend with as he saw fit. Control of her body did not belong to her either.

For yeoman farmers and freedman, the control of women as their property defined freedom. The "more children a man had and the older they were, the greater the amount of land he cultivated. . . . On family farms, the children were 'flesh, blood, and labor supply'. So, in an even more literal sense, were the wives, for few kinds of labor were more important to the yeoman household economy than women's reproductive labor."[29] This attitude did not exist among white yeomen alone, as freedmen knew that "property rights in women would simply be conveyed from slaveholders to husbands."[30] Stanley additionally notes, "Many freemen therefore understood the right to have a wife of their own as a bequest of emancipation."[31]

However, freedwoman viewed their newly gained freedom differently than their husbands. Stanley observes, "[N]ot all freedwomen reckoned themselves tokens of their husbands' emancipation. . . . [M]any also appeared to value their own personal autonomy as a right of emancipation." Some freedwomen reportedly complained, "You give us a nominal freedom, but you leave us under the heel of our husbands, who are tyrants almost equal to our masters." The Louisiana Slave Code included a passage that read, "A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he [or she] belongs. . . . All that a slave possesses belongs to his master; he possesses nothing of his own."[32] Freedwomen understood that if their bodies, and their labor belonged to their husbands, they remained in bondage.

In addition to the gendered legal discrimination they faced, freedwomen also struggled with the racist attitude from Northerners, concerning proper roles for freedwomen employment. "Concern over the transformation of Yankee wives' labor into a market economy stood in stark contrast to northern attitudes toward the wage labor of freedwomen

[26] Ibid., 168.
[27] Ibid., 370-1.
[28] McCurry, 88.
[29] Ibid., 59.
[30] Stanley, 28-9.
[31] Ibid., 49.
[32] Ibid., 18.

Harper's Weekly illustration of a freedman's wedding in 1866. Reproduced from *Harper's Weekly,* 1866.

in the South. Indeed, the equanimity of northerners in insisting that the wives of freedmen toil as field hands made all the more notable their troubled response to wives who worked . . . on their own home grounds." The Freedman's Bureau clearly exhibited this double-standard and denigrated freedwomen who performed unpaid household work, or refused to work in the fields. "Planters, too, dismissed household work as idleness while asserting claims to female labor that conflicted with the entitlements of freedmen as husbands." The ex-masters tried to call attention to freedwomen who had "never made any contract at all." The white planters argued that these women "are as nearly idle as it is possible for them to be, pretending to spin-knit or something that really amounts to nothing." Former masters protested that "freedwomen aimed 'to play the lady and be supported by their husbands like white folk'."[33]

Feminist reformers pushed to have legal action taken to treat women, and their labor, with equality. Despite various earnings laws that designated women's wages as their own, some courts ruled in the 1890s that, "where labor did not neatly fall into parcels of property labeled mine and thine," the wife's earnings still belonged to the husband.[34] "The contract freedom afforded wives, therefore, was not that of either former slaves or other hirelings. Rather, it was hedged by the bonds of marriage," because they [the women] "lacked unqualified rights of self ownership."[35] The problem existed because women had the rights "to her own labor, wages, and person – a property the wage contract presumed but the marriage contract denied."[36]

In addition to personal freedom, or its lack, sectional freedom occupied the South extensively during the years leading to the Civil War. As Morrison documented, every westward expansion of the United States brought forth the argument over the admittance of slavery to the new lands. Each time the Southern response decried Northern attempts to limit slavery.

"The southern response assumed that restriction had the effect of denying true equality to slave-state settlers in the territories, repudiating the constitutional guarantees of the South, and branding all southerners as moral inferiors." As Jefferson Davis prepared to leave the U.S. Senate he told his Republican colleagues, "Your platform . . . denies us equality. Your votes refuse to recognize our domestic institutions . . . [and] our property which was guarded by the Constitution. You refuse us that equality without which we should be degraded if we remained in the Union."[37]

The South also recognized that its fight for sectional freedom, or equality, might be assisted through the efforts of women. "The significance of women's work in the production of independence was not lost on contemporary politicians. . . . Politicians encouraged the products of women's labor to sustain self-sufficiency at the level of the household and independence at the sectional level: Domestic economy as a proslavery strategy."[38]

[33] Ibid., 187-9.
[34] Ibid., 213.
[35] Ibid., 217.
[36] Ibid., 175.
[37] Morrison, 255.
[38] McCurry, 77.

Although the majority of voices raised in the national discourse over westward expansion concerned themselves with slavery—pro, or con—some expressed concern over whether the acquisition of Mexican territory contravened the professed American ideals of freedom. Some argued that acquiring territory from Mexico, and bringing it under United States control, violated the founding principles of the country. A Hoosier Whig declared that the United States could not extend its laws over inhabitants of Mexican provinces against their consent, without denigrating the principle of freedom upon which American institutions rested. 'Edward McGaughey asserted, "We cease to be republicans in principle the very moment we force upon those people our form of government against their will."[39]

As a small side note, some people in the North held a singular lack of knowledge as to what constituted slavery. During the agitation over the northern boundary of the Oregon Territory, many advocated claiming the land all the way up to 54° 40'. When President Polk settled the boundary, through negotiation with Great Britain, at the 49th parallel, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* complained because, "We are hemmed in with the parallel at 49 and British slavery on the North…"[40]

Freedom has been withdrawn from, and extended to, various peoples over the course of American history. This process has not finished, and indeed will continue. At times, societal fears re-define freedom, or its lack. Eric Foner relates that his father and uncle lost their professorial jobs, in the late 1940s, because someone accused them of being Communists. They suffered a public form of punishment for practicing their right to freedom of thought, and free association.[41]

The presence of freedom does not guarantee peace and prosperity. Foner notes that freedom often brings disruptions, "Since 1980, scores of countries in Europe, Latin America, and Africa have sloughed off dictatorships of one form or another and embraced the democratic ideal (or at least held elections). Yet in many cases, democracy has produced economic chaos, ethnic conflict, and a deep sense of disillusionment."[42]

Personal, and national, freedom cannot, then, be considered the panacea for society's problems. But it does allow individuals the best chance at working out, and achieving, their own personal wellbeing.

[39] Morrison, 75.
[40] McCurry, 43.
[41] Foner, 4.
[42] Ibid., 93.

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Innovations, Discoveries, and Achievements: Fifty Years of Leadership and Success at California State University, Fullerton

Justin Elliott Rhoades

Each year, thousands of students use California State University, Fullerton, as their conduit into the thriving business and education fields of Orange County and Southern California. In commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the University's founding, Justin Elliott Rhoades traces the long and cutting edge history of Orange County's premier university, its important leaders, and its influence on education statewide.

In this fiftieth year since the inception of California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF) the numerous colleges stand physically larger, more diverse, and serve a larger community than before. During its maturation the university weathered financial crises, structural changes, a brief period of campus unrest, and the philosophical evolution of higher education. From its humble first year as a teacher preparatory college to its recent international connections, CSUF demonstrated, and continues to do so, its leadership through innovation and high standards of academic performance. The outstanding leadership of administration and faculty over the last five decades facilitated CSUF's rise to a preeminent status among the California State Universities.

CALIFORNIA HIGHER EDUCATION 1920-1960

The main function of California state colleges during the first half of the twentieth century focused on the training of primary and secondary teachers. Prior to broadening the scope of their curriculum to include the liberal arts and other disciplines of classical education, normal schools typically offered only one course of study, education. Students earned an authorization to teach primary or secondary school.[1] Over time, names changed to teachers' colleges, colleges, and finally universities. To facilitate higher education, they maintained admission requirements less stringent than those of the prestigious University of California.

In 1923, the state authorized teachers' colleges to confer Bachelor of Arts degrees in education. While these continued to produce educators, they added additional courses incrementally. In the 1930s, the system continued to transition toward accommodating a more comprehensive curriculum while producing educators remained its primary focus. Enrollment in these institutions grew steadily until World War II initiated a 62 percent decline in enrollment from 1941 to 1945.[2] Growth started again after the war as California junior and state colleges experienced unprecedented expansion in the years following the end of the World War II. State colleges grew at such a pace that they accommodated twice as many enrollees in 1958 as they did in 1948. The junior colleges tried to serve the needs of 80 percent more students over the same period.[3] The relocation of thousands of Americans from the East, South, and Midwest of the country to California's defense industry jobs fueled the increase in enrollments. Veterans, funded by the GI Bill, also joined the ranks of the college-bound, as they desired to gain the skills necessary to work in one of California's booming post-war industries.

During the 1940s, the state legislature penned three significant laws regarding the state teachers' colleges: in 1945 they required a fifth year of teacher-specific training, in 1946 they authorized the colleges to grant non-teaching Bachelor of Arts degrees, and in 1947 the institutions gained the right to offer the Master of Arts degree in programs related to education.[4] This emphasis on producing highly trained educators, paired with rapidly increasing enrollment and the addition of new campuses, led these state schools to evolve into liberal arts-oriented institutions during the 1950s.

On 11 September 1957, an act of the State Legislature established the State College for Alameda County, later renamed CSU Hayward, and Orange County State College, now CSU Fullerton.[5] Over

[1] California, Liaison Committee of the State Board of Education and The Regents of the University of California, *A Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960-1975* (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1960), 34.

[2] Donald R. Gerth, James O. Haehn, and Associates, *An Invisible Giant* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971), 12.

[3] Arthur Coons, *Crisis in California Higher Education* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie, 1968), 20.

[4] Ibid., 12-5.

[5] California State Legislature, *1957 Amendment to the California State Education Code: Chapters 3.4-3.5 of Division 10 chapter 1681* http://content.cdlib.org/xtf/view?docId=hb5580067v&doc.view=frames&chunk.

the next three years, the Legislature created four more State Colleges and the University of California, Irvine.[6] This period of exceptional growth reflected the overall population growth in California. As institutions grew in number and size their governance and evolving curriculums struggled to keep pace, prompting Assemblywoman Dorothy Donahue and State Senator Walter Stierns to initiate a review of the Junior College, State College, and University of California programs in 1959.[7] The result of their review team's findings came as a report, *A Master Plan for Higher Education in California 1960-1975*.

The *Master Plan* created a concrete and cohesive framework that allowed each tier of higher education in California to understand its role in the overall educational community. The University of California system continued as the premier institution of higher education in California, remaining research-driven and with the exclusive ability, among public institutions, to grant doctoral degrees. The *Master Plan* stipulated that the UC system accept the top twelve and a half percent of graduating high school seniors.[8]

The California State College (CSC) system, established by the *Master Plan*, continued to prepare educators by awarding credentials, but also offered baccalaureate and select master's degree programs and retained the right to establish doctorate programs in partnership with a UC campus.[9] CSC's also held the ability to determine their course of growth and development. At first, they only accepted junior-level transfer students from the junior colleges; however, the *Master Plan* required they

William B. Langsdorf, first President and guiding force behind CSUF. (Photo Courtesy of CSUF Public Affairs Archives).

adapt their enrollment standards to accommodate the top one third of graduating high school seniors. Planners intended the state colleges to remain instructional only, yet they eventually developed the capacity to conduct research.

The junior colleges, under the *Master Plan*, would not deny admission to any graduate from an accredited high school. Junior colleges, later termed community colleges, provided general education courses as well as vocational and skills training. These schools prepared high school graduates academically for transfer to either the UC system, with a minimum grade point average of 2.4, or to the CSU system with a minimum grade point average of 2.0.[10]

id=div00001&toc.depth=1&toc.id=div00001&brand=calisphere.

[6] UC Berkeley, Center for Studies in Higher Education, *Supplementary Resources and Analysis: Timeline* http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/UCHistory/archives_exhibits/masterplan/timeline.html.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *A Master Plan*, 73.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

Junior colleges contained the greatest enrollment followed by CSUs, then UCs, and finally private institutions.[11] The *Master Plan* clearly delineated the role of each institution, but competition for students and the corresponding funding from state and federal sources remained high. Each college at each level of higher education received funding in direct relation to the number of students they served and the level of education they offered. Arthur Coons, Chairman of the *Master Plan* survey, noted that a school's enrollment numbers and degree of specialization led to greater funding, greater prestige, and in-turn greater enrollment. [12]

THE BIRTH OF CSUF

State planners located Orange County State College on a 235 acre site in east Fullerton due to its proximity to Fullerton Junior College, the availability and cost of the land, and its distance from Los Angeles County. Several large citrus ranches, including the Gilman Ranch, the first commercial Valencia orange grove in California, comprised the university grounds.[13] In 1958, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Roy Simpson asked William Langsdorf to serve as the President of a new state college in Fullerton. Langsdorf visited the proposed site with his family and decided to accept the challenge.

Langsdorf recalled that Roy Simpson "gave me a virtual *carte blanche*," in the development of the burgeoning institution, "He said, 'Open a college and make it a good one.'"[14] Langsdorf prepared to govern a college with one of the greatest projected growth rates of any institution in the nation. The *Master Plan* projected 35,000 Full Time Equivalent (FTE) students by 1980,[15] and Orange County did not disappoint as it grew at a remarkable pace. Its population tripled between 1950 and 1960 and it arose as one of the fastest growing counties in the state and in the nation.

In fall of 1959, Orange County State College offered its first classes, and served 452 students. The college operated on the campus of Sunny Hills High School in west Fullerton about five miles from the future campus grounds. Professors held classes in newly constructed, yet unoccupied, buildings and a condemned structure provided faculty and administrative office space.[16] The upper-division and graduate-level students studied education, the only subject available during the first two years; however, Langsdorf and the new faculty quickly prepared to offer a broad liberal arts education to future students. In the Orange County State College Philosophy statement of 1959 President Langsdorf stated the first priority of the college was to, "provide students with a broad liberal background and. . . furnish the practical base for success in a chosen occupation or profession."[17] The Western College Association granted OCSC full accreditation in 1961, and due to the dedication of its dean Ted Smith and his staff, the School of Business Administration and Economics received accreditation in 1965 just five years after the inaugural class of students, a national first.[18]

Additionally, Langsdorf required students to gain depth in one academic discipline. The state did not require this, rather it emerged as an expression of President Langsdorf's progressive vision in the

[11] Ibid., 64.

[12] Coons, 4-5.

[13] A commemorative plaque on this grove can be seen in the southern concrete planter box outside of the Humanities Building.

[14] William B. Langsdorf, interview by Lawrence B. de Graaf, *The First President Remembers CSF, 1959-1970,* interview OH 1784, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, CA, 35.

[15] *A Master Plan;* see also: William B. Langsdorf, "Philosophy," *California Schools,* April 1960. They later reduced the maximum number of potential students to 20,000. However the University surpassed this estimate in 1975.

[16] Dr. Lawrence de Graaf, interview by Mary Hardy, October 29, 1989, History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif., 2-3.

[17] William B. Langsdorf, *Orange County State College Philosophy,* 25 November 1959.

[18] Langsdorf. *The First President Remembers,* 42.

early years.[19] In 1961, the Fisher Act required elementary and secondary teachers to specialize in a content area other than education, making system-wide the change that Langsdorf initiated two years earlier.[20] This stands as just one example of CSUF's leadership in higher education, setting the standard for others.

EARLY FINANCING

A significant change in the structure of governance of the California state colleges occurred as proposed in the *Master Plan*. As late as 1959, each state college acted as essentially an independent entity, and each president met directly with the State Department of Finance to negotiate future campus expenditures. In 1960, the legislature created the Board of Trustees of the State Colleges. This body represented all of the state colleges collectively and initially included five ex officio members: the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Speaker of the Assembly, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the Chief Executive Officer of the State College System, as well as sixteen other Governor-appointed members that served for sixteen-year terms.[21] This composition granted the governor considerable new authority to control spending as he wished. These powers later came under scrutiny during the turmoil of the 1970s.

By 1967 California's combined public higher education system served over 740,000 students and funding this growth became an issue. A conservative political backlash helped Ronald Reagan win the governorship in 1966; and he quickly promised to 'trim the fat' from all state expenditures, including higher education, proposing a ten percent budget cut to State College and University of California officials. The proposal also included charging two hundred dollars tuition to State College students and a four hundred dollar tuition to UC students, introducing the idea of making students pay for higher education in California.[22] The prospect of reduced funding in light of the continued growth in population and enrollment prompted changes and cutbacks in higher education spending.

In response to this pending crisis, Arthur Coons, President of the Coordinating Council for Higher Education in California, and Dr. Willard Spalding, Director of the Coordinating Council, met with Reagan in February 1967 and negotiated less severe budgetary reductions than the colleges feared. Coons and Spalding convinced Reagan that two provisions of the *Master Plan* should remain in effect: colleges would continue to enroll all qualified students in 1967 and beyond, and the quality of education provided would not diminish. Additionally, improvements to education would occur only when the first two goals had been reached.[23] For Cal State Fullerton, this agreement meant a larger gap between the soaring student enrollment, which reached 10,000 FTE in 1968, and resources from the state to serve them.[24]

This state-level budgetary incident draws attention to the overall issue of funding the University. Initially, the majority of funding came from the state, but in the 1960s the federal government started making substantial contributions to higher education in the form of scholarships, loans, and building funds. President Langsdorf realized from the beginning that his institution would slowly increase its reliance on private funding in the future, so he created the Friends of the College, a private fund-raising group that benefits the College. With an annual membership fee of just twenty-five dollars; this was the so-called 'town and gown' movement

[19] Ibid.

[20] Lawrence B. de Graaf, "History of the School of Humanities & Social Sciences," *Senate Forum* XV, no. 2, (2000): 6, 16.

[21] *A Master Plan*, 42.

[22] Coons, 115-25.

[23] Ibid., 124.

[24] California State University, Fullerton Office of Institutional Research and Analytical Studies, *TRENDS_IN_ENROLLMENT--HEADCOUNT_&_FTES,_1957-58_TO_PRESENT--AY_&_CY_&_REBENCHED.xls* http://www.fullerton.edu/analyticalstudies/EnrollmentHistory

in its infancy.[25] This concept seeks to foster a symbiotic relationship between the University and the communities it serves, the City of Fullerton and Orange County. As a testament to its necessity, all subsequent CSUF Presidents have carried on this relationship as the need for private funds increased.

PROTEST AND INNOVATION

The number of students increased rapidly, as expected. In 1967, the college topped 7,500 total students. The number of undergraduate degrees offered jumped from one, in education, to twenty-two in various subjects in 1965, while graduate degrees offered rose from one to four over the same period.[26] The structure of the campus also changed in 1965 as the traditional schools and departments replaced the community college styled divisions of Fullerton's founding.[27] The campus added an average of one permanent building per year during the 1960s until the challenges of 1967.

1965 Cafeteria: Students and Faculty converse during lunch circa 1965. (Photo Courtesy of CSUF Public Affairs Archives).

Faculty members and staff recall the collegiality and sense of community during the first decade of Cal State Fullerton. Jerry Keating, the University's liaison to the public for nearly three decades, described the second floor landing of the McCarthy Building as, "the crossroads" where people from all facets of the campus would meet, eat lunch and exchange ideas.[28] Emeritus Professor of History, Dr. Lawrence de Graaf, the youngest member of the founding faculty, recalls a true sense of family that endured the first few years of growth.[29] That tight-knit atmosphere waned as the enrollment, personnel, and physical structures of the University multiplied, divisions turned into schools, and management grew more complex. The early years of Cal State Fullerton saw changes mainly in the form of tangible growth and the addition of liberal arts curriculum, common in established colleges. Students formed many organizations and participated in activities, such as the celebrated intercollegiate elephant races that helped get OCSC known throughout the state and nation, but those too reflected traditional campus behavior.

The nature of student organizations and activities changed, though, as the 1960s ended and campuses became centers of activism for a myriad of causes. From 1967 thru 1973 several incidents occurred, on campus and around the state, which reflected the growing societal turmoil and quest for new ways of thinking inherent in the Hippie movement. Despite the laudable goal of the *Master Plan* to extend the opportunity of higher education to anyone who desired it, the underrepresentation of minorities, women, and the economically disadvantaged, both as students and faculty, concerned the campus and community. The percentage of women in the student body ranged from forty to forty-three percent over this period, reaching its lowest point at the peak of conscription during the Vietnam War.[30] The representation of minority groups during this time remains difficult to quantify because the State for-

[25] Langsdorf. *The First President Remembers*, 89-90.

[26] Mary A. Koehler, *Kaleidoscope 1959-1984 CSU, Fullerton: Glimpses of the First Twenty-Five Years* (Fullerton: California State University), 29.

[27] de Graaf, "History of the Humanities & Social Sciences," 6.

[28] Jerry J. Keating, interview by Emmett Long, February 10, 1999, interview OH 2717, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif., 8.

[29] de Graaf, interview, 1-2.

[30] CSUF, TRENDS_IN_ENROLLMENT.

bade collection of ethnic data until the 1970s, but the overwhelming majority of students at Cal State Fullerton in the early years were white.[31]

In 1967, the New Educational Horizons Program, later called the Educational Opportunities Program (EOP), at California State Fullerton pioneered the effort to include minority groups and students facing financial barriers in education.[32] The program reached out to these sectors of the community and provided resources to prepare and support them both academically and financially. The success of the program led other institutions to take similar measures and expand the initiative state wide in 1972. In 1969, the Faculty Council urged deans, department chairs, and departmental recruitment committees to "undertake all efforts to recruit candidates of black and Mexican-American extraction."[33] Progress toward an ethnic and gender representative faculty commenced, though the small pool of available candidates slowed their effort.

This quest to expand minorities in faculty and staff positions, as well as students, factored into the much broader philosophical debate over the nature of higher education. The historical mission of undergraduate education within universities, which President Langsdorf built upon, sought to indoctrinate students with the tenets of Western civilization. Langsdorf applied progressive and quantitative concepts to this tradition, including uniting faculty and administration in decision making policies, allowing the development of newer fields of study according to faculty and student interest, and encouraging the development of programs that corresponded to the needs of local communities and businesses.[34] Nevertheless, despite Langsdorf's efforts and the apparently non-discriminatory nature of the *Master Plan*, higher education left minority groups and economically poorer segments of society behind according to proponents of sweeping institutional changes.

These agitators for change perceived that institutions of higher education functioned as a tool of those responsible for societal inequalities. Solutions to alleviate the situation ranged from the radical takeover of entire campuses, as at San Francisco State in 1969, to incrementally implementing progressive equalizing measures within the existing system. On the Fullerton campus, despite the disruptions and subsequent unrest in spring 1970, changes occurred in the latter, non-radical, fashion.

The creation of the Department of Interdisciplinary Education is one example of change within the parameters of university governance. Established in 1967 as a human-interaction based experimental educational program, it lasted nearly ten years until interest in its so-called 'touchy-feely' classes waned. During its short life several students and faculty erected a large geodesic dome, inspired by inventor and futurist Buckminster Fuller, and held classes inside with hope of inspiring innovative ideas.[35] Both Langsdorf and Shields guardedly permitted these manifestations of 1960s idealism yet retained the belief that the processes for approving and review of curriculum would assure continuing high academic standards.[36]

In 1964, the Free Speech Movement arose at UC Berkeley following that campus's decision to ban the distribution of non-campus literature on school grounds. The Movement fueled a desire for free speech, civil rights, and a mounting overall resistance to the ties between universities and a government students believed indifferent to their concerns, and led to campus protests across the

[31] Lawrence B. de Graaf, in discussion with the author, 18 April 2007.

[32] California State University, Fullerton, "The 40th Anniversary Timeline, 1965-1969," (research project, 1999).

[33] California State University, Fullerton, Faculty Council, *Faculty Council,* 71-133.

[34] Langsdorf, *The First President Remembers,* 37, 43-5.

[35] de Graaf, interview, 7-8; see also: *Titan,* Spring 2007, 20.

[36] Langsdorf, *The First President Remembers*, 61.

country. Adding to the tension loomed the Vietnam War, which escalated campus hostility during the closing months of 1969 following the exposure of the My Lai incident and the bombing campaign in Cambodia.[37] Further student and faculty demonstrations that year at UC Berkeley, Fresno State University, UC Santa Cruz, and San Francisco State University drew attention to the strife on California campuses and across the nation.

Later in 1969, Student Body President Bob Sandoval invited Governor Ronald Reagan to address Fullerton students.[38] During the speech on 9 February 1970 a few agitators, later arrested by the Fullerton Police Department, vulgarly heckled Governor Reagan. This event sparked a series of demonstrations and the arrest of about three dozen students and a few faculty members on various minor charges over the course of the spring semester, with most of the prosecutions succeeding. The most serious events included the brief takeovers of the President's office and the Music-Speech-Drama building, and the burning of an unoccupied storage building.[39] The expulsion of two students and the unexplained international flight of convicted Professor Stewart Silvers are examples of the most severe repercussions of the unrest.[40]

DIVERSITY AND CHANGE IN THE 1970S

In May 1970 President Langsdorf, suffering from hypertension and exhaustion, took a medical leave, and by fall, retired. Dr. L. Donald Shields accepted the position of acting president and the Board of Trustees made this appointment permanent in early 1971. Shields, a former assistant chemistry professor and executive vice president, faced several challenges in his executive capacity.

Shields managed *The Beard* incident, an example of the emerging genre of experimental theater that featured nudity and profanity. Its producers intended a select group of viewers to see the play; however, local press received tickets and reported the controversial content. This caused uproar in the community, which led to a state legislature investigation. Then Vice President Shields successfully quelled the disgruntled community members and government while ensuring the continued employment of embattled faculty members Ed Durr and Jim Young.[41] *The Beard* incident exemplifies the 'generation gap' of contrasting attitudes between students and young faculty on one hand and the adult American public on the other. During these trying times, President Shields aimed to retain a political and ideological balance in the demonstrative activities on campus. He stated:

> . . .it has been my position, and it was Bill Langsdorf's before mine, that a university community really has an obligation to present all kinds of ideas, whether they are agreeable or disagreeable, and those ideas should be evaluated on the basis of their merit. That is one of the things that we try to do at a university, to teach our students to be able to differentiate from valid and meaningful kinds of concepts and ideas relative to those that are weak and shoddy and without substance.[42]

Under his administration, legal proceedings against those involved ended and the campus returned to calm.

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[37] William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II*, 5th ed. (New York: Oxford University, 2003), 314-5, 381.

[38] L. Donald Shields, interviewed by Lawrence B. de Graaf, November 24, 1980, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif., 24.

[39] Koehler, 42-4.

[40] Shields, 26.

[41] Ibid., 20-1.

[42] Ibid., 22.

Protest on 10-15-69: Students gather at a late 1960s peace rally on the CSUF campus. (Photo Courtesy of CSUF Public Affairs Archives).

As vice president, Shields tackled the dire financial woes of the Fullerton Foundation, and after a series of administrative changes, budget-tightening measures, and assistance from the foundations of other universities, the Foundation once again looked forward to a positive financial status.[43] After accepting the Presidency, Shields and his administration struggled to procure the funding necessary for several important construction projects. The decision to construct new buildings remained tied directly to current and projected enrollment figures, enabling Shields to oversee the construction of Langsdorf Hall, the Education Classroom building, the Visual Arts Center, and the Fullerton Arboretum. At the same time, several programs received accreditation including the teacher education program, graduate program in business, communications programs, and undergraduate engineering programs.

The 1970s saw an expansion of programs and courses designed to attract students from underrepresented sectors of society. These found encouragement in the revised 1972 version of the *Master Plan* which supported curriculum and activities focused on Afro-American, Chicano, and women's culture and history. The U.S. Office of Education granted Cal State Fullerton one hundred thirty thousand dollars to develop programs for students of Mexican descent, and Fullerton became a pioneering institution in this field due to that generous grant.[44] During Shield's Presidency, EOP expanded as well as the University Extension Program, which encouraged the inclusion of minorities, the economically disadvantaged, and adult re-entry students.[45]

These developments reflected trends in the state and nation. The Coordinating Council for Higher Education (CCHE) initiated two studies in 1972: the academic Joint Committee on the *Master Plan* for Higher Education and the non-academic Select Committee. The CCHE wanted to revise the original *Master Plan* to address two issues that arose after 1960, demands by student and faculty organizations for increased roles in policymaking and concerns regarding the access and representation of minorities, women, and the economically disadvantaged. The two studies culminated with similar results,[46] encouraging increased faculty and

[43] Shields, 19, 29-32.

[44] Koehler, 50.

[45] Shields, 73-4.

[46] Katherine Alice Danaher, "Classicism vs. Relativism in California Higher Education" (master's thesis, California

student involvement in policymaking and increased diversity in administration and student populations to the extent that, by 1980, they should be proportionally representative of the broad population.[47] As previously illustrated, President Langsdorf independently initiated similar measures concurrent to these two formal studies several years earlier.

INTERNAL GROWTH AND INTERNATIONAL VISION: THE 1980S

In early 1981, Dr. Miles McCarthy became acting President of the University when President Shields accepted the Presidency of Southern Methodist University in Texas. In October Dr. Jewel Plummer Cobb became the new Cal State Fullerton President and the first black female president of a public college west of the Mississippi River. A native of Chicago, she arrived with a positive regard for California's higher education system. When asked if she was familiar with the California State University system, prior to her new position, President Cobb stated, ". . .anybody involved in higher education knew about the Cal State system. The UC and Cal State systems are model systems for the rest of the US."[48]

The UC and Cal State systems are model systems for the rest of the US.

President Cobb's philosophy of higher education meshed congruously with the efforts of Langsdorf and Shields before her. Cobb disliked how some students, or their parents, viewed college education simply as vocational training. Keeping a strong liberal arts base and producing graduates knowledgeable in the traditional fields of higher education characterized her goals.[49] However, she strongly supported offering remedial classes in English and math to students who could not meet entry-level requirements in these subjects. Several faculty and staff, who felt this position misappropriated limited campus resources, criticized her position, but to no avail. Extended Education and EOP programs which allowed the under represented groups and returning adults access to vocational-oriented curriculum, also continued.

Before Cobb's arrival, population growth at the university stabilized for several years, between 22,000 and 23,000 total students.[50] The new president tried to enrich CSUF by establishing a satellite campus in rapidly growing southern Orange County at Saddleback Community College in Mission Viejo.

In the 1980s, enrollment in the ethnic studies programs that originated with the changes of the 1970s declined sharply. President Cobb attributed this decline to the failure of systematically integrating ethnic studies courses into the pool of available classes for general education requirements.[51] Cobb enriched CSUF's overall curriculum by supporting the development of women's studies as a minor and brought ethnic studies into the mainstream. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) and military science also received her approval as welcome additions to the campus. The Ruby Gerontology Center, funded largely by a milestone donation from the Ruby Family, Leo Shapiro, and the fund raising efforts of the Continuing Learning Experience group, provided a valuable venue for the continuation of the community-university relationship. President Cobb also used her skill and acumen to acquire the funding for the dormitories, which bear her name.

State University, Fullerton, 1993), 56-63.

[47] Danaher, 55-8, 66-7.

[48] Jewel Plummer Cobb, interviewed by Lawrence B. de Graaf, 1990, interview OH 2067, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif., 143.

[49] Cobb, 219.

[50] California State University Fullerton, Office of Institutional Research and Analytical Studies, *TRENDS_IN_TOP_FOUR_CSU_CAMPUSES_BY_HEADCOUNT_WITH_CSUF_RANKING__AY1957-58_TO_AY2003-04.xls* http://www.fullerton.edu/analyticalstudies/EnrollmentHistory

[51] Cobb, 207.

Her most significant achievement, though, involved the negotiation of the hotel-community sports complex project with the City of Fullerton, the Marriott Corporation, and campus interests. This ambitious and successful venture served as the first of its kind in the CSU system, and provided a welcome source of revenue for the University.[52]

In the early 1990s, substantial changes also developed regarding finance. CSUs transitioned from being state supported to being state assisted. One requirement stipulated that any new building receive ten percent of its funding from university-generated funds.[53] This resulted in the renaming of several buildings to thank their generous benefactors; buildings like Pollack Library, Dan Black Hall, Mihaylo Hall and Goodwin Field. Subsequently, the most important financial developments of the decade included the establishment of the Marriott Hotel complex, the expansion of the Foundation, and an increase in private contributions.

During the 1980s, CSUF forged relationships with campuses overseas. Beginning with Fudan University in Shanghai, China, CSUF contracted agreements for the exchange of students and faculty with Northwest University in Xian, China, Moscow Institute for Steel and Alloys, and Autonomous University of Baja California. This program grew greatly under President Gordon. This international vision is codified in the University's Missions, Goals and Strategies statement by asserting, "We are a comprehensive regional university, with a global outlook."[54]

Cobb enjoyed much success during her service as President. She saw the fruition of the new dormitory project, and progress on the Marriott Hotel complex. Enrollment in ethnic and gender studies classes increased as well as overall minority representation on campus. In addition, several new degree programs received accreditation and CSUF awarded its 75,000th degree.[55] In 1989, Dr. Cobb retired as President of CSUF, but remains active in the CSU system, currently serving as a CSU Trustee Professor at CSU Los Angeles.

THE MODERN UNIVERSITY

In 1987, Professor Allan Bloom of Cornell University brought the topic of higher educational philosophy into the national spotlight with his best-selling work, *The Closing of the American Mind.* Bloom advocated a return to the classic principals of higher education, specifically the principals of Plato and the methodology found in a nineteenth century European university. He firmly proposed, "Problems are permanent but their expressions are changing."[56] Even mammoth events such as the Reformation, the French Revolution, global conflicts, or the discovery of the New World had not fundamentally changed western philosophical thought in Bloom's opinion.[57] If those events did not shake the philosophical tree, according to Bloom, certainly the spectrum of academic agitation that originated in the activism of the 1960s and 1970s should not even penetrate its shadow.

To Bloom's dismay, though, the concepts that arose in the 1960s did significantly influence the philosophy and structure of higher education. At Cornell, Columbia, Berkeley, and other universities these new ideas were, in Bloom's mind, forced physically and at times violently, upon the institutions. Bloom accused the faculty of spinelessly bowing to these forces of change and thus denying students

[52] Ibid., 166, 190-4.

[53] Milton Gordon, interview by Lawrence B. de Graaf, 22 April 2005, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif, 1.

[54] California State University, Fullerton, *Missions, Goals, and Strategies* http://www.fullerton.edu/aboutcsuf/mission.asp

[55] "Milestones of Cal State Fullerton," *Titan* 6, no. 2 (2007): 18.

[56] Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 283.

[57] Ibid.

access to the unadulterated truth, the truth of Plato and Socrates. The truth, which Bloom believes can solve society's inequities, ills, and evils.[58]

Despite Bloom's pointed diction, he brought to the forefront of popular discussion the backlash against the radicalism of the 1960s. The country turned away from its progressive tendencies with the election of conservative hero Ronald Reagan in 1980, and parents of future college students scrutinized institutions to determine their academic rigor and tradition, to determine on which side of the debate they stood.

[G]eneral education guidelines of 1979 aimed to correct...disparity.

Fortunately, the Presidents of CSUF demonstrated consistency in their commitment to the traditions of liberal arts education. Undoubtedly, their actions would not satisfy the austerity of Bloom's demands but they remained true to their convictions in trying times. In the 1970s, this requirement lost its effectiveness prompting President Shields to refer to the options available in general education as "cafeteria style," and Dr. de Graaf to recall that the students took, "a lot of dessert."[59] The new general education guidelines of 1979 aimed to correct this disparity.

President Cobb remained dedicated to a liberal arts curriculum; however, she did encourage a transition away from Western Civilization as a general education course, instead favoring World Civilizations. She cited the growing international nature of business and the increasingly diverse character of society as reasons for this shift.[60] President Milton Gordon embraced and expanded upon this concept in the 1990s.

In 1985, the CCHE once again commissioned a study of the 1960 *Master Plan*, the 1972 revisions, and their relevance in the changing political and social climate of the 1980s. Katherine Danaher described their findings, published in 1987, as an, "unwitting evisceration of both plans."[61] The 1987 CCHE document lauded the unique and timeless nature of the 1960 document while simultaneously stating that it required significant revision. The CCHE recognized that the goal of having minorities enrolled in California universities equal to their distribution in the greater population caused an unforeseen problem. The relaxed standards and subsequent grade inflation caused a decline in the quality of students coming from secondary education.[62]

The CCHE proposed the following changes to remedy the situation. First, they called for the collective effort of higher education to achieve common goals. Second, the group reaffirmed the commitment to offering unrestricted access to higher education to all Californians. The CCHE vowed that quality should characterize every aspect of education.[63]

CRISIS AND THE GROWTH OF COMMUNITY IN THE 1990S

Three themes continued to evolve in the 1990s: the inclusion of underrepresented ethnic and economic groups on campus, international academic relationships, and the struggle to secure necessary funding. In 1991, the CSUF Foundation contributed nearly four hundred thousand dollars to the university in the form of grants and low interest loans. The Foundation raises funds through the Titan Bookstore, Carl's Jr., the food court, vending machines, and tasks subcontracted to service companies. In 1991, it employed 70 full time and 500 part time

[58] Danaher, 14-6; see also: Bloom, 315-20.
[59] Langsdorf, *The First President Remembers,* 59.
[60] Cobb, 219-20.
[61] Danaher, 81.
[62] Ibid., 80-3.
[63] Ibid., 83

employees. The growth and augmentation of the Foundation are important to continued university financial stability.[64]

California's reputation as the nation's leader in higher education enticed another educator and Chicago native to settle in the Golden State, when one Dr. Milton Gordon served the California State University system as Vice President of Academic Affairs at Sonoma State University. On 9 August 1990, Dr. Gordon took the position of President of CSUF and remains the longest-serving president of the University, and continues to build upon the solid foundation of leadership excellence that Langsdorf, Shields, and Cobb forged.[65]

Dr. Gordon, like Dr. Cobb, admired the ambition and creators of the *Master Plan for Higher Education*.[66] President Gordon echoed earlier Presidents when he stated, "I'm a really strong believer in the liberal arts. I'm a strong believer in the total comprehensive undergraduate education. I think the student should be exposed to a total learning experience."[67] President Gordon also sought to create a vibrant and active campus community similar to the early years of the university. A campus community of 35,000 students as well as faculty and staff acts much different from a community of a few hundred, but through several initiatives and changes Gordon made significant progress.

To the disbelief of the CCHE, President Shields, and several faculty, CSUF jumped from third largest CSU campus in 2005 to the largest campus overall in 2006, with more then 35,000 headcount students.[68] President Shields and others seriously doubted the campus growing past 25,000 students, due to the stagnant growth during the late 1970s, and planned the physical expansion accordingly. This belief influenced his approval of the large, twenty-one acre, Arboretum.[69]

Conversely, President Gordon seems comfortable surpassing 25,000 FTE and 35,000 headcount students. During Gordon's previous seventeen years several new facilities expanded the university's ability to serve the student body and the community. The Science Laboratory Center, renamed Dan Black Hall, University Hall, and the four-story library addition provided needed classroom, office, and archival space. The sports complex, completed in 1992, added venues for both community and national athletics teams as well as CSUF's National Champion sports teams. The Foundation also purchased the College Park building, creating additional revenue and physical space for future campus growth. CSUF expanded by creating the Grand Central Art Center in Santa Ana, the Irvine Campus, and the Mission Viejo and Irvine Spectrum satellite campuses. The state-of-the-art Performing Arts Center, Student Recreation Center, and Steve G. Mihaylo Hall are the most recent additions to the perpetually developing campus.[70] His office ceaselessly seeks new property, and contemplates new buildings. Tentative plans for a new one thousand-resident dormitory near existing campus housing are under development, and to attract faculty to Southern California, with its high cost of living, the Foundation established two off-campus faculty housing locations and currently seeks a third.[71]

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[64] Bill Dickerson, "Your Guide to the Frequently Misunderstood: The Foundation," *Senate Forum,* 5, no. 4 (1991): 12-3.

[65] "Milestones of Cal State Fullerton," 19.

[66] Milton Gordon, interview by Lawrence de Graaf, 14 April 2005, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif., 4-12.

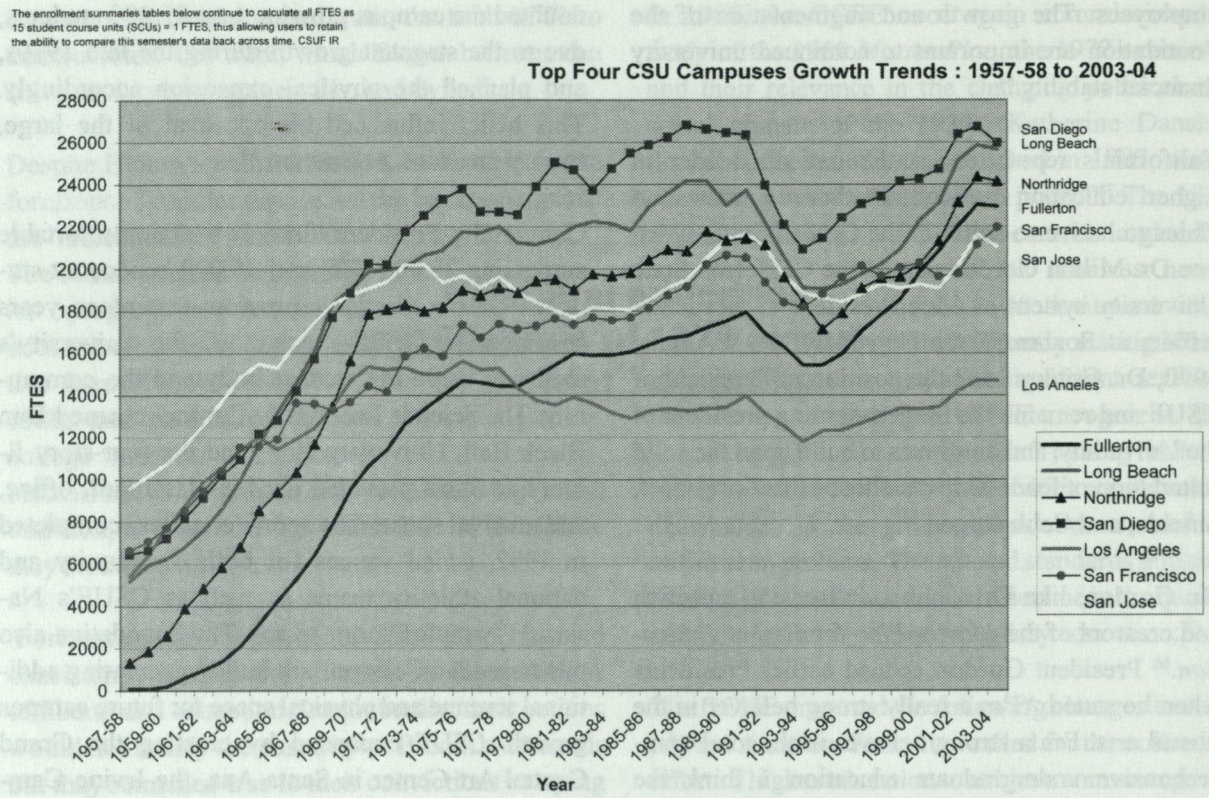
[67] Ibid., 28.

[68] Gordon, interview 29 June 2005, 2; see also: "Some Total," *Titan,* Spring 2007, http://www.titanmag.com/2007/sometotal/index.html; this webpage contains the most recent statistical summaries available.

[69] Shields, 42-3.

[70] "Milestones of Cal State Fullerton," 20-6.

[71] Milton Gordon, interview by Lawrence B. de Graaf, 29 June 2005, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif., 6, 25-7; see also: Milton Gordon, interview by Lawrence B. De Graaf, 15 August 2005, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif., 30-3.



Campus trends: CSUF keeps pace in enrollment with other CSUs, even though it is one of the youngest campuses in the system. (Photo Courtesy of "Statistical Graph Collection," CSUF 50th Anniversary Archive, Center for Oral and Public History, CSUF).

Information technology has been one of the major areas of change in American society since 1960, and higher education reflects that change. At the inception of the campus, manual typewriters and rotary-dial telephones constituted current technological equipment, and using punched IBM cards to check out books at the library seemed a revolutionary innovation. In 1970, the CSC system budgeted automatic data processing managers for its campuses and Fullerton set-up a computer center. Technology evolved at different paces around the campus, often with incompatible equipment, until President Gordon took action in 1996.

Gordon negotiated an unprecedented agreement with the Board of Trustees to upgrade the technological capacity of the entire campus. The deal provided state funds for wiring the entire campus with a fiber-optic network, an $11 million improvement. These funds arrived based on Gordon's promise for the university to cover the costs of all hardware students and staff needed to utilize fiber-optic lines. President Gordon wanted to, "bring the whole campus along," in technological improvements,[72] foreshadowing similar changes throughout the CSU system.

In 1959, when President Langsdorf initiated the Faculty Council (later renamed the Academic Senate), he included faculty and administrative staff in the governing body. Echoing Langsdorf President Gordon agreed that the decision proved, "the right way

[72] Gordon, interview 22 April 2005, 4-6.

to go,"[73] and expanded the membership to include students and community representatives, exhibiting further progress toward community-campus interaction and cohesion. Additionally, Gordon emphasized practicing "student centered learning" and student participation in campus governance stating, "I want students to be involved in running the university, getting involved in the university."[74]

An ambitious early attempt to cultivate the campus community involved using the Foundation to both construct and lease dorms to the south of campus and an adjacent business and theater complex along Nutwood Avenue. The hope that both students and local residents would patronize the businesses and support a thriving residential-commercial neighborhood did not succeed. This resulted in a financial fiasco and the sale of these properties to Pacific Christian College (now Hope International University). Fortunately, President Gordon focused on successes rather than failures in his efforts to revive the campus community. Students now have more venues than ever to get involved in the future of CSUF and gain experience for the post-college world. The recently established Student Leadership Center is an organization that affords students in leadership positions across campus a forum for dialogue and networking. President Gordon also initiated the Pizza with the President luncheon. At this annual event, Gordon provides pizza and drinks in the quad for everyone in attendance, and accepts questions and feedback on any subject. A traditional hindrance to cultivating a vibrant campus community, the large number of working and commuting students, has also been addressed. By augmenting the percentage of students that are first-time freshmen, CSUF increased the non-working student population.[75]

The goal of 1960 *Master Plan* to provide higher education to all qualified Californians was compromised by the unequal economic status of its citizens as well as an initial inability of the *Plan* to include measures that would ensure representative numbers of ethnic minorities and women in the ranks of the projected boom in students.

Efforts in the early 1970s attempted to reconcile the ethnic, gender, and economic discrepancies at State Universities, and the student population gradually became increasingly representative of the region's population through the 1970s and 1980s, with the last seventeen years exhibiting considerable progress. By 2006, minorities comprised fifty-two percent of the population,[76] with the incoming CSUF class of 2006 consisting of sixty-three percent minority students.[77] President Gordon remains, "more than satisfied," with the achievements in accurate ethnic representations.[78]

These changes are attributable to several factors. Locally, the enrollment in Orange County schools boomed to the second largest in the state behind only Los Angeles, with Hispanic students comprising half of the students.[79] CSUF innovations such as the various outreach programs and Fullerton First Year, a program that assists in the transition from high school to university, also helped.[80] The State continues to provide both substantial financial assistance to students in need and academic support through programs like CSU Mentor and the 'How to get to college' campaign on high-school campuses.[81] Federally, beside the obligatory nod

[73] Ibid., 9-10.

[74] Ibid., 26-7; see also: Gordon, interview 29 June 2005,23-4.

[75] Gordon, interview 29 June 2005, 25-33.

[76] California State University Fullerton, Office of Institutional Research and Analytical Studies, *TRENDS_IN_%_DISTRIBUTION_OF_STUDENT_ETHNICITY--UNK_&_INTL_INCL__FALL_1980-FALL_2006.xls* http://www.fullerton.edu/analyticalstudies/Ethnicity/TRENDS_IN_%25_

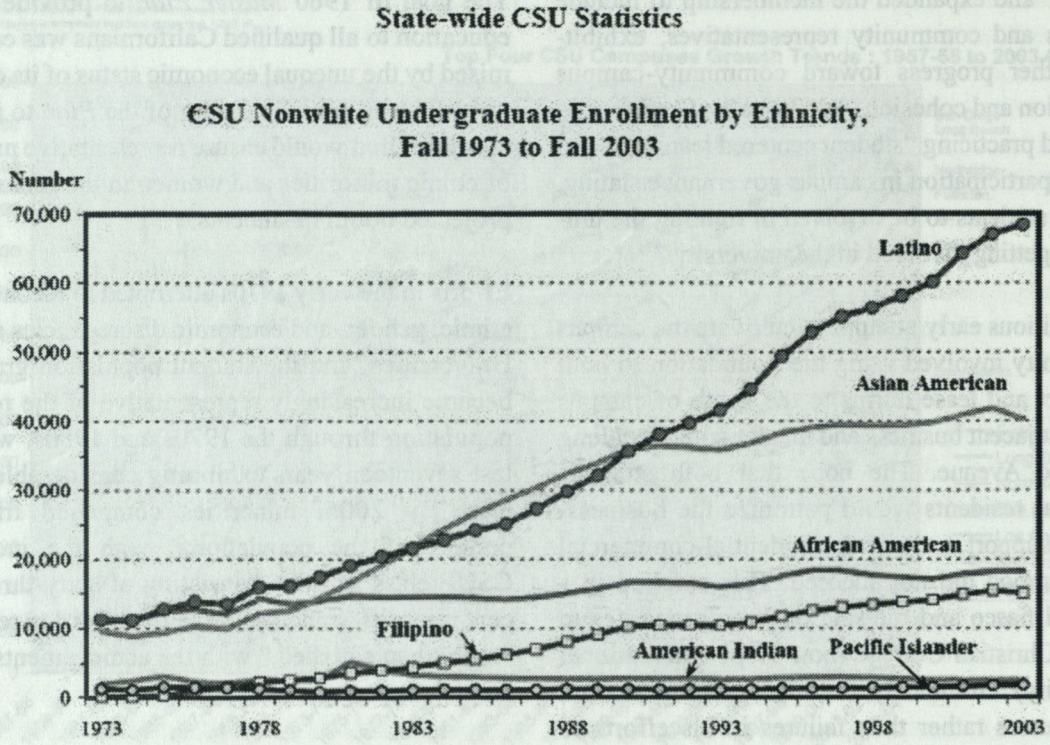
[77] "Some Total"

[78] Gordon, interview 29 June 2005, 9.

[79] Ibid., 3.

[80] Ibid., 10.

[81] California State University, *CSU Mentor: How to Plan*



Enrollment by Ethnicity: The early 1980s saw a dramatic jump in the number of minority enrollments in Cal State Universities statewide, with CSUF no exception. (Photo Courtesy of "Statistical Graph Collection," CSUF 50th Anniversary Archive, Center for Oral and Public History, CSUF).

to considerable financial resources, the Upward Bound, Talent Search, and EOP all contributed to the demographic changes.[82]

Originally, under the *Master Plan,* California provided education at its universities free of charge, to qualifying students. The low fees that students paid to attend school went to non-academic costs including personnel services and supplementary services provided on campus. Despite efforts to plan for the projected rapid escalation in students served, funding quickly became an issue of contention. Following the crisis of 1979, funding stabilized for several years. President Cobb even referred to fundraising at public universities as "icing on the cake" because tax monies provided for the fundamental costs.[83]

A period of financial shortcomings occurred in the latter years of the 1980s but did not compare to the seriousness of the 1991-1993 situation. Several reasons emerge for this fiscal debacle. In the 1980s the state started issuing unfunded mandates, essentially new requirements schools must adhere to using existing funds. This practice strained campus budgets. Added to this, higher education received a smaller

for and Apply to the California State University http://www.csumentor.edu

[82] Gordon, interview 29 June 2005, 10-2.

[83] Cobb, 214.

percentage of the state's general fund in 1993 than it did in the 1980s.[84] To make matters even worse, that fund declined due to the overall statewide recession caused in large part by the decline in government defense contracts following the end of the Cold War.

This overall economic downturn affected CSUF with particular severity. CSUF and San Francisco State University received disproportionately low levels of funding for years. The old system, known as the Orange Book, contained complicated funding formulas. President Gordon found that those formulas were not applied to their potential and the campuses did not receive their fair share of state dollars. Insult to injury came when the CSUs were not included in Proposition 98, the 1988 ballot initiative that provided financial assurances to kindergarten thru community colleges, a deathblow to a system that relied heavily on the state for the lion's share of their total budgets, roughly ninety percent.

In 1985, the State adopted a policy that required fee increases to be, "gradual, moderate, and predictable, and announced ten months in advance."[85] The policy allowed increases of not more than ten percent per year when deemed necessary. Between 1990 and 1993, fee increases grossly exceeded those parameters: CSU fees increased by eighty-five percent, UC fees increased one hundred twelve percent and Community College fees jumped two hundred sixty percent.[86] Fee increases outpaced growth in income, which triggered a significant decline in enrollment.

President Gordon found it necessary to curb enrollment and eliminate part-time faculty and staff positions in all areas of the campus. Enrollment limits emerged as a reaction to the budget remaining fixed regardless of the number of qualified applications received. To assuage the situation, Governor Pete Wilson chartered agreements with individual university presidents that promised to allocate funds for all accepted students, regardless of the restrictions imposed by the legislature.[87] Governor Wilson honored those compacts during his term in spite of opposition, but these emergency funds provided only a temporary fix to a complicated problem.

At this time, the Academic Senate and Planning and Budget Committee suggested drastic measures to cope with the budget constraints. They proposed the complete elimination of the School of Engineering and Computer Services and the Nursing Program, citing declining enrollment and high operating costs as reasons for ending the programs. President Gordon rejected their suggestion, choosing to spread the burden of cost savings across the campus.[88] Fifteen years later, the State of California suffers a severe shortage of nurses, and the demand for engineers hovers at a crisis stage. By not eliminating those programs, CSUF continues to produce qualified graduates to mitigate these shortages.

The budget constraints increased the financial burden on faculty as well as students throughout the 1990s and into the twenty first century. Colleges increasingly turned to part-time faculty to remedy budget problems because of their lower salaries. Unfortunately, stability and consistency suffer with a high turnover of university personnel.[89] Despite the financial savings of part-time staff management, faculty and administrative salaries lag behind their peers at comparable institutions. The great-

[84] Milton Gordon, interview by Lawrence B. de Graaf, 6 May 2005, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif., 21-5.

[85] *The Master Plan Then and Now*, 8. (SB 195)

[86] The California Higher Education Policy Center, *Time for Decision: California's Legacy and the Future of Higher Education* (San Jose, 1994), 2; see also: Assembly Committee on Higher Education, *Closing the Doors: California Higher Education in Crisis* (Sacramento, 1992), 2-3.

[87] Gordon, interview 29 June 2005, 19.

[88] Gordon, interview 6 May 2005, 10-3.

[89] Ellen Junn and Tom Klammer, "The Professoriat: To Be or Not to Be Tenured – That Is the Question," *Senate Forum* XXII (spring 2007): 4, 6.

est discrepancies lie in the highest positions; full professors earn twenty-one percent less than professors at comparable institutions. Dr. Gordon confessed that his salary might contain the greatest disparity of all at forty-two percent below average. The limited funds available for salaries also restrict CSUF's ability to hire ethnically diverse staff. Qualified minority applicants are in high demand, which makes them difficult to acquire without competitive salary offers.[90]

The fiscal drama that characterized the early 1990s returned in the first years of this century. Although fees continued to rise, they remained below fees charged by comparable institutions across the country. Dr. Gordon cites Governor Gray Davis's policy of lowering fees by five percent as a political blunder that exacerbated the impending financial crisis.[91] Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger initiated fee increases to mitigate the loss of revenue during his predecessor's reign. Despite the recent fee increases, higher education institutions in California continue to struggle with financial shortcomings.

PHILOSOPHY AND FUTURE

In 1997, the California State University system launched a planning initiative entitled *Cornerstones*. The document's four cornerstones include a commitment to educational excellence, providing access for the growing population with limited resources, displaying evidence of effectiveness to the public, and increasing the efficiency with which post-baccalaureate programs correlate to the demands of industry.[92] This ambitious study proposed emphasizing the academic and interpersonal skills required to participate effectively in modern careers. It also took a pragmatic approach to financial aid shortages, and suggested the growth of private participation and student loans to supplement government shortfalls. *Cornerstones* supported the continuation of lifelong learning programs and innovative ways to increase the use of campus facilities to generate revenue and reduce costs.[93]

Clearly, the current direction of CSU philosophy and goals differ from those of the 1960 *Master Plan.* The *Master Plan* foresaw the massive growth of students enrolled in higher education at all levels, and tried to plan accordingly; however, many of these new students did not fit within the classical college student criteria. More students, especially CSU and community college students, worked while attending school. They also came from diverse backgrounds, some demanded institutional changes in curriculum and representation in university governance and others sought non-traditional courses of education. Lastly, many new students arrived academically unprepared for university course work, due in part to inadequate secondary education.[94]

These factors steered the CSUs toward student-centered learning. Examples of this transition include the offering of pre-college level classes to academically deficient freshmen in the 1980s, President Gordon's support for programs that include students in university management, and the pragmatic nature of the abilities expected of CSU graduates proposed by the 1997 *Cornerstones* committee.[95] Despite this evolution, CSUF Presidents ensured liberal arts coursework provided the foundation of undergraduate education.

Allan Bloom and other staunch advocates of the inflexible nature of a Western classical tradition of university education undoubtedly disapprove of the changes in higher education in California and at CSUF, but the current state of education at the universities reflect the careful integration of liber-

[90] Milton Gordon, interview by Lawrence B. de Graaf, 24 October 2005, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif., 9-13.

[91] Gordon, interview 29 June 2005, 19-20.

[92] California State University, "Planning for the Next Decade," *Cornerstones* (Long Beach, 1997), 2.

[93] Ibid., 2-15

[94] "Classicism vs. Relativism," 86-8.

[95] *Cornerstones*, 10.

al arts education with the practical demands of an ever-changing society. The internet and computer technology continue to facilitate the global economy, and California's increasingly ethnically diverse population requires recognition and inclusion in the higher education community. Higher education in California did not reject the content that Bloom promotes; it augmented it with the necessities of our changing society.

THE NEXT FIFTY YEARS

CSUF continues to integrate technology and global connections with its traditional foundation. The increasing number of online degree programs and online classes allow students the freedom to complete their education while working or otherwise occupied. The new division of Information Technology facilitates that objective.[96] President Gordon points out, "I think it is going to be the wave of the future," regarding the integration of technology and coursework.[97] In addition to expanding the reach of CSUF's global connections through technology, the school continues pre-college level English and Mathematics first year programs to serve the forty-eight percent of matriculating students for whom English is a second language.[98]

Through the offices of University Advancement, and programs such as Front and Center and Visions and Visionaries, private donations to the university expand and CSUF's profile in the regional business community grows. Front and Center, a black tie fundraising gala, features internationally acclaimed talent and significant media coverage. Visions and Visionaries celebrates distinguished alumni and a 'corporate partner of the year.'[99] These social events continue to generate private and corporate funds and inform the public about CSUF's dedication to producing graduates that satisfy the demands of the regional and global economic, cultural, and intellectual communities.[100] With this ambitious agenda, CSUF stands poised to continue its role as the leader of the CSU academic community and Orange County for decades to come.

[96] Gordon, interview 15 August 2005, 36.

[97] Milton Gordon, interview by Lawrence B. de Graaf, 17 May 2005, Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton, Calif., 24.

[98] Ibid., 13-6.

[99] California State University, Fullerton, Front and Center and Alumni Association, *Front and Center* http://www.fullerton.edu/frontandcenter/index.htm; see also: The Alumni Association of Cal State Fullerton, Vision and Visionaries http://www.fullerton.edu/alumni/vv.htm

[100] California State University, Fullerton, *Missions, Goals, and Strategies* http://www.fullerton.edu/aboutcsuf/mission.asp

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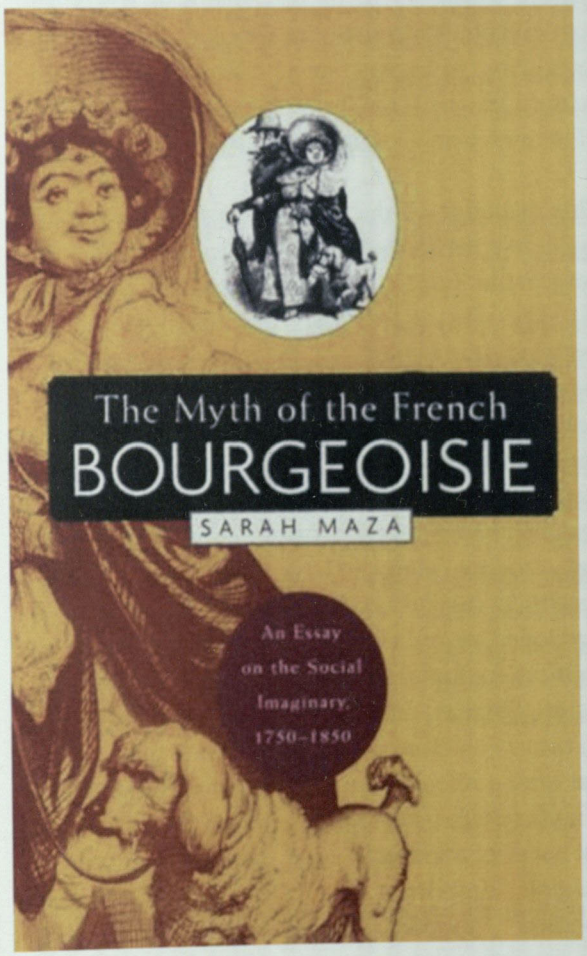
The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750–1850

A book review by Gail Marlow Taylor



Those elusive bourgeois; everyone knows who they are, but try asking one to step forward! In *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary 1750-1850*, Sarah Maza points out that while many English and Americans are content to identify themselves as middle class, the French never recognized themselves as bourgeois, not even during the Revolution (4). Maza, who specializes in the social and cultural history of 18th and 19th century France, is a faculty member at Northwestern University. She has written two previous books on related subjects: *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth Century France* (1983) and *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Pre-Revolutionary France* (1992), (also published in French). In *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*, winner of the George Mosse Prize of the American Historical Association, Maza uses the concept of the "social imaginary" to explore social change in eighteenth century France through the evolving connotations of the provocative term "bourgeois."

This evolution of the word "bourgeois" is central to Maza's thesis that the bourgeois as a class, did not exist in France during the period of 1750-1850 (5). The idea of a cohesive bourgeois class, she explains, is a product of the "social imaginary," the emergence of words or phrases that describe people in terms of a perceived commonality. Maza gives several excellent examples of this concept ranging "from 'the aristocracy' to the modern usages of 'the undivided people,' 'angry white men,' and 'soccer moms'"(9-10). These identifying constructs may either fade out of use, or become developed, reinforced, and redefined over time in politics, marketing, conversation, talk radio, television, literature, drama, satire, films, and history. To convey an effective image in any medium, a social term's referent can never be purely fictitious. It must reflect observable commonalities that may not have been noticed before. In modern culture for example, Americans understand terms like "baby boomer," "yuppie," "senior citizen," or "silent majority" almost intuitively. Once introduced into public discourse, however, such terms can generate a persistent psychological image that defines not only the way in which people see themselves and others, but even the way in which historians view them later. In this context, Maza takes the position that treating the bourgeoisie as a product of the "social imaginary" reveals more about the development of modern French society and culture than the traditional paradigm of the bourgeoisie as a preexisting social class that supported and benefited from the Revolution.

To support this position, she examines a century of political change using two questions fundamental to her thesis: How was the word "bourgeois" used in political and cultural discourse, and did a middle class exist to which it might apply? She explores these two issues through the changing social and cultural context of the late eighteenth century, the Revolution, and into the nineteenth century through the reign of Louis-Philippe d'Orléans, (1830-1848) "the bourgeois king"(161). While there are references to the bourgeoisie throughout the literary and social discourse of the period, the first time this term actually describes a class is when it is invoked to rally middle-class political support for the Restoration by invoking the image of the brave bourgeoisie, those good solid citizens who had opposed the aristocracy but supported the king (131-2). I will discuss briefly Maza's appraisal of the word "bourgeois" in the earlier period leading up to the Revolution and conclude with views from recent historians on retrospective identification of the bourgeoisie.

The word "bourgeois" originated during the thirteenth-century, and referred to a resident of a town or "bourg" with certain rights and privileges based on citizenship.[1] By the seventeenth century,

[1] The word "bourgeois" is defined in Larrouse as: "autref., habitant d'une ville, jouissant de certains droits particuliers, analogues aux droits de cité. Personne aisée qui habite la ville. Patron, maître, dans le langage des ouvriers. "

"bourgeois" commonly described a prosperous social climber, of the type satirized in Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670). A bourgeois might work at a profession such as banking, law, or commerce, or as a landowner who lived on the rents due to him. But did the term describe a particular class? Such a class would have been part of the Third Estate, which included a population that varied from rural peasants and manual laborers to wealthy bankers and entrepreneurs whose social aspirations, if not blood, were noble. Maza shows how their contemporaries, in accordance with their political views, described the members of the Third Estate as either so hopelessly diverse as to preclude the development of a common agenda or, conversely, as the very image of patriotic solidarity (76-8).[2] Though used occasionally in political leaflets and in phrases like the *gardes bourgeoises* (citizens' militia), she finds no examples of the term "bourgeois" employed by the Third Estate to identify itself or any part of itself, as a class. Instead, it was more often used as a term of derision for someone who aspired to be an aristocrat. "One of the Revolution's most enduring linguistic legacies was to attach the taint of despised privilege to the word 'bourgeois.'" Far from seeing the Revolution as a bourgeois victory, she concludes that the Revolution resulted in "not a triumphant capitalist elite, but a vastly expanded and glorified state bureaucracy" (101).

The Revolution resulted in "...a vastly expanded and glorified state bureaucracy."

The expansion of bureaucracy and the growth of capitalism, however, need not be mutually exclusive. Although Maza downplays the importance of capitalism and manufacturing both before and after the Revolution, other historians view the period very differently. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Marxist economic theory used the term "bourgeoisie" to describe the middle class as capitalists who overthrew the nobility in a necessary step toward the eventual liberation of the working class. The modern French Marxist historian, Albert Soboul (1914-1982), acknowledges the diversity of the bourgeoisie and yet sees them as "the leading element in the Third Estate," the drivers of a Revolution which the masses then joined.[3] Peter McPhee describes the bourgeoisie as active capitalists who took part in the Revolution, even if they did not see themselves as a class: ". . . while there was no self-conscious class of bourgeois with a political programme, there was certainly a vigorous critique of the privileged orders and of the allegedly outmoded claims to social order on which they rested."[4]

To Soboul and McPhee, then, bourgeoisie describes a class with a common political and social agenda whether they labeled themselves as such or not. If we define a class as a social group with a self-acknowledged identity, then the bourgeoisie probably did not constitute a class in late eighteenth century France. Yet, there was a division of the Third Estate into those who held property and those who did not. Prosperous members qualified to hold office and vote by the taxes they paid, and only the level of taxation required remained open to debate. In the end, it was this group that benefited the most from the Revolution, not the nobility, the clergy, nor the poor. Whether we call them "the bourgeoisie", "the middle class", or "the more prosperous members

No modern meaning comparable to "middle class" is given. *Nouveau Petit Larrousse Illustré*, (1958), s.v. "bourgeois."

[2] In the chapter "Revolutionary Brotherhood," examples of writers portraying diversity include Jean-Paul Marat; those stressing a unified body include Michel Servan. Emmanuel Sieyès portrays a diverse group that is united in its demand for political equality.

[3] Albert Soboul, *A Short History of the French Revolution 1789-1799* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 38-9.

[4] Peter McPhee, *The French Revolution 1789-1799* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 26.

of the Third Estate," they immediately followed up their victory with legislation favorable to trade, investment, and a market economy.[5]

Even if we refer to this newly empowered group as "the bourgeoisie" in retrospect, this in no way invalidates Maza's position that the bourgeoisie did not exist as an identifiable class in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Her very thought-provoking analysis is a wonderful image-rich kaleidoscope of the usage of "bourgeoisie" in the century from 1750 and 1850. In using contemporary sources, she frees herself to look at the social, political, and cultural uses of the word bourgeoisie that precede Marxist applications of the term.[6] If she had gone on to examine the next one hundred years, the shifting "social imaginary" of the "bourgeoisie" would undoubtedly have taken her in new directions. But perhaps one thing would not change: As a social image, "bourgeois" is continuously used by some to describe others and by nobody to describe themselves.

[5] Ibid., 190.

[6] In the H-France review, Jeremy D. Popkin of the University of Kentucky characterized Sarah Maza's approach as "building on post-Marxist conventional wisdom."

Student Editors

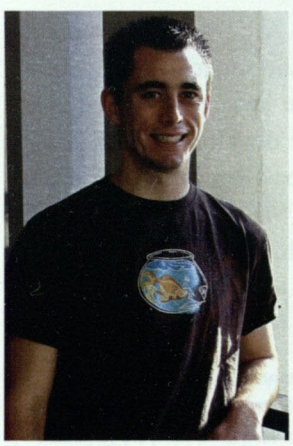
Michelle An currently attends California State University, Fullerton. She plans to graduate in the spring 2007 with a B.A. in history. Her interests include U.S., ancient Middle East, and religious studies. She loves to travel during her free time and plans to teach in Korea after graduation.

Sarah Barca grew up on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and earned a bachelor's degree in history at Yale University in 2005. After spending the summer of 2004 in Grado, Italy, interviewing residents of the city of Gorizia, she became passionate about oral and modern European history. Her interests brought her to California State University, Fullerton, where she intends to earn a Master's degree in history with an emphasis in Oral and Public History. Sarah enjoys the new experience of learning about California history through her course work in public history and part-time work for the Center for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton.

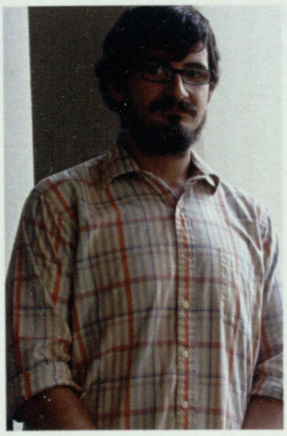
Eduardo Barrios (Managing Editor), obtained his B.A. in history from Cal State Fullerton in 2004. Originally, he intended to pursue a teaching credential but instead returned to Fullerton for a graduate degree in history. His studies focus on the American West with an emphasis on the development of desert cities. Eduardo authored several articles for Professor Gordon Morris Bakken's *Encyclopedia of Immigration and Migration of the American West*. He currently serves as acting president of the school's Phi Alpha Theta chapter. When this, Orange County born, historian is not in an archive researching, he is usually wielding a guitar.

Maria Y. Carrillo received her B.A. in history with a minor in political science from California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF) in spring 2005. After a brief hiatus, she returned to CSUF to work on her M.A. with an emphasis in public history. A life-long history buff, her interest began during the summer of 2004 when she enrolled in a study-abroad program in Florence, Italy. The trip facilitated new experiences in history and culture, inspiring her to preserve history and help bring it to the public. Currently employed as a museum docent at the Wells Fargo History Museum in downtown Los Angeles, Maria conducts tours for fourth-grade students, discusses the gold rush and the development of the West, and hopes for the opportunity to advance within the museum profession.

Martin A. Chavez received his B.A. in history with a minor in anthropology from California State University, Fullerton, in the spring of 1997. After graduation, he completed the teaching credential program at CSUF. Martin returned to his alma mater and is currently working on a M.A. in California history. The research emphasis for Martin's M.A. is centered on the experiences of Mexican Americans in Orange County, California, during the 1920s and 1930s. Currently, Martin teaches United States, world, and A.P. European history in the Anaheim Union High School District. His plans include finishing his M.A. thesis and trying standup comedy. In his free time, Martin enjoys relaxing at home with his family.



Nicholas Clark, an undergraduate majoring in history at California State University, Fullerton, focuses on Greek, Roman, and American military history. He lives in Fullerton and plans to go to graduate school in Orange County. He is a History Channel addict, enjoys the National Football League, and considers himself a video game expert.



Manoli Dramitinos, a member of Phi Alpha Theta and the History Students Association, serves as an officer of the European Studies Society at California State University, Fullerton. A first-generation American, he plans to graduate with a B.A. in history in December 2006. His historical interests include ancient and contemporary Greece with an emphasis on the island of Crete, as well as resistance and guerrilla movements of the twentieth century. Manoli studied his chosen field first-hand by living in Greece in 2002. Currently, he works in music production and plays bass professionally, and in his spare time enjoys gardening and bodyboarding. His post-graduation plans include spending the holiday season reading for pleasure and attending graduate school in the spring while teaching high school history.

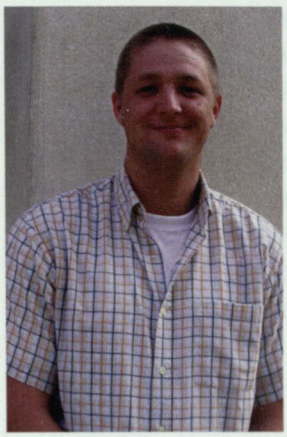
Allison Newman Frickert is a graduate student whose research interests include post-colonial Singapore, (due to her childhood spent there), and modern China. She served as president of the History Student Association and Phi Alpha Theta. Allie received the Lawrence B. de Graaf Outstanding Graduate Student Award and the ASI Award for Distinguished Graduate Student. Additional awards include the Bayati Memorial History Scholarship, the Ben J. Proctor Award for Best European/World Research Paper at the Southwestern Social Sciences Conferences in 2004 and 2005, and Best European Paper in the 2005 *Welebeathan*. She is currently conducting research for the 50th Anniversary of CSUF. Allie is a mom to a five-year-old daughter and one-year-old son. Her goals include a Ph.D. in International Development/Studies.

Justin Higgins is currently a senior at California State University, Fullerton. He graduates in August 2007 with a B.A. in history. He is enrolled in the United States Marine Corps Officer Candidate program, receiving his commission in August 2007. Born in California, he spent most of his childhood in New Jersey; he enjoys European history, competitive sports, and traveling.

Arut Kadyan received his B.A. from California State University, Fullerton. An editor of the *Welebaethan* in Fall 2006, he is a member of Phi Alpha Theta and the History Students Association. He is working towards his M.A. with interests in oral and European history.

Stephanie Mayer currently a senior and working on her history B.A. and a minor in political science, at California State University, Fullerton, and a member of Phi Alpha Theta and the History Student Association. After graduation she hopes to enter law school and enter the political arena. She belongs to the Surfrider Foundation, Daughters of the British Empire, and Student Republicans Association. She enjoys yoga on the beach, hiking around southern Orange County, and creating recipes.

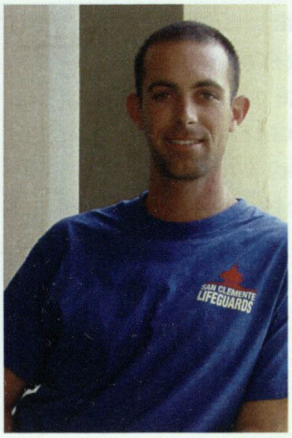
RuthAnn McGarry, a graduate student of European history at California State University, Fullerton, graduated Cum Laude with a B.A. in Visual & Public Art, Photography from California State University, Monterey Bay. She attended the Alliance Française in Paris (Fall, 2002) and studied French language, history, and culture at the Institut Méditerranéen de Langues (IMEF) in Montpellier (Summer, 2003). She holds memberships in the History Student's Association, Southwest Oral History Association, Golden Key Honor Society, and Phi Beta Delta (PBD) International Honors Society, where she also serves as an Executive Board member. Upon completion of her M.A., RuthAnn aspires to coordinate a university study-abroad program in France. Her hobbies include international travel and photography.



Blake McWhorter, now in his final semester as an undergraduate at California State University, Fullerton, plans to continue attending school until he acquires a Ph.D. A student of American military history, Blake cannot stop collecting books on the Civil War and the two World Wars. Recently accepted into Phi Alpha Theta, he remains stunned that he has done so well in school. Blake thoroughly enjoys reading, writing, collecting antique books.

John Morey is working toward his M.A. in history at California State University, Fullerton, with an emphasis in modern world history. Although he studies other topics as a hobby, John hopes to teach once he completes his degree. He received his B.A. in 2004 from the Master's College in Santa Clarita, California, maintaining Dean's List status. John comes from a tradition of researchers (his father has written over forty books) and thus continues the trend with his current studies. He currently works as an editor, writer, and research assistant for the Research and Education Foundation in Irvine, California. He is an avid reader and enjoys writing, travel, photography, and collecting as hobbies.

Carmina G. Quirarte received her B.A. in both history and Chicana/o Studies from San Diego State University in 2004. She entered the M.A. history program at California State University, Fullerton, that same year. Currently, she is working on her thesis that deals with the 1968 Mexican student movement focusing on women's contribution to the movement with Dr. Philippe Zacair. Her topic has given her the opportunity to conduct research at the National Archives of Mexico (Archivo General de la Nación) in Mexico City and the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Carmina received a pre-doctoral scholarship for 2006-2007, which allows her to further her research, travel to historical conferences, and visit doctoral institutions. She plans to complete her M.A. in spring 2007 and pursue a Ph.D. in history.

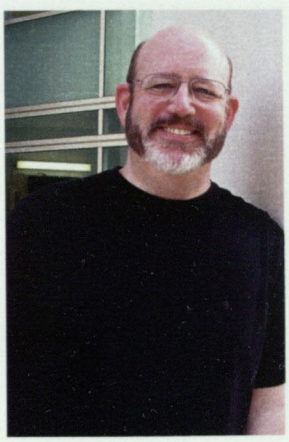


Christopher A. Redding is an undergraduate history major, and a seventh generation California-born native. Following junior college and a brief stint at California State University, Long Beach, Chris married and returned his family to South Orange County. After eight years in public safety and over five years as an Army Medic serving in Germany, El Salvador, Switzerland, and California, he decided to return to school and finish his studies. Upon completion at California State University, Fullerton, he will receive his commission as a Second Lieutenant returning to complete his military career. He enjoys surfing, snowboarding, and spending time with family and friends.

Nicole Rhoton received her B.A. in history at California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF) in June 2006 and is currently pursuing a M.A. in American history. Her primary areas of interest include women's history, social movements, and political history. Her article, "A Purity of Purpose: Dorothy Day's Conversion Experience" appears in the 2006 *Welebaethan.* Nicole hopes to continue her education after graduate school and teach at the university level.

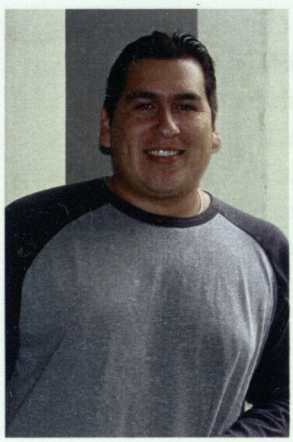
A Systems Engineer by profession and an historian by trade, **Daniel Schwabe** earned his B.A. in history from Cal Poly Pomona in 2002 and is currently pursuing his M.A. in history at California State University, Fullerton, where his historical interests include the use of military airpower and the history of science. His personal interests include auto racing (NASCAR), airplanes, building scale-model airplanes, Frank Sinatra, and reading history books. A native of Los Angeles, Daniel enjoys everything the city has to offer, from its deep historical roots to its wide range of cultures. Research for the paper "Hunting for the Secrets of Vengeance Weapon 2" took him to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. to access their primary-source documents on the V2 rocket.

Carolyn Smuts-Hass completed her B.A. in history at California State University, Long Beach in 1997 and her M.A. in history at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) in 1999 where she enjoys membership in Phi Alpha Theta. She has worked on several editions of the *Welebaethan*. Carolyn's undergraduate studies focused on The Enlightenment and intellectual history of the modern era while her graduate program centered on the American Civil War and modern Europe. Born into a family of educators, she taught history for several years at the junior high school level and at CSUF through the EOP program.



Thomas A. Stein (Editor-in-Chief), a professional musician for thirty years, graduated from California State University, Fullerton in Spring 2007 with a B.A. in history. A *Welebaethan* editor for two years, he won "Best Overall Paper" in 2006 from the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta Historical Society for "Lord Edward of England's Crusade 1270-1272: The Opportunity of a Lifetime." Stein co-authored the critically acclaimed trade book *For Musicians Only: The Facts About the Art, Politics, and Business for Live Performance for People Who Want to Make a Living Playing Music* (New York: Billboard Publications, 1988), and led Orange County's most successful "Top 40" dance band for fifteen years. He plans to continue performing throughout Southern California while pursuing his post-graduate academic career.

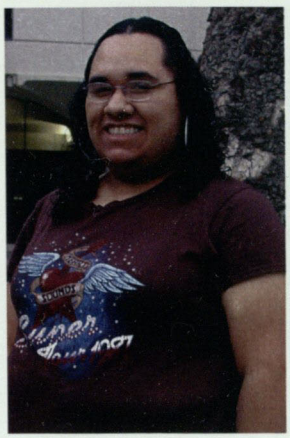
Janet Tanner is a history graduate student at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) and a member of Phi Alpha Theta. A native of Fullerton, she worked for over twenty years in the medical profession before returning to CSUF and obtaining her B.A. in history in 2005. Janet's name appeared on the Dean's list throughout her undergraduate career, and she received the Carmen Bayati Memorial Scholarship Award in 2005. Her areas of interest include Women's History, Oral History, and United States History, both colonial and post 1960. Upon completion of her M.A., she hopes to obtain a position in the field of oral and public history.



Jose Viramontes currently resides in Irvine. He began his education at Orange Coast College (OCC) and history became his great interest. After graduating from OCC, he decided to pursue a B.A. in history. Jose is currently a senior at California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF), and plans to graduate in 2007 with a B.A. degree in history. He worked for the Costa Mesa Police Department as a cadet and enjoyed learning the everyday duties of an officer. After receiving his B.A., he wants to enter an M.A. program and eventually hold a position with the federal government. Outside the classroom Jose works with junior high students at an after school program and also assists as a translator for an elementary school to help teachers communicate with their students' parents. In his free time he enjoys nature and fly-fishing.

Members of *Welebaethan* Review Committee at Phi Alpha Theta banquet, Theta-Pi Chapter, 2007. (Photograph Courtesy of Carolyn Smuts-Hass).

Student Authors



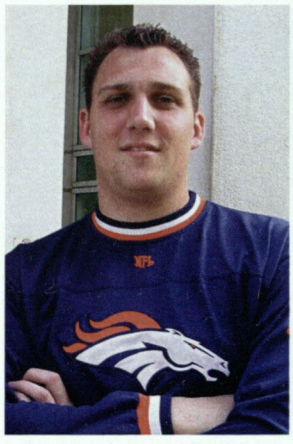
Rachael Amaro graduated cum laude with a B.A. in history from California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF) in spring 2006. In the past three years, she contributed to the *Welebaethan* as both editor and author. During her time at CSUF, involvements included: working in the Dean of Students Office (2002-2006), holding positions as Vice Chair of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences Inter-Club Council (2005-2006), Peer Mentor for Freshman Programs (2003), and three years as a New Student Orientation Leader (2002, 2005, 2006). Currently, she is pursuing a single subject credential for social studies at CSUF. She also retains membership in Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society), Student California Teachers Association, and Golden Key International Honor Society. She enjoys poetry, reading, the Beatles, and the color green.

After some years as a singer/songwriter, **Richard W. Beck** returned to school as an undergraduate at California State University, Fullerton. His rekindled interest in history follows a family tradition, as both his grandfather and uncle earned Ph.D.s in the subject. His interests range from ancient Egypt and Greece to modern European history. Richard intends to pursue a doctoral degree in British Imperial studies and teach at the university level.

Michelle Deschamp will receive her BA in history from California State University, Fullerton, in spring 2007, after attending four different institutions, including a women's college in St. Paul, Minnesota. Her plans include entering a graduate program in the fall, with the ultimate intentions of earning a Ph.D. Her academic field of interest is ancient history with an emphasis placed on the Sasanian Empire of Persia.

Eric Fenrich is a history graduate student at California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF) with an expected graduation date of May 2007, after which he intends to pursue his Ph.D. He received a B.A. in Business Administration from CSUF in 1990 but returned in 2004 when he decided to follow a different career path. Eric holds wide interests in history including baseball and its effect on American culture and identity, the evolution of the airline industry, and military history. His primary interest involves the Cold War, particularly the use of ideology and propaganda. Eric's Masters' thesis investigates the Soviet and United States presentation of the space race in print media and its impact on national identity.

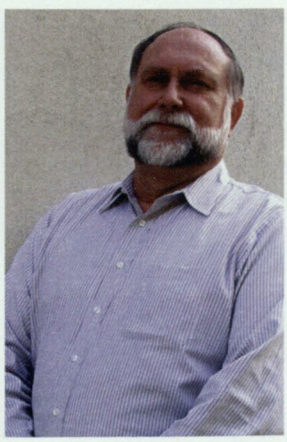
Jean Fiddler is a second year history major at California State University, Fullerton. She entered the University as a member of the 2005 class of President's Scholars and as a member of the University Honors Program. Jean enjoys studying early American History, particularly the U.S. Civil War. Her greatest interest lies in the life of President Lincoln, and her current research project involves an analysis of Southerners' reactions to his assassination. Jean plans to enter the teaching credential program after graduation and teach high school before returning to CSUF for her Master's degree in history.



Ryan Hunt, born in Long Beach on 20 July 1982, currently resides in Ontario, California. He began his academic career at Mount San Antonio Community College and transferred to California State University, Fullerton, in fall 2004. A founding member of the European Studies Society, a cultural and departmental organization designed to provide opportunities for students to promote study of the past, present, and future of Europe and its interaction with the world. Ryan acts as the Humanities and Social Sciences Inter-Collegiate Council representative. Graduating in June 2007, he plans to continue in history studying the Hitler Youth.

Aron Marcellus graduated from Hope University in winter 2002 with a B.A. in history. He currently participates in the M.A. program in history at California State University, Fullerton. Aron focuses on Middle Eastern history. He hopes to become a professor; his inspiration came from working as a graduate assistant for Dr. George Giacumakis.

Born into a migrating construction family, **Daniel McClure** moved nine times and lived in four states before 1991. He completed his undergraduate work at San Francisco State University in 1997 and went to work as an engineer, specializing in bridge projects in the Bay area. In 2002, he decided to pursue a M.A. in history from California State University, Fullerton. McClure plans to begin a Ph.D. program in fall 2006. He presented various sections of his thesis at different professional conferences such as the 2004 and 2005 Southwestern Social Science Association conferences. He also presented at the Phi Alpha Theta Southern California Regional Conference in 2004.



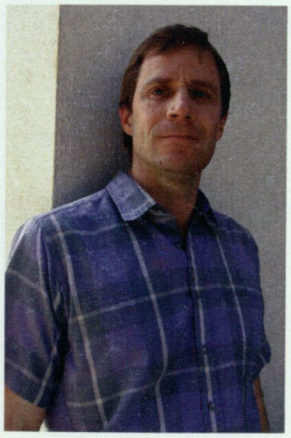
Kenneth W. McMullen was born in Ohio and lived on both coasts. A swift-boat Vietnam veteran, he served in the Navy from 1966 to 1970. He received his B. A. in political science from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) in 1976. After working in several campaigns, he migrated to programming, where he traveled to forty-six of the fifty states while working as a database programmer for over twenty years. He returned to college and will receive his M. A. in history this May from CSUF. Ken belongs to Phi Alpha Theta and the History Students Association. He teaches U. S. History, World History, and American Government at a local high school. He is the author of several articles in the *Encyclopedia of Immigration and Migration in the American West.*

Blake McWhorter found his true calling in the study of history. He completes his B.A. at California University State, Fullerton, in spring 2007. He balances time between studies, family, and friends. An avid reader, Blake also collects antique books, the oldest published in 1870. Following graduation, he plans to pursue a M.A. in public history.

Rebecca Millard is a native of Anaheim, California. She is a graduate student studying history at California State University, Fullerton. She is most interested in social and cultural history and her specific areas of interest include the history of chocolate, the Greek and Roman worlds, the Crusades, Byzantium, and the medieval world. In her spare time, she enjoys reading, kayaking, and traveling in Europe. While in Europe, she researches the history of the chocolate industry.

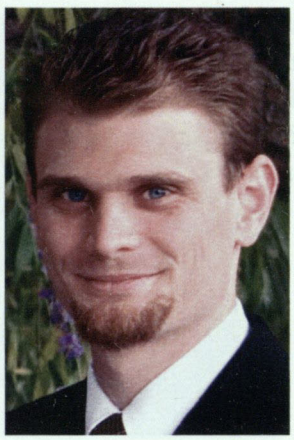
Justin Elliott Rhoades graduated with his BA in history from California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF) in May 2004. He is currently finishing his MA in twentieth-century California history at CSUF. Elliott served as an editor for both semesters on the 2006 *Welebaethan* staff. He currently works for the Downey Unified School District and looks forward to a career in social science instruction and research. Traveling and sports are his favorite avocational activities.

Nicole Rhoton received her B.A. in history at California State University, Fullerton, in June 2006. She is currently pursuing a master's degree, focusing on American history. Areas of historical interest include women, social movements, and politics. She hopes to continue her education after graduate school and teach at the university level. She loves reading, swimming in the ocean, and sleeping late.



John Schmeeckle's interest in history began at the age of ten, during the bicentennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence. He grew up in Vermont and received his B.A. in history from Dartmouth College in 1988. He is currently conducting research into new aspects of the intellectual origins of the American Revolution. An experienced amateur genealogist, John wrote an article on research techniques for establishing the European origin of Amish families, published in the January 2003 edition of *Mennonite Family History*. He plays bass guitar and recorded an album of socially-conscious rock music with two of his brothers. He works full-time as a big-rig truck driver.

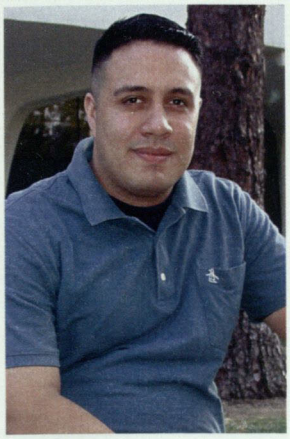
A Systems Engineer by profession and an historian by trade, **Daniel Schwabe** earned his B.A. in history from Cal Poly Pomona in 2002 and is currently pursuing his M.A. in history at California State University, Fullerton, where his historical interests include the use of military airpower and the history of science. His personal interests include auto racing (NASCAR), airplanes, building scale-model airplanes, Frank Sinatra, and reading history books. A native of Los Angeles, Daniel enjoys everything the city has to offer, from its deep historical roots to its wide range of cultures. Research for the paper "Hunting for the Secrets of Vengeance Weapon 2" took him to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. to access their primary-source documents on the V2 rocket.



Born and raised in Northern California, **Ryan L. A. Shaffer** first attended California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF) as a junior in high school, where he developed an interest in the humanities. He has earned both a B.A. in philosophy and an M.A. in history. While working on his M.A., he received two California State University grants, and conducted research in rural China sponsored by CSUF's Center for Public and Oral History. Shaffer is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in history at State University of New York, Stony Brook. His focus is on right-wing ideology and the modern imperialism of Great Britain, with a concentration on the British Union of Fascists ideology and its connection to social dynamics in Britain. Shaffer played drums in various groups since he was fourteen-years old.

Jo Summann will graduate in May 2007 from California State University, Fullerton with a B.A. in history. Jo's historical interests include themes of nationalism and identity, mass mobilization, propaganda, and visual culture. Her geographical and chronological interests range from Germany to nineteenth-century Europe to more broadly comparative history. She will take a year off before pursuing a doctoral degree; her plans include teaching at the university level thereby completing a childhood ambition.

Gail Marlow Taylor brings twenty years of clinical laboratory experience and a lifetime of travel to her graduate studies in history at California State University, Fullerton. Growing up in Iran and Switzerland gave her an early interest in history and knowledge of French and German. Gail attended the University of Pittsburgh where she earned a B.S. in biology. She is also a member of the American Association for History and Computing and is currently employed as a project and systems analyst. She contributed four articles to the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of the History of Science and Technology* published by Facts on File. Although most of her writing experience deals with procedures and documentation, she was recently awarded first prize a published. Her future goals include a Ph.D. in history, writing, and teaching at the university level.



Juan Ugarte served in the United States Marine Corps from 2000 to 2004, during which time he was deployed for ten months, participating in Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom. After being Honorably Discharged from the Marine Corps, Juan attended Fullerton College and completed his A.A. in social science with honors. He transferred fall 2005 to California State University, Fullerton, where he pursues a B.A. in history with a minor in public administration as a senior. Juan received first place in the 2005 Pollak Library Undergraduate Research Papers and Projects contest. In his spare time he enjoys reading, attending church, and spending time with family and friends. After graduation, Juan hopes to return to the United States Marine Corp and receive a commission as a Second Lieutenant.

Susan Shoho Uyemura is a graduate student in history at California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF). Her background includes a B.A. in graphic design, a M.S. in gerontology, and a M.A. in sociology; currently her field is oral history. Growing up in Orange County, California, as a third-generation Japanese American (Sansei), her goal is to educate people about and advocate for preservation of local Japanese American history which remains relatively unknown and decidedly understudied. In 2006, Susan, along with other CSUF history students, started a non-profit organization called Japanese American Living Legacy. Its mission is to capture Japanese American history from those who lived it.

Tracee Voeltz received her B.A. degree in history from California State University, Fullerton in January 2003. After taking a year off she began working on her M.A degree. Her thesis is on the Byzantine Empire and Women's History. She belongs to both Phi Alpha Theta and the History Students Association (HSA) since 2002. She held office as event coordinator, HSA president 2005-6, and serves as vice president of Theta-Pi Chapter, Phi Alpha Theta. She presented papers at the annual Southwestern Social Sciences Association meetings in Louisiana and Texas and is an active member. Her paper, "Women and British Propaganda during World War I" received the Ben Procter Award for Best European History paper at the SSSA meeting in Texas and later the Nancy Fitch Women's Studies Award in May 2006.

Welebaethan editors, in Fall Semester 2006, hanging on every word of Professor Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg.

Faculty Advisors

Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, Ph.D., faculty advisor for the *Welebaethan,* regularly teaches editing, writing, and oral history courses as well as California, Orange County, and a variety of other history classes. She received 4.0 student evaluations in all four classes she taught during the Spring 2007 semester in appreciation of her teaching approach and style.

Wendy contributed two sections to the 2006 *Encyclopedia of Immigration and Migration in the American West* and five chapters to *Redbook: American State, County, and Town Sources.* A contributing editor of *APG Quarterly,* she writes a quarterly column for *The Forum*, a publication of the Federation of Genealogical Societies, for which she is currently serving her second two-year term as president. She co-chaired the program committee for the Southwest Oral History Association three-day conference held at California State University, Fullerton, in April 2007, and serves as faculty advisor for the Inter-Tribal Student Council on campus.

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

The author of over fifteen books, thirty-eight articles, sixteen book chapters, encyclopedia entries, and numerous reviews, Professor Bakken has continued to produce an award-winning journal year after year. As always, he thanks Professor Larry de Graaf for his time, counsel, and leadership in making the *Welebaethan* a nationally recognized journal of history.

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