

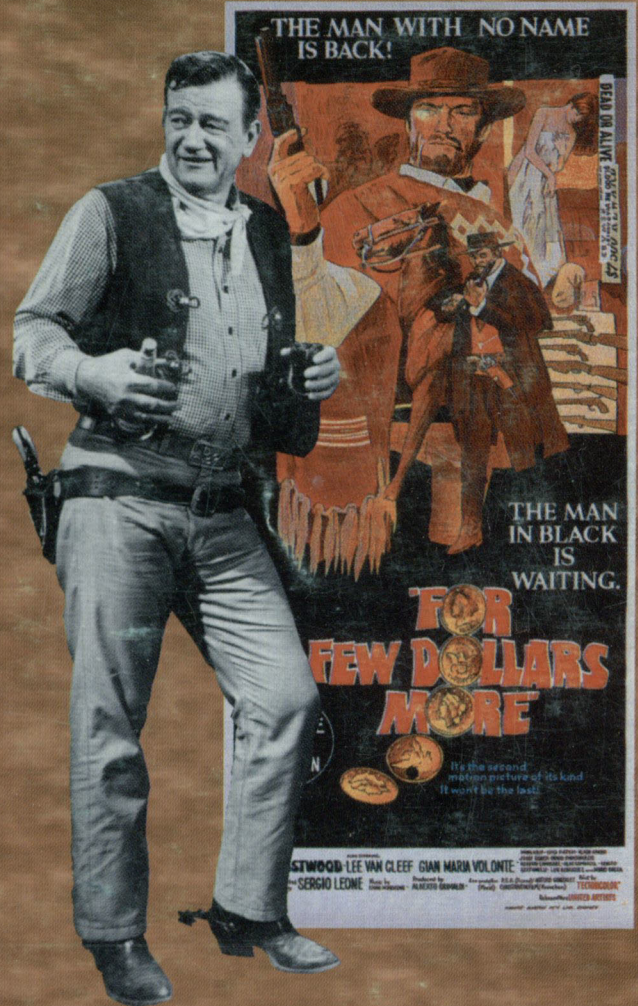
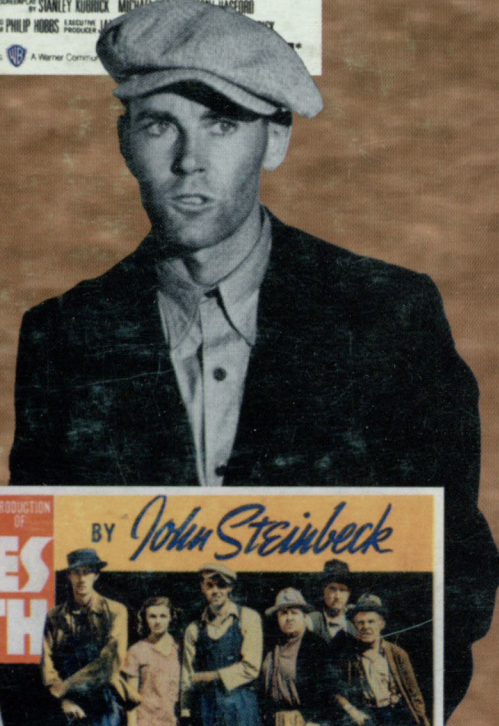
Welebaethan

Journal of History
2001



Stanley Kubrick's
**FULL
METAL
JACKET**

WARNER BROS. PRESENTS STANLEY KUBRICK'S FULL METAL JACKET
STARRING: MATTHEW MODINE, ADAM BALDWIN, VINCENT D'ONOFRIO, LEE ERMEY, O'BRIAN HADWOOD, ARLISS HOWARD,
KEVIN MAJOR, HOWARD ED O'ROSS, SCREENPLAY BY STANLEY KUBRICK, MICHAEL KATZ, AND GUSTAV HASFORD
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Theta Pi Chapter
of Phi Alpha Theta
and
History Students
Association

Statement of Purpose

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

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

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

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

Students who are interested in submitting their work should do so by September 15, 2001. Papers are to be double-spaced and prepared using the *Chicago Manual of Style*. It is preferred that they be under 35 pages in length. A disk formatting the paper into MS Word 6.0 or higher must also be submitted. Papers may be dropped off in the History Department.

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

Jodeen B. B. B.

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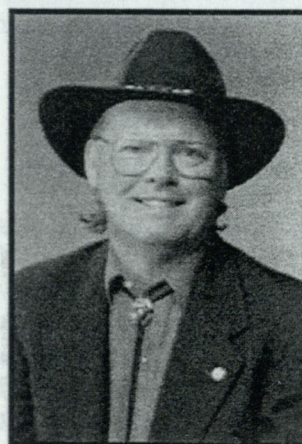
Editorial Staff Biographies



Colleen Robledo, this year's Editor of the *Welebaethan*, is a CSUF History department undergraduate student and expects to graduate with her B.A. this May. She is a member of the History Students Association and the Golden Key International Honor Society. Colleen is currently Vice President of the Theta Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society, served as an Assistant Editor on the 2000 issue of the *Welebaethan*, and contributed two articles to this year's issue: "Women Who Fought Back: Victorian Feminism," a historical research paper; and a film review entitled "The Grapes of Wrath: Making History".

Colleen plans to continue with her graduate education in the Masters of Library and Information Science (M.L.I.S.) program through San Jose State University's Southern California Campus at CSUF. She will continue her work with the *Welebaethan*, Phi Alpha Theta, and Golden Key while attending the M.L.I.S. program. As part of her graduate program, Colleen plans to collaborate with the CSUF History Department in developing an internship program to teach undergraduate history students how to conduct historical research. She intends to pursue a career as an academic librarian and also to obtain a second Masters degree in History.

In addition to these academic goals, Colleen has also set her sights on some physical challenges as well. She became involved with the sport of race walking late last year and recently finished her first half marathon. She plans to complete her first full marathon in the late summer, and intends to participate in the Avon Breast Cancer 3Day walk next year.



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

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

Professor Bakken has been the Theta Pi Chapter, Phi Alpha Theta faculty advisor since 1982. Although Professor Bakken has been involved in the publication of the *Welebaethan* since 1982, the spring semester, 2001 is the first time that he taught the History and Editing course. He thanks Professor Larry de Graaf for his time, counsel, and leadership in making the *Welebaethan* a nationally recognized journal of history.

Editorial Staff Biographies



Michael A. Pierson: You may have already seen or read this non-stop whirlwind's work at some point in your life. On cable, he would be the one talking about conservatively managing retirement assets, looking at the intricacies of long-term care insurance, or explaining the differences between wills and trusts. In *Your Money* magazine, his writing would have enlightened you to the intricate battles waged between term and whole life insurance policies.

"But that was a different time," he says, with virtually no sense of nostalgia. When his career of twenty years as a financial planner ceased to be fun, he turned to something that was: academic study, research, and writing. Since he left his practice in 1995 he has completed all of his education courses, and now teaches high school history and English as a fully credentialed educator; he has presented his paper about the early Cold War to the Southwest Social Science Association; testified as an expert witness against life and disability insurance companies on behalf of their policyholders; written a chapter in Dr. Gordon Bakken's soon-to-be-published book about California's controversial Supreme Court Chief Justice, the late Rose Elizabeth Bird; contributed an article and worked as Associate Editor for this edition of the *Welebaethan*; and managed to complete nearly half of his first historical novel, *Hastings*. Oh, and let us not forget-into this agenda he somehow managed to weave himself into a Master's program at California State University, Fullerton's nationally acclaimed American Studies program; he will have completed his studies by June, 2002.

What does he do in his spare time? "Oh, you mean those two minutes a month," he laughs. "I read a lot, walk my dogs, do some gardening, and," chuckling at his unusual role as an expert witness, "think about *Robin Hood*. All I know is that I hadn't had this much fun for a long time." Pierson is married, has two children, and lives in Anaheim Hills, CA.



History major **Mabel Najera** will receive a Bachelor of Arts degree this June from California State University, Fullerton. During her five years of undergraduate studies, she has worked full-time for the District Attorney Family Support Division tracking down fathers delinquent in child support payments. Mabel plans to continue in this profession while pursuing a graduate degree that will combine a dual concentration in American and German history. Always interested in American history, a semester spent traveling and studying in Europe created an equal fascination for German politics, culture, and history. Her firm belief in the importance of education, together with her teaching and public speaking aspirations, has inspired Mabel to enter a doctorate program upon completion of her Master of Art's degree. In addition to academics and traveling, she enjoys cycling and -spending quality time with family and friends.

Editorial Staff Biographies



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

The research emphasis for Martin's M.A. is centered on the experiences of Mexican Americans in Orange County, California. Of particular interest to Martin is the segregation of public schools in Orange County and the affect that it had on the lives of Mexican Americans and their families. He intends to contact surviving Mexican Americans who attended public school during that time, and to conduct oral interviews as a primary source of research. Martin's interest in this field of history is due in large part to his own background; he immigrated to the United States from Mexico with his family over thirty years ago. As the first member of his

family to go to college and graduate from a university, Martin accomplished an important milestone for both himself and the rest of his family.

Currently, Martin teaches History in the Santa Ana Unified School District at Saddleback High School. His future plans are to complete his Masters thesis as well as a documentary video, and to teach at the community college level. In his free time, Martin enjoys relaxing at home with his wife Liz and his two daughters Natalie, three years old, and Chloe, age 3 months.



On the 7th of January 1971, **Robert Hart**, born to Nancy and Ronald, began his life in the small and quiet town of Pompton Plains, N.J., a city that has recently experienced rapid urban sprawl. His father, a professor of biology at Essex County Community college, N.J. frequently traveled with family throughout the U.S. and Canada. During the months of October and November, the family sport fished along the North Carolina coastline for blue fish that swam in schools off the cold Atlantic sea. In the summer, the Hart family would explore America's great parks or famous historical sights. With the exception of frequent travel, Robert spent his youth and teenage years in this small town.

While Robert completing his B.A. in history at Montclair State University, he spent the early part of 1997 studying at Nanjing University in China. He recalled later that, "it was an extraordinary opportunity to have the privilege of representing my country and university as an unofficial cultural ambassador." Although glad to be home, he later continued his travels in Asia with several more visits to the region. The experience in Asia challenged Robert, tested his resolve, offered global perspective, and provided opportunities to refine the art of leadership and diplomacy.

The experience in Asia inculcated in Robert an enthusiastic appreciation for American values and democratic traditions. He believed that pursuing both a Bachelors' and Masters' degree in history would facilitate his profound intellectual curiosity. Robert is presently working on his Masters' degree at California State University, Fullerton. After graduating, he plans to follow in his father's footsteps and enter a career in teaching. He also aspires to eventually become a prominent writer of fiction. His greatest ambition, however, is be the first person in his family to earn the Ph.D.

Editorial Staff Biographies



Tony Hilly would have been called a Renaissance Man in another time, but in our post-modern world his love of history, geology, geography, hydrology, archeology--virtually anything that ends in "y" is lost to the fast pace and hectic schedule of humanity spinning around him. But that is just fine with him--let it spin. When his aunt Florence told him that Arizona was a wild and primitive place, a place not fit for habitation, he recalls that, "I knew I had to see it."

He attended Northern Arizona University, not only because its mission statement was to "make one more human," but also, because it was close to the Grand Canyon. "We would take short trips there," he smiles as his thoughts drift, "climb down to a comfortable ledge, uncork a bottle of wine and unpack a picnic basket," all of that just to watch the sun go down. Perhaps it was such picturesque inspiration that gave him the perspiration necessary to complete his Bachelor's degree in history.

Tony thinks in pictures. One of his aspirations is "to do a photo study of the Bering Straits. Another is to retrace the Siberian section of the proposed Western Union telegraph route from the U.S. to Paris," which makes him a perfect fit as the *Welebaethan* photographer and a member of the graphics team. Whether sifting through dusty tomes for relevant artwork, or patiently scanning the artwork for hours on end, the graphic thinking behind his sharp eyes always seemed to find the perfect picture for each article.



Ronald Paul Larson was born and raised on the shores of Lake Michigan in Kenosha, Wisconsin. After graduating from high school he joined the United States Army and was stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany. Ron served in the Army's "Personnel Reliability Program" and had a "Secret" clearance. To this day, he replies to questions about what he did there with the simple statement, "It's classified."

After the Army, he studied acting at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside. Realizing he was not meant to be an actor, he dropped out of college and spent a month inside Afghanistan with the Mujahideen during the Afghan War. Returning from Asia, he received his B.A. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison with a double major in History and Communication Arts with an emphasis in Radio, Television, and Film.

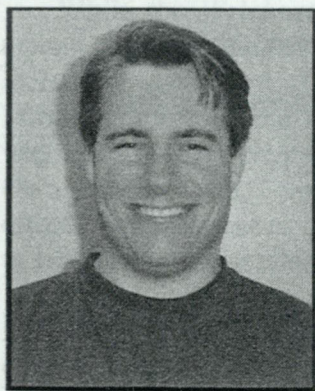
After graduation he moved to Los Angeles, California where he worked on commercial film productions and as the Head Text Researcher for a multi-episode documentary on the Revolutionary War for The Learning Channel. This documentary, narrated by Charles Kuralt, won The Cable Ace Award for "Best Documentary Series" in 1995. After his stint in the documentary world he researched and wrote educational CD-ROMS on such topics as Native Americans, volcanoes, and earthquakes.

Ron is presently in the Masters program at California State University, Fullerton studying American history with a specialization in the nineteenth century. He will either return to film and documentary work, or pursue a career in academia. Ron is a past member of the International Documentary Association. He is also a current member of Phi Alpha Theta, the history honor society, and serves as Vice President of the Theta Pi Chapter at CSUF.

Editorial Staff Biographies



Sally Pierotti is a history graduate student with a concentrated interest in the study of the Holocaust, Nazi Germany, and Arab/Israeli relations. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in both journalism and history, and has completed the education courses required for entrance into the Teaching Credential Program at California State University, Fullerton. She spent ten years in the Savings and Loan industry - five of those as a manager for a leading financial institution - before leaving the corporate world to complete her education. During her college career she has: volunteered her time to various non-profit organizations, covered for vacationing reporters at *The Orange County Register* newspaper, and worked to promote Holocaust awareness within the Catholic community. After completing her Master of Arts degree, she plans to teach history at either the high school or junior college level.



Mark Schwoerer is a graduate student in the M.A. History program at California State University, Fullerton. His emphasis is nineteenth-century United States. After attaining his Master's, Mark plans to teach and coach hockey at a junior college while working toward his Doctorate degree. His ultimate goal is to teach at the University level. Mark also plans to write a book on the Civil War as well as one concerning Thomas Jefferson. In addition, he plans to work with, or perhaps start, an organization that will protect Civil War battlefields from land development.

Mark was born in Long Beach, California in 1976. He grew up in Southern California and graduated from Villa Park High School. His interest in history grew when he started college. Mark graduated from California State University, Fullerton in May 2000. While at Fullerton, he made the Dean's List four times and gained acceptance into Phi Alpha Theta, the national history honor society.

Many of the professors in the History Department at CSUF inspired Mark and helped him become serious about his education. Mark acknowledges Dr. Rietveld, Dr. Bakken, and Dr. Van Deventer for being especially inspirational in helping him to decide his career goals. He gives them much of the credit for turning him into a dedicated student and a professional historian.

Editorial Staff Biographies



As a history major in his senior year at California State University's Fullerton campus, **Wade Wright** declares, "my biggest passion is for United States history," but it is only one of many. He is an avid reader of almost anything in print, and an accomplished improvisational actor. He enjoys watching and critiquing both classic and contemporary films. It was while taking a class on American military history class last year, that Wade served as lead author on the research essay "Two Paths Into Silence" which appears in this journal.

When he completes his Bachelor's program next December, he plans to teach seventh and eighth grade history and geography, but not necessarily here. "I plan on continuing my education in both geography and history, and eventually earn Masters in each," he declares, "but to be honest, I'd also love to teach overseas--somewhere exotic." Wade is a member of Phi Alpha Theta, the national history honor society, and will serve as Vice President for the Theta Pi Chapter next year. He is also a member of the Golden Key National Honor Society.

To laugh often and much;

to win the respect of intelligent people and the affection of children;

to earn the appreciation of honest critics and endure the betrayal of false friends;

to appreciate beauty;

to find the best in others;

to leave the world a bit better, whether by a healthy child, a garden patch or a redeemed social condition;

to know even one life has breathed easier because you have lived.

This is to have succeeded.

~ Ralph Waldo Emerson ~

Editor's Note

Publication of the 2001 edition of the *Welebaethan* has been a challenging and rewarding experience for all involved. The *Welebaethan* has established a tradition of excellence, consistently garnering top honors in national competition. Dr. Gordon Bakken stepped in this year as the new faculty advisor for the historical editing class. His leadership and guidance have been instrumental in continuing to expand upon the past success of the journal.

The *Welebaethan* Editorial Board is made up of California State University, Fullerton faculty members, students, and alumni. The board reviewed forty-three submissions and chose sixteen research essays, historiographical essays, book reviews, and cinematic reviews deemed worthy of publication. The quality of the articles is a reflection of the level of student scholarship and the high standards set by the various CSUF professors for whom these papers were produced.

The Editorial Staff introduced several new technological and creative elements to this edition. The establishment of an online web community allowed us to maintain a group email list, community calendar, and shared archive accessible even when working off-site. Staff experience with digital imaging is reflected in the quality of the cover and graphics. In addition, the use of online editing was introduced in several articles.

While the *Welebaethan* is a student-produced journal, it also is a collaborative effort among students, faculty, and staff. The history department faculty and staff have been incredibly supportive of our efforts and tolerant of our rambunctious enthusiasm. President Milton Gordon and the Associated Student Body provided us with a generous grant this year, which has entirely supported the journal and allowed us to improve upon the quality of work. On a personal note, I would like to extend my gratitude to the Editorial Staff for their tireless efforts, commitment to quality, and inventiveness. It has truly been an honor and a privilege to serve with such a talented team.

Working on the *Welebaethan* has greatly enriched my time here at CSUF. I encourage all CSUF students to become more involved in educational pursuits by joining Phi Alpha Theta, submitting papers for publication, and becoming a part of the *Welebaethan* staff. This course provides students with the occasion to learn a variety of skills that are readily transferable to future academic and professional pursuits. Furthermore, it provides students with the opportunity to be published. I hope that after reading this journal you will be inspired to participate.

Colleen Robledo
Editor

"Herodotus: *The Histories*"

Ryan McGraw

Herodotus has often been called the "father" of history. He authored The Histories, the first book of its kind. In this paper, Ryan McGraw explores The Histories and offers a brief overview of the entire work as well as a historical critique. He not only explores the text, the man and the philosophy behind the book, he also proves that Herodotus' speculative philosophy of history was influential and is still being studied.

Welebaethan

When one thinks of giant gold-digging ants, flying snakes, and tales of ancient armies a million soldiers strong--enormous even by contemporary standards--history is not usually the word that comes to mind, yet such is the work of Herodotus. His *Histories*, an amalgamation of increasingly verified historical facts seemingly blended indiscriminately with a colorful variety of more questionable information, has been broadly classified as history, art, genius and even fiction. Although *Histories* is his only book, he is the acknowledged Father of History.¹

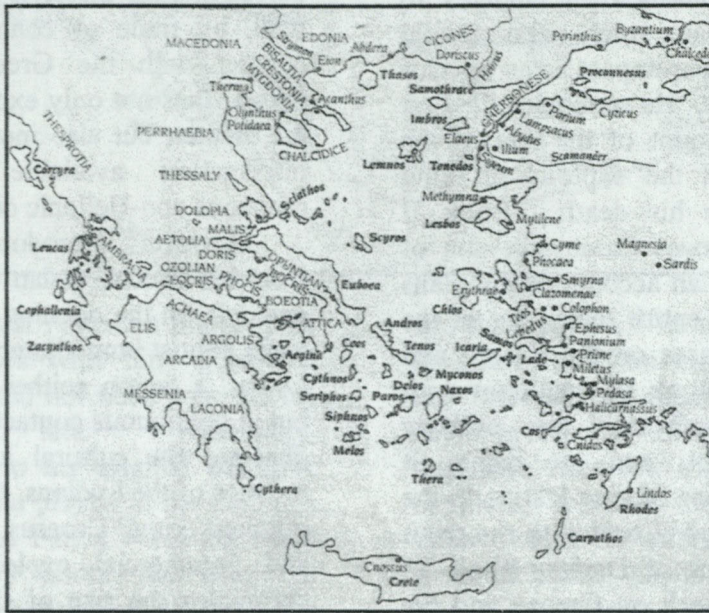
Scholars have written volumes expounding upon his themes, yet his themes are extensive to the point of distraction; they have pondered his historical methods, permeated though they are by fate, destiny, and the whimsy of gods; analyzed a philosophical outlook which was largely ahead of his time; and offered countless commentaries and criticism, though his critics generally praise him. I do not propose here to renegotiate this vast expanse of scholarship; instead I intend to provide a brief description of his

life,² discuss his analytical and speculative philosophy of history, and attempt to reify the opinions that modern critics have given of his work. While Herodotus' *Histories* remains one of the most entertaining historical works ever written, the question is: how does he measure up as an historian?

In his brief introduction to *Histories*, John M. Marincola describes how little is

known about the life of Herodotus, and that the limited information historians do have is not above a healthy dose of academic skepticism.³ Herodotus was Greek and was born in Halicarnassus, a Dorian Greek town on the southwest coast of Asia Minor, in modern-day Turkey. Ancient sources have tended to put his birth at about 484 B.C., but this date is uncertain. He apparently moved to Athens at some

point, and his writings favor Athens in their aesthetics and political proclivities. Historians have generally assumed that, in order to obtain the information contained in his *Histories*, he traveled extensively throughout most of the known world. Due to the high cost of travel in ancient times, many historians assume he was born into a wealthy, perhaps noble, family, and that perhaps he initially presented the research contained in his *Histories* through public performances or recitals. While it is not known exactly when he died, it is estimated



Greece and the Aegean, c. fifth century B.C.E. Herodotus, *Histories*, Translated by Robin Waterfield, map B, page following 772.

¹ John M. Marincola, ed., *Herodotus, The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Selincourt, (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1996), ix. Quoted from the Introduction by John M. Marincola.

² John L. Myres, *Herodotus: Father of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), V. Unless otherwise noted, all other biographical information has been taken from the introduction to Herodotus' *Histories* by John M. Marincola.

³ Brief it must be, for little of his life has been accurately documented.

Herodotus

to have occurred sometime between 430 and 414 BC.

Herodotus divides his *Histories* into nine books of nearly equal length, each with its own particular emphasis. Book I introduces his intended subject, then begins weaving a thread into the fabric by discussing the history of Ionia, the first region in Greece to have conflicts with the Persians. His emphasis then changes to Croesus, the Lydian ruler who would eventually have a great impact as an advisor to later Persian kings. He concludes the first chapter with an account of the rise of the Persian Empire and the exploits of King Cyrus, ending with his death. Book II begins with the rule of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, and provides an account of his plans to attack Egypt; the entire remainder of the book, however, focuses on the history and culture of Egypt. Book III continues with the reign of Cambyses, his military campaigns in Egypt, and his death; it concludes with the rise of king Darius to the throne. Books IV and V deal with the reign and many campaigns of Darius; Book VI concerns Darius' attack on Greece and his life up to the end of his reign. Books VII-IX conclude the tome with the reign of Xerxes, his conflicts with the Greeks, and, ultimately, the end of the wars between the Greeks and Persians.⁴

The primary purpose of *Histories* is to provide an account of the events and causes leading to the wars between the Greeks and Persians, and the great individual accomplishments of its heroes. The first lines of *Histories* declare:

... that human achievements may not be forgotten in time, and great and marvelous deeds – some displayed by Greeks, some by barbarians [i.e. any non-Greek peoples] – may not be without their glory; and especially to

show why the two peoples [Greeks and Persians] fought with each other.⁵

Herodotus touches on numerous other themes such as differences in climate; the cultures of both Greek and “barbarian” lands including their gods, foods, and national landmarks; and regional differences in flora and fauna, among other things.⁶ He also delves into the histories of the many nations who, by trade or conquest, had come in contact with the Greek nation-states or Persia, thus not only expanding the range of his themes, but also increasing the array of information available about contemporaneous non-Hellenic civilizations.

However, Herodotus often digresses from his Greco-Persian war narratives. For example, in the opening pages of Book I he leaps almost immediately into the history of Lydia,⁷ a nation neither Persian nor Greek, but in continuous contact with both. He emphasizes the cultural aspects and characteristics of the Lydians, the ancestors of their reigning king, Croesus, and their military and commercial exploits.⁸ Herodotus chronicles the rise of the nation, conflicts with other nations, the donations members of Croesus' family made to the Oracle at Delphi, and cultural comparisons between the Greeks and the Lydians. In writing about the Lydians, he relates a tale about their military campaigns against Milesia, and the story of a ship sailing from Milesia to Corinth. The crew, it seems, threw a famous musician overboard. The musician, however, rode on the back of a dolphin, arriving finally at Corinth to sing of his adventure.⁹ When the war against Milesia ended, Lydia attacked Ephesus; here Herodotus relates an encounter between

⁵ Ibid., 3. Emphasis added.

⁶ Ibid., 56, 90-1, 101, 106, 109, 113-4, 117, 139, 195, 198.

⁷ Ibid., 3-5.

⁸ Ibid., 5-29.

⁹ Ibid., 11. See also Stewart Flory, *The Archaic Smile of Herodotus* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 12.

⁴ Herodotus, xxxi-xxxviii.



The Persian Empire, ca. fifth century B.C.E.
Herodotus, The Histories,
 Translated by Robin Waterfield,
 map J, page following, 772.

Croesus and the great Athenian philosopher Solon,¹⁰ who shares with him a parable about a ruler who did not heed wise advice until it was too late.¹¹ Eventually, Herodotus returns to his original narrative about the roles Lydia played in the conflicts between Greece and Persia.¹² He digressed again into a story about the death of Croesus' son in a hunting accident at the hands of a stranger who had sought refuge with him. He continued along this tangent with the history of the stranger in relation to Lydian history as well.¹³ Herodotus returns to his Persian themes by paralleling Lydian histories with the simultaneous rise of Cyrus and his ascension to power in the Persian Empire. Herodotus then describes, in his story of Croesus' pilgrimage to the Oracle of Delphi, the incredible wealth of the temple, where the offerings came from, the utility of the various articles in the temple, and the cultural conditions in nearby Athens.¹⁴

When Herodotus describes how the Persians under Cyrus conquered Croesus

and the Lydians,¹⁵ he digresses again about the culture of Lydia. He intended to focus on the "marvels of much consequence"¹⁶ in anything that he addressed, but concedes that there were few of these in Lydia. He mentions, however, the tomb of Croesus' father, which he refers to as "the greatest work of human hands in the world" apart from things seen in Egypt or Babylon,¹⁷ and discusses how prostitution paid for this monument while describing the status of women in Lydian society. Finally, before moving back into a discussion about Cyrus, he describes how land had been allotted to the people of Lydia.¹⁸

To illustrate the ascent of Cyrus to the Persian throne, Herodotus traces the history of the Persian Empire back to its subjugation by the Assyrians, the revolt of Media against Assyrian power, and the organization of the government of the Median Empire. He digresses momentarily by comparing the plans and methods of building one large Median city to those of the city of Athens, he returns by explaining how Median kings judged their subjects. Abruptly, however,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 12-3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13-5, 36. See also James Romm, *Herodotus* (London: Yale University Press, 1998), 2-3.

¹² *Ibid.*, 35.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 14-8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

he moves on to describe the expansion of the Median Empire. Herodotus then proceeds with a narrative of the birth of Cyrus, and the early circumstances of his life.¹⁹ He details how a series of events forces Cyrus to revolt against the king of Media, and creates opportunities for his rise within the Persian Empire, and leads to his eventual ascension to the throne.²⁰

True to form, however, as soon as Herodotus gets the chance, he goes on another foray. Thus, it is here that he deals with the Persian religion, contrasting their religious practices to those of the Hellenic city-states. Unlike the Greeks, Herodotus finds that the Persians used no statues in worship. Instead, they revered many natural things such as the sun, the moon and the elements. Thus, the Greeks and Persians had a few gods in common. Herodotus summarizes his conclusions by declaring that, "the Persian religion is not anthropomorphic like the Greek."²¹ He continues his digression by noting that birthdays are always celebrated extravagantly with pageantry and large feasts. Among Persians, the date of one's birth was one of the most important days of the year.²² He reveals how the Persians loved wine, greeted one another, educated their society, and feared indebtedness. As this digression ends, Herodotus observes that all of the Persian names "which express magnificence" or portray some high quality of personal character always end in the letter 'S.'²³ "I will now resume the thread of my story," he declares,²⁴ returning his narrative to the Persian involvement in Ionia, yet stopping often along the way to describe the lands and customs of these peoples. He continues, for the most part, in this manner to the death of Cyrus in a battle in the

eastern part of the Persian Empire.²⁵ Herodotus' meandering style is that of the whole of *Histories*. While he continues to pursue his major themes - eventually moving into a detailed account, in Books VI-IX, of the Greco-Persian war itself²⁶ - Herodotus wanders on numerous deviations to cover varied, and seemingly unrelated, subjects.

Geography, especially that of Egypt, is described in Book II. It is a subject not considered in Book I. Herodotus spends a considerable amount of time writing about the many aspects of the Nile River: the size and disposition of its countless deltas, its many tributaries and branches, why the river floods and the effects of its flood cycle, the effects of the sun on the river, and its source and direction of flow, among others.²⁷ Another theme not covered in Book I, but evident in all other volumes, is a detailed description of animals. Book II deals specifically with the animals of Egypt: cats, dogs, crocodiles, mongooses, hippopotami, flying snakes,²⁸ giant gold-digging ants, and sheep with four and-a-half-foot long tails.²⁹ While appearing off the subject entirely, they are carefully woven together by Herodotus into the "thread of [his] story,"³⁰ which ultimately returns to its center: the Greco-Persian War.

Throughout the book, Herodotus provides detailed accounts of the war, starting with Athens and Eritrea allying with Ionia to help stop the spread of Persian power into Greece.³¹ King Cyrus exacts revenge by destroying Eritrea and attacking Athens. The Athenians slaughter the Persians at Marathon, and reputation by conquering Greece.³² He dies, however Cyrus swears to

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 41-5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 54-5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 55.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, 55-7.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, xxxvi-xxxviii, 337-543.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, see pages 89-119 for Herodotus' full discussion of the Nile River.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 110-3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 196, 194-5, 198.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 316-7.

³² *Ibid.*, 356-64.

avenge his, and King Xerxes plans to resume the war. When Xerxes attacks, the first two battles at Thermopylae on land, and on the sea near the port of Artemesium, were Persian victories. Both, however, come about only with great difficulty and substantial losses of men and materiel. The Greek fleet surviving Artemesium retreats south,³³ eventually engaging the Persians in a decisive naval battle at Salamis, where the Persian navy is decimated.³⁴ Xerxes retreated to Persia leaving a part of his army in Greece under one of his commanders. The Greeks engage them in battle at Platea, nearly wiping out the remainder, and pursuing them beyond Greece and into the Persian frontier.³⁵

Speculative History

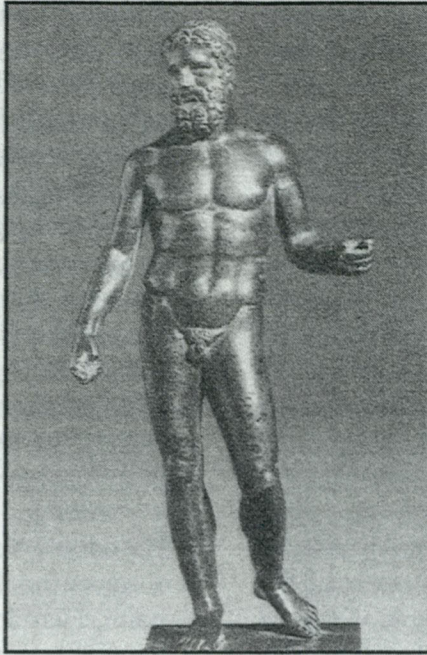
At first blush, *Histories* seems more speculative than analytical in nature. Herodotus often deals with gods and goddesses as authoritative sources, applying as "evidence" information gleaned from the various Greek oracles, as well as that of mystics from exotic lands. Often he gives the highest place of authority to the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi. Herodotus, himself a Greek and, like most Greeks, a polytheist, was highly influenced by Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Therefore, like Homer, he presented the involvement of the gods in every aspect of human life and industry.³⁶

³³ Ibid., 437-56.

³⁴ Ibid., 475-9.

³⁵ Ibid., 510-30.

³⁶ Charles W. Fornara, *Herodotus: An Interpretive Essay* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 35.



Zeus, father of the gods. M.V.
Seton-williams, *Greek Legends and Stories*, 10.

Herodotus' appeal to oracles comes early in Book I. While discussing the lineage of Croesus, king of Lydia, Herodotus describes the rise of Croesus'

family to power, declaring that, "the Heraclids [Croesus' family] later had their power confirmed by an oracle."³⁷ In referring to Croesus' great-great-great-grandfather, Gyges, he says, "he had his power confirmed by an oracle from Delphi," and again, "the answer of the oracle was in favor of Gyges, so his royal power was established."³⁸ Herodotus then refers to an event where Alyattes, Croesus' father, accidentally burned down a temple of Athena and, as a result, "Alyattes fell ill."³⁹ Consequently, Herodotus tells us, "Alyattes built two temples

for Athene . . . instead of one, and recovered his health."⁴⁰

This clearly implies that his health was restored as a result

of appeasing the goddess Athene -- a method by which Herodotus explains all major health problems, catastrophes, and violent deaths.⁴¹ When Croesus succeeds his father and becomes king of Lydia, he is accused by Solon of placing too much comfort in his riches and for thinking that he was the happiest man alive. Croesus chooses to disregard Solon's warning, deciding instead to "let Solon go with cold indifference."⁴² From this point on, everything went downhill for Croesus, starting with the death of his son in a hunting accident, and eventually ending with the loss of his kingdom to the Persians.

³⁷ Herodotus, 5. Emphasis added.

³⁸ Ibid., 7.

³⁹ Ibid., 9.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 10.

⁴¹ Ibid., 83, 179-80.

⁴² Ibid., 15.

"After Solon's departure nemesis fell upon Croesus, presumably because God was angry with him for supposing himself to be the happiest of men."⁴³ This parable reinforces a common theme in *Histories*: that a person does not listen to a wise advisor or an oracle until it is too late.⁴⁴ Thus, Herodotus reasons that disaster befalls Croesus' as punishment by one or more of the gods. Herodotus records Croesus reflecting upon Solon's words as he is about to be burned alive by King Cyrus of Persia, calling the Athenian philosopher's words "divine truth."⁴⁵ Croesus is saved from the flames, in typical Greek fashion, when he prays to a god who instantly sent heavy rains to quench the fire.⁴⁶ The rise and fall of nations, and of their kings, is in the whimsical hands of the gods.⁴⁷

Herodotus also relied upon omens or signs as clear and infallible indicators of the outcome of an event. For example, Croesus saw horses eating snakes in a meadow and took it to be an omen of some sort that had relevance to the future prosperity of his kingdom. Herodotus, supporting Croesus' conclusion, says, "Croesus, quite rightly, took this extraordinary sight as an omen, and at once sent to . . . men who interpreted such things."⁴⁸ Here Herodotus clearly indicates that, like Croesus, he believed this omen would have some bearing upon Croesus' future. Indeed, Herodotus went on to record that it prophesied Croesus would lose his kingdom to foreigners, the event happening a short time later.⁴⁹ In providing another example of prophesy, Herodotus describes a city in eastern Greece where a priestess to Athena occasionally grew a "long beard" in order to warn the inhabitants of "any

impending disaster to them and their neighbors."⁵⁰ Another example is an account of lighting flashing in a clear sky divining that Darius should be the one ascending to the Persian throne,⁵¹ and that, while laying siege to Babylon, a Babylonian soldier taunted from the wall, "oh yes, you will capture our city – when mules have foals." Mules, of course, are incapable of foaling, yet a couple of lines later Herodotus writes that, "one of [the] sumpter-mules foaled."⁵² Darius' servants saw this omen and knew it meant Babylon would fall. Herodotus, recalling the soldier's taunt, notes "that the man should have used this phrase, and that the miracle should actually have happened – surely that meant that the hand of God was in it."⁵³

Along with divine intervention, Herodotus also often appealed to destiny as a cause for the outcome of events. At one point, Herodotus refers back to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and the story of Helen of Troy, noting that it was indeed possible Helen had never really been kidnapped and taken to Troy, but might have been taken to Egypt instead. However, because the Greeks believed her to be in Troy and because the Trojans would not give her back, they fought a war for ten years. Herodotus explains that:

The fact is, they did not give Helen up because they had not got her; what they told the Greeks was the truth, and I do not hesitate to declare that the refusal of the Greeks to believe it came of divine volition in order that their utter destruction might plainly prove to mankind that great offences meet with great punishments at the hands of God."⁵⁴

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ John Hart, *Herodotus and Greek History* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 30-1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 35. See also Romm, 64.

⁴⁶ Herodotus, 38.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 190, 378, 380. See also Hart, 29.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 32-3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 190.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 213. Emphasis added.

⁵³ *Ibid.* See also Hart, 31-2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

In other words, the Trojan War was unavoidable because it came of divine volition and was predetermined as a punishment against the people by the gods. But even more than the gods, Herodotus saw the idea of destiny as being so powerful and all encompassing in its effect on all events that, as the Priestess of Apollo is reported by him to have said, "not God himself could escape destiny."⁵⁵ Thus, in describing the end of the reign of the Persian king, Cambyses, even he is presented as coming to the conclusion "that it is not in human power to avert what is destined to be."⁵⁶ Herodotus' own sentiments - that all things that come to pass were subject to both the whims of the gods and to the will of destiny- are the types of speculative explanation permeating the whole of the Histories.

Inventing An Analytical Philosophy Of History

Herodotus wrote the Histories in the Greek language, with the intention of giving a true account of events to be presented to the Greek people of his day. He did not write for posterity, nor did he write for peoples of the non-Greek world. I say this because such things have to be kept in mind when looking the analytical methods of Herodotus, the historian.⁵⁷ His methods range from the use of eyewitness accounts and word of mouth narratives, to Herodotus' mere personal opinion of how things were likely to have happened, and to filling in dialogue and speeches in order to make his story more interesting. Since Herodotus is, by modern historians, the first person to be considered an historian, he did not address issues such as how history related to other disciplines, what the actual definition of history was, and what the possible uses of history were. Before him, nobody had written a prose historical account of anything.

Herodotus' type of work had not yet been defined by anyone. The closest he came to addressing any of these questions is found in the moralistic implications found in his stories. For example, there is always a wise advisor character who warns a person of impending doom, yet he is never listened to until it is too late.⁵⁸ Also Herodotus emphasizes a world of extreme opposites in order to show the deep contrast between varying societies. However, since he was the only one around to set the standard for himself, he did not have to address the common questions a modern historian would have to face regarding the disciplines of history.⁵⁹

Herodotus' most common sources of information were the use of oral testimonies, his own eyewitness accounts, and personal knowledge. Herodotus says that the "general plan" of his book "is to record the traditions of the various nations just as I heard them related to me."⁶⁰ Here he notes that his own intention was to present the various testimonies that he heard and to include them faithfully in the Histories. He used such language as "I heard it," "the Chaldaeans also say," "I was told," "I know from the inquiries I have made," "the Egyptians told me," "I asked the priests," and many similar expressions that indicate that information has been obtained through some sort of oral testimony.⁶¹ Also, he often included two or more conflicting accounts and allowed the reader to determine which account was the most plausible. For example, when he described the size of the Araxes River located to the East of the Persian Empire, he said, "The Araxes is said by some to be bigger than the Danube, by others not to be so big."⁶² Another example was when Cambyses, king of Persia, ordered

⁵⁵ Ibid., 38.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 180.

⁵⁷ Fornara, 59-61.

⁵⁸ Herodotus, 12-5, 179-80.

⁵⁹ For a more detailed discussion of these themes in Herodotus cf. Flory, 11-21.

⁶⁰ Herodotus, 131. cf. Flory, 13.

⁶¹ Ibid., 9, 72, 105, 109, and 126.

⁶² Ibid., 80.

the execution of his brother, Smerdis, by one of his servants. Herodotus was not certain how the servant killed Smerdis, so he presented two accounts and said, "according to one account [the servant] took his victim out hunting, according to another he lured him down to the Persian Gulf and drowned him."⁶³ He continued in this way throughout most of the book usually using phrases like, "according to one account," and "according to another."⁶⁴



Odysseus gouging out the eye of the Cyclops.
M. V. Seton-Williams, *Greek Legends and Stories*,
63.

Herodotus also often appealed to his own eyewitness accounts and personal knowledge. Even while he discussed conflicting accounts, Herodotus said, "I prefer to rely on my own knowledge" as his final authority.⁶⁵ Of course, his major source for this personal knowledge, according to Herodotus himself, were his experiences as

an eyewitness to something that he was describing. He often described certain landmarks or articles that could still be found in a temple, and which could be verified by his contemporaries. For example, when Croesus' was saved from being burned alive, he sent offerings to the shrines of Apollo throughout Greece. As proof of this, Herodotus told his readers that they could go to these places and see them for themselves, and that he himself had in fact seen them.⁶⁶ In his detailed discussion of Egypt, Herodotus also said, "As far as Elephantine [southern Egypt along the Nile] I speak as an eyewitness."⁶⁷ Again, in the same discussion he later said, "Up to this point I have confined what I have written to the results of my own direct observation and research, and the views that I have formed from them."⁶⁸ He also went on to discuss the size of two of the largest Egyptian pyramids and to prove that his representation of their size was accurate he said, "I measured them both myself."⁶⁹ Herodotus presented the appeal to eyewitness and word of mouth accounts as the major sources of his information contained in the *Histories*.

Herodotus discriminated between which of his sources he should believe and which ones to reject based upon his own personal preferences. For example, in his preface to the information he gave about King Cyrus of Persia, Herodotus noted that there were several varying accounts of the life of Cyrus, but he decided to give the one that he thought to be the most accurate. He explained his choice by saying:

I could, if I wished, give three versions of Cyrus' history, all different from what follows; but I propose to base my account on those Persian authorities who seem to tell

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 95. Emphasis added.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 133.

the simple truth about him without trying to exaggerate his exploits.⁷⁰

His selection here of the Persian account was justified in his eyes because those "Persian authorities . . . seem to tell the simple truth." Again, at the end of his presentation of this account he said, "there are many accounts of Cyrus' death; I have given the one which I think most plausible."⁷¹ In this case, he believed that the account that his source gave him was reliable, but this was not always the case. In a later place, Herodotus noted a story in which "the Chaldaeans say" that one of their gods actually entered his temple from time to time to rest on the bed there, yet here Herodotus responded and said, "though I do not believe them."⁷² Here it is important to remember that to Herodotus, an eyewitness account of a god entering into a temple would have been plausible evidence. In the first case of the life of Cyrus, however, Herodotus presented his source as authoritative; in this second case, he rejects his source on apparently no other basis than the fact that it seemed to be unbelievable to him. Since no other written histories from Herodotus' time exist, modern readers have difficulty judging the accuracy of his sources. As far as the reader can tell, this arbitrary technique was Herodotus' usual method of discriminating between his sources, although he did not always openly declare this.

Another method that Herodotus commonly employed was that of giving attention to a specific aspect of a story and then letting the reader know that he had intentionally left out potentially important details.⁷³ To use the life of Cyrus as an example again, Herodotus was speaking

about Cyrus' military conquests when he said, "most of his minor conquests I will say nothing about, but mention only those of his campaigns which gave him the greatest trouble and are themselves the most interesting."⁷⁴ Herodotus' basis for including the accounts that he did was mostly based upon what he thought would make the most interesting stories. Another example is when Herodotus was addressing the customs of Egypt and he noted that the Egyptians, like the Greeks, worship the god Pan. He then described, however, that the Egyptians did not believe that Pan was half man and half goat in the manner that the Greeks did, yet he pointed out that the statues of Pan in Egypt portrayed him in the same way as those in Greece. When the question why this was so arose, Herodotus answered, "why – I should prefer not to mention."⁷⁵ He continued to do this throughout the whole book while explaining himself with such statements as: "I know, but I think it seemly not to mention," and "I do not feel it is proper for me to say," or "all the details . . . are known to me, but I will say no more," and other similar statements.⁷⁶ Such statements represent Herodotus' common strategy of explaining things that he did not want to talk about or of explaining to the reader why he had not presented all of the details, which sometimes leaves the reader with the effect that his stories are unfinished.

Herodotus also liked to discriminate between varying historical accounts by simple reasoning or by the process of elimination. He would often lay out the facts for the reader and then reason through them to come up with an explanation that made sense to him. For example, Herodotus told a story of how the Persians dammed a certain river in order to split it into two parts so that their army could safely get across both parts instead of facing the full force of

⁷⁰ Ibid., 41. Also see Virginia Hunter, *Past and Process in Herodotus and Thucydides* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 215.

⁷¹ Ibid., 84.

⁷² Ibid., 72.

⁷³ Fornara, 73.

⁷⁴ Herodotus, 70.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 103.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 104, 108, 109, 149, 155, and 202.

the river. Herodotus noted that some had said that before the army returned to the river, the original riverbed had dried up. He noted that he did not believe this account because there was account of the Persians crossing the water on the way back. He said, "for had it been so, how would they have crossed [the river] on the way back?"⁷⁷ Another example of Herodotus' use of reason in coming up with an explanation is seen when he was dealing with conflicting accounts that were trying to explain the flood cycle of the Nile River. He first presented a few of the varying explanations. He then went on to give one of his own and said,

I would say . . . that during the winter the sun is driven out of its course by storms toward the upper parts of Libya. It stands to reason that the country nearest to, and most directly under, the sun should be most short of water, and that the streams which feed the rivers in that neighborhood should most readily dry up.⁷⁸

Herodotus often continued to reason in one of the ways described here throughout all of *Histories* in order to either determine which account was the most accurate, or in order to come up with his own alternative explanation of an event.

A final note about Herodotus' analytical methods is that he did not hesitate to write out speeches or dialogues between people

with apparently no written sources upon which to rely. In fact, most of the *Histories* were written in the form of giving extensive direct quotes from individuals, as well as important speeches and conversations. At first this may slip by the readers' attention, since many books today are written in this manner, but then the attentive reader stops to think about where Herodotus obtained this information when Herodotus himself said that his intent "is to record the traditions of the various nations just as [he] heard them related to [him]."⁷⁹ Herodotus himself admitted at times that he had only assumed that a speech or conversation went a certain way. For example, in describing a conversation between some of the leaders of the nation of Media, Herodotus said, "I presume the friends of Deioces did most of the talking."⁸⁰ He then, however, proceeded to quote a section of the conversation even though he was not sure who actually did the talking, but he had only presumed. Later, he presented three famous speeches known as the "Constitutional Debate," where a group of Persians who had just killed the ruler of Persia were debating how the new government should be set up. He provided the reader with lengthy portions of each speech presented in the debate, but John M. Marincola, writing an introduction to the histories, notes in a text note that this account of the "'Constitutional Debate' is not accepted by modern scholars as historical."⁸¹ Not only did Herodotus appear to make up a dialogue with no written sources to rely upon when it suited his purposes, but he could not even have been present to hear most of the dialogues. Though the modern reader may question Herodotus' use of this method of making up historical dialogue in order to illustrate his points, it must certainly be taken note of,

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 94. Though to the modern reader, this explanation may seem to be more speculative than analytical, it should be noted that the emphasis here is only to show an example of the manner in which Herodotus uses reason to construct an explanation. Also it should be noted that, to Herodotus, this would have been an attempt at an analytical explanation. The fact that he mentions that he believes the movement of storms to effect the sun conveys a belief that the sun itself is suspended in the sky. This would make it a reasonable observation to assume that a storm could effect the sun since they are both in the sky together and storms create winds.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 41-2.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 187 (see text note 29). Herodotus presents the three speeches of the "Constitutional Debate" on pages 187-9.

since the majority of the Histories presents information in this way.

Intellectual Quality

Most modern critics of Herodotus believe that, although he had his fair share of errors, he was overall very accurate and contributed much to the discipline of history. The major consensus is one of praise of his major accomplishments, and that he was far ahead of his time in his methodology. His histories became the model both for many of his contemporaries as well as having a significant and beneficial influence on the discipline of history to this day.

Critics generally note that Herodotus gave many useful and lasting contributions to the discipline of history. Most obviously, and possibly most importantly, as historian J.A.S. Evans notes, Herodotus was the first to establish written history. Before him, there were usually only chroniclers and all other history was most commonly oral.⁸² He also developed the standard for presenting individual portraits of people, or biographies.⁸³ This is best exemplified in his descriptions of Pausanias and Themistocles.⁸⁴ In addition to this, Herodotus is also praised for the diversity of writing styles that he employs in his Histories as well as for inventing Greek prose, which became the model for later historians including the famous Thucydides.⁸⁵ These are only a few of the innovations of Herodotus that are highly praised by his critics and these and other contributions of Herodotus have had lasting effects on the discipline of history. These praises are well

founded and should not be forgotten when considering the influence of Herodotus.

Critics praise Herodotus for the accuracy of his information, and for his discernment in deciding which sources are the most reliable. The level of accuracy of Herodotus' Histories has stood the test of time. Although he is criticized for being too trusting of tales told to him, and for inventing knowledge which he may not have had, most scholars take Herodotus at his word, and are amazed at his level of accuracy.⁸⁶ People usually consider it a fair assumption to trust modern scholars in the same way that modern scholars trust Herodotus.⁸⁷ By employing the use of critical inquiry, Herodotus is also admired by many modern historians for seeking truth and trying to discriminate between sources.⁸⁸ This is exceptional since there was really no established critical method in his day.⁸⁹ Although he does not exclude deities from his chronicles, Herodotus is also praised for reifying history and of providing natural explanations for events.⁹⁰ He also had the advantage of including a variety of other disciplines into his Histories, since history had not yet been distinguished as a separate discipline.⁹¹ These factors added to the range of topics about which he wrote and helped him to reach more accurately discerned conclusions. By simply reading the Histories, one gets the sense that Herodotus does, in fact, make an honest attempt to be accurate, a view consistently expressed by his critics.

After reading Histories, some at first glance may wonder why Herodotus deserves to be called an historian at all. His methods were based upon preference. He is more

⁸² J.A.S. Evans, *Herodotus: Explorer of the Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), IX, 145.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁸⁴ Fornara, 62-3 & 66; Herodotus, 429, 516-23.

⁸⁵ Michael Grant, *Readings in the Classical Historians* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1992), 26; Evans, 145.

⁸⁶ Romm, 7-8.

⁸⁷ Although this may be a historians fallacy because it appeals to consensus opinion when even scholars can be wrong, it may be all that the student has to go by at times.

⁸⁸ Hunter, 65.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁹¹ Evans, 3.

interested in telling a good story than providing an accurate account, and often he is either dishonest or blatantly wrong. For example, in Herodotus' discussion of Egypt in Book II, he tried to describe what a hippopotamus looked like and said, "This animal has four legs, cloven hooves like a wild ox, a snub nose, a horse's mane and tail, conspicuous tusks, a voice like a horse's neigh, and is about the size of a very large ox."⁹² Anyone who has even the remotest idea of what a hippopotamus looks like will immediately realize how inaccurate this description is.⁹³ He then continued and said, "Its hide is so thick and tough that when dried it can be made into spear shafts." John M. Marincola, commenting on *Histories*, says Herodotus' description, "clearly, he saw neither the real thing nor pictures of it, and his description is based purely on its Greek name, which means 'river horse.'"⁹⁴ This shows a twinge of dishonesty because he had apparently never seen a hippopotamus, but a few pages later he said, "up to this point I have confirmed what I have written to the results of my own direct observation and research."⁹⁵ Herodotus also declared in another place that the Persian army raised against the Greeks contained approximately one million and seven hundred thousand soldiers.⁹⁶ One history professor at California State University Fullerton speculates the actual number at two hundred to two hundred and fifty thousand, reasoning that this slight exaggeration was designed to glorify the Greek victory even more fully. The Greek

army, after all, was probably numbered in the low tens of thousands.⁹⁷

There are other times when Herodotus was trying to give an honest account of what happened, but was blatantly wrong. For example, he mentioned that the name of every important person in Persian history ended with an 'S.' The editor, however, notes that, "Persian names end in 's' only in their Greek transliteration, which shows that Herodotus did not know Persian."⁹⁸ Also, with the previously cited example of the "Constitutional Debate," the editor notes that most modern scholars don't believe that since there is no other record of it. He also notes there never was such a debate, and that the debate topics were not likely to have been discussed in ancient Persia.⁹⁹ Also in his discussion of the genealogy of the pharaohs of Egypt, Herodotus mixed up the order of descent very badly. For example, he misplaced the reigns of pharaohs Cheops, Chephren, and Mycernius by about five hundred to twelve hundred years.¹⁰⁰ Such mistakes make it difficult for the reader to know, while reading the *Histories*, whether or not the accounts are in fact accurate. To Herodotus' credit, however, the reader may have the same problem with factual verification while reading the work of many other historians as well.

In spite of these and many other errors that one encounters in Herodotus' *Histories*, as Stewart Flory states, "It would be wrong to suggest that he is not a historian."¹⁰¹ The events he describes give modern researchers most of what they know about the time in

⁹² Herodotus, 112.

⁹³ For those who don't know, the hippopotamus has no tusks, no cloven hooves, no mane like a horse, and sounds nothing like the neighing of a horse. The only details he got right are the number of legs, the nose, and the size of the animal.

⁹⁴ Herodotus, 112. See in text note 47.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 395.

⁹⁷ Unpublished lecture notes from California State University Fullerton. Professor Steve Chrysanthos, History 415A, 2-23-00.

⁹⁸ Herodotus, 57. See in text note 51.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 187. See in text note 29. It should be noted here that lack of evidence for something's existence is never proof of its non-existence. This point has been mentioned to show that there is some question raised as to the validity of Herodotus' account.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, See text note 69 in book II and also the chart of the chronology of Egyptian pharaohs on page xli.

¹⁰¹ Flory, 12.

which Herodotus wrote, and his research and findings are in many cases increasingly verified and accurate. Also, the fairness in which Herodotus portrayed non-Greek peoples--the 'barbarians in his story--is admirable. This was an unusual thing for the time and place in which he lived. Almost all other Greeks assumed that "barbarians" could never accomplish anything worth mentioning, and that the Greek systems of government were better by nature.¹⁰² It is important to note that, as one historian says, "Herodotus' method is artistic, not historical."¹⁰³ Herodotus is criticized in terms of how he would measure up as a historian by today's standards. Yet, his intent was merely to write a good story and to leave a record of the great war with the Persians, so that his own generation and his own people would remember. Considering this modest intent, it must be said that he was extremely successful in achieving his goals. His book is one of the most entertaining stories written. It accurately portrays major events, and it is a work of literary genius.¹⁰⁴ As Charles W. Fornara has rightly asserted, "Herodotus is essentially an artist," and he should be read as one.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, his contribution as the first person to write an account of historic events in prose style and his heavy emphasis on identifying the underlying causes of historical events cannot be dismissed.

Although Herodotus made substantial errors at times and the average reader cannot always tell whether Herodotus is writing truth or fiction, most of his critics give him much praise and are amazed at the accuracy with which he wrote his histories. Herodotus also made many lasting contributions to the discipline of history. The discipline of history as a whole, as well as

all students of history, is indebted to him for his innovations.

A single book written by one man well over two thousand years ago has made a tremendous impact on the discipline of history and many other fields. In light of the volumes that have been written about Histories by scholars, students of history today can read about the methods used by Herodotus by examining his life, major themes, speculative philosophy and his analytical methods.

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Ryan currently teaches a college bible study course at his church, where he is also a deacon. In his spare time he enjoys reading Jonathan Edwards books and The Bible. His hobbies include swimming, and up until recently, skateboarding. Ryan also hopes to travel to South Wales and practice the ministry there.

¹⁰² Ibid., 20-1.

¹⁰³ Fornara, 65.

¹⁰⁴ For sentiments expressing the entertainment value of Herodotus, see also Hart, 178, see also Romm, 7.

¹⁰⁵ Romm, 61.

“Lincoln: Liberator or Tyrant?”

Ryan Swanson

Since the Civil War, there has been a debate over the meaning of two seemingly contradictory actions by President Lincoln: his suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus and the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation. The former is regarded by many as an unjustified and possibly unconstitutional act that greatly restricted freedom in this country while the later, regardless of its immediate effect on slaves, is considered a significant step toward freedom. In his article, Ryan Swanson argues that these seemingly contradictory actions of Lincoln are consistent when it is understood that Lincoln viewed both as necessary and constitutionally permissible actions; the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus to put down an unconstitutional rebellion and the Emancipation Proclamation as a necessary war measure that allowed Lincoln an opportunity to act upon a lifelong hatred of slavery.

When Lincoln made his legendary address to the throng present at the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery on November 19, 1863, he said "The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here . . ."¹ This prediction, though filled with humility, was decidedly wrong. The world not only remembers the words of this and Lincoln's other speeches, but even collect his words left behind on napkins, scraps of paper, and in letters. Generations of historians have been consumed with the study of the United States' sixteenth President. Topics ranging from his military philosophy, to his sense of humor, and even to his courtship, have led to countless books and journal articles.² There are even publications dedicated solely to the historiography of Lincoln.³ Obviously, there is abundant material worthy of evaluation and engagement regarding Lincoln. Thus, to substantively engage in a study of Lincoln and his presidency, the historian is required to set a scope with a specific purpose and limits. This study is neither an exhaustive historical analysis of the Lincoln presidency, nor a biographical account. Rather, it is a defense of Lincoln's decisions to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and issue the Emancipation Proclamation. These two paradoxical decisions, connected because of their proximity in time, are vital to understanding Lincoln. The paradox will be addressed with ample evidence that shows the two decisions are compatible,

with neither betraying the character or purpose of Lincoln.

Both of the decisions to be studied transcend mere legislation to illuminate the core of Lincoln and his presidency. Both have been subject to much debate and study and seem contradictory. One decision restricts the liberty of citizens, while the other gives freedom to slaves. These two decisions, of Lincoln's thousands, command special attention. They must be confronted and reconciled in order to make sense of Lincoln. It is this study's purpose to demonstrate first that the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus was justified pragmatically, constitutionally, and in light of historical comparison and secondly that the emancipation proclamation was not merely a military measure, but rather the calculated move of a liberator.

As a precursor to the body of the study, it is worthwhile to note the evolution of the historiography of Lincoln. His Civil War presidency and his subsequent martyrdom elevated Lincoln to the position of a near immortal. A contemporary remarked with valid foresight that Lincoln's memory "will be held in adoration, but one degree inferior to that which we bestow on the Savior of all mankind."⁴ Lincoln was compared to luminaries such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and even Moses. This trend continued in history for some time. From 1865 to 1900 many works on Lincoln were released, almost exclusively with a positive viewpoint. They varied really only in whether to name him a demigod or simply a great man.⁵ By the 1920's however, two

¹ Walter Hendricks, ed., *Selected Writings and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln*. (Chicago: Packard and Co., 1943), 230.

² Some examples of these highly specific books about Lincoln are: *The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln* by Colin R. Ballard, *Abraham Lincoln . . .* By Albert Shaw which is in comic style and about the humor and wit of Lincoln, and *The Courtship of Mr. Lincoln* by Ruth Painter Randall.

³ Within the University of California library system, I found no less than 49 periodicals specifically relating to Lincoln. Some examples: *The Lincoln Herald*, *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, and *The Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*.

⁴ Barry Schwartz, "Collective Memory and History: How Abraham Lincoln Became a Symbol of Racial Equality," *Sociological Quarterly*. vol. 38, n3 (Summer, 1997): 475.

⁵ As noted in Barry Schwartz's study in the *Sociological Quarterly* (Summer 1997), history following the death of Lincoln lacked diversity, especially in the view of Lincoln as the great liberator. Josiah Holland and Isaac Arnold published reverent works in 1866. John G. Nicolay and John Hay produced a laudatory, ten-volume work in 1890.

images of Lincoln had emerged: one as the fearless leader who freed the slaves out of moral conviction, and another with Lincoln as a tyrannical leader who was a reluctant liberator forced only by the military reality of the Civil War. Thus, historical literature regarding Lincoln settled into dichotomous camps; one positive, one negative.

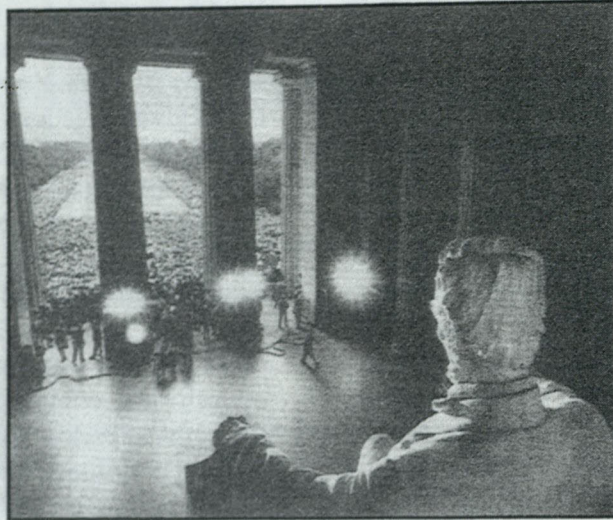
Historians of the 20th century felt the freedom and responsibility to expose the negative aspects of Lincoln. Historian Edmund Wilson and novelist Gore Vidal criticized Lincoln for alleged abuses of power during the Civil War. African-Americans such as George Washington Williams, Archibald H. Grimke and W.E.B. Dubois questioned his legacy as a moral liberator.⁶ Lincoln historiography came full circle in the 1960's and 1970's with critics such as Lerone Bennet. He argued that Lincoln was nothing more than an opportunist who shifted with the political winds and inferred that Lincoln was actually a white supremacist. Recently, there was the sight of Louis Farrakhan speaking to the hundreds of thousands African-American men at the million-man march, and explicitly addressing the "Lincoln myth." "Abraham Lincoln," he said, "was never in favor of our being jurors or having equal status with the whites of this nation."⁷ This last example, while certainly

not that of a historian, shows the evolution that has occurred in the public perception of Lincoln. Presently, there are both positive and negative works in progress. They possess, however, less of the reverence or

the retributive attitude that the study of Lincoln has elicited at various times. To say that Lincolnian history is returning to the objectivity shown by Frederick Douglass is hopeful, yet not entirely with merit.⁸

Sociologists marvel at Lincoln's speedy ascent to the place of immortals of the United States' history. His popularity is somewhat perplexing because it stems from a multitude of different factors. It

seems that no two people define Lincoln's greatness in the same way. Consensus comes only on the fact that he was great. Lincoln still inspires fervent emotion from a multitude of groups. Attaching his name to an idea lends it credibility. Lincoln's image endorsed the civil rights movement, as might be expected. However, causes such as the New Deal, which do not seem to have a



The Lincoln Memorial holds symbolic significance for many groups with differing agendas. Merrill D. Peterson, *Lincoln: An American Memory*, 356.

⁸ One example of a "fair" account of Abraham Lincoln may be the address of Frederick Douglass at the unveiling of the freedmen's monument in Washington D.C. He acknowledged that Lincoln was still "pre-eminently the white man's president," but also that Lincoln made some advances for blacks. He knew that Lincoln's actions were dictated by a multitude of influences, and could not be looked at in a singular approach. The reading of the full text of this speech, given April 14, 1876, is invaluable to one's understanding of Lincoln's complexity. Douglass seemed unswayed by the general adoration that surrounded the situation and time, but rather attempted to assess Lincoln with objectivity. There is still a positive tone, but one less mythical than many others.

The Lincolnian history of the second half of the 19th century was largely without criticism.

⁶ Ibid., 477.

⁷ "Excerpts From Farrakhan Talk: 'Still 2 Americas, One Black, One White'" *New York Times*, 17 October 1995, sec A.

connection with Lincoln, also use him. As a rallying place, the Lincoln Memorial has been shared by groups that would see themselves as enemies.⁹ Lincoln's image has come to be all things to all causes. Lincoln is Republican and Democrat, pro-life and pro-choice, as well as a white supremacist and civil rights leader. Why is this information important to this study? This is relevant to this research, and to the reader, only as a caution. Lincoln is associated with such a vast number of movements, candidates and ideas that one must be cautious to distinguish between the historical Lincoln and the Lincoln myth. A fictional Lincoln has been created that fits the purposes of all groups. Mario Cuomo once said that Lincoln's work was not done yet because there was still "the oppression of a ruthless economic system . . . and still racial, religious, ethnic, and gender discrimination."¹⁰ Did Lincoln ever mention, or even conceive these forms of oppression? It is doubtful that he did, but Cuomo provides another reminder of the twisted image of Lincoln that must be avoided.

Prerequisite warnings aside, I reiterate that the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus was both prudent and justified. Although Lincoln suspended the writ two days after signing the Emancipation Proclamation, attention will first focus on

the perceived "blackspot" of Lincoln's administration. Simply stated, Lincoln enabled the military to circumvent due process and make immediate arrests. Of this Supreme Court Chief Justice Robert B. Taney said, "The president has exercised a power which he does not possess under the constitution."¹¹ This statement, while seemingly conclusive, does little more than sum up the accusations of generations of historians. They contend Lincoln's decision to suspend habeas corpus is not compatible with his Emancipation Proclamation. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and military arrests must be dealt with first because realizing that Lincoln was neither a tyrant nor a dictator is the first step in understanding him.

Mark E. Neely has renewed the debate regarding the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the subsequent military arrests in *The Fate of Liberty*.¹² He provides, what I am categorizing as, a pragmatic defense of Lincoln's actions. Through extensive research in the National Archives he has offered a new perspective. He asks the rudimentary question of "what happened." What is it that we are arguing about? He doesn't settle for the consolation that Lincoln inflicted no long-term damage to the country, as many historians have.

⁹ A work by Scott A. Sandage explores this phenomenon. His article "A Marble House Divided: The Lincoln Memorial, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Politics of Memory, 1939-1963." *The Journal of American History*, June 1993 deals with how memory affects history and why the Lincoln Memorial is such a powerful symbol to so many causes.

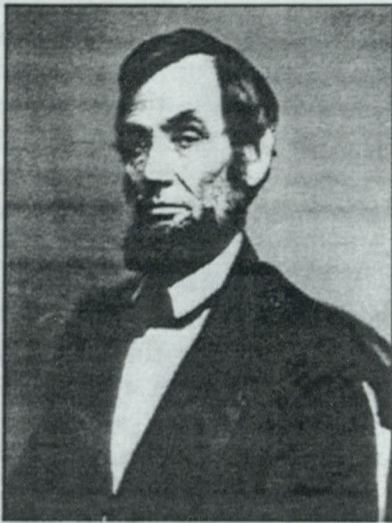
¹⁰ Mario Cuomo, "Abraham Lincoln and Our Unfinished Business," from *Building the Myth* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 230, ed. Waldo W. Braden. Governor Cuomo's speech attaches the ideals of Lincoln to his own platform. Generally speaking, there may be some similar motives for justice and equality. However, Cuomo makes the incorrect implication that his specific goals are some of the specific goals Lincoln aspired to which.

¹¹ Joshua Kleinfeld, "The Union Lincoln Made," in *History Today*. Vol. 47, issue 11, Nov 1997: 27.

¹² Mark E. Neely, *The Fate of Liberty* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1991). This being a highly influential text in proving the thesis of this paper, I offer the following information about it. The winner of the 1992 Pulitzer Prize for history, it has taken a new direction in this study. Francis Stites of San Diego State University says that Neely "has refined the debate with exhaustive and impressive research" He also states that "His answers are striking because evidence supports them and because they make a good case. . ." From abroad Adrian Cook of University of Reading states that *The Fate of Liberty* is "an impressive and valuable addition to the literature of the Civil war." In addition Donald G. Nieman of Bowling Green University extols the method of the study, "*The Fate of Liberty* offers a model for writing constitutional history from the bottom up." Further reviews could be cited.

Lincoln

Neither does he engage in lofty legal or constitutional argument. "Rather than continue the fruitless debate over the constitutionality of Lincoln's acts," Neely writes in his introduction, "this book will examine instead the practical impact on civil liberties."¹³ The pragmatic reasons for the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and nature of the arrests will be examined as the foundation of support for Lincoln's actions.



Lincoln, 1862. Charles Hamilton and James Ostendorf, *Lincoln In Photographs*, 93.

When Lincoln issued the proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus, it was not aimed at his personal or political critics. It was targeted at draft resistance. The resistance was real, and growing after the 1862 announcement of emancipation. In Wisconsin, it took eight companies of troops to subdue an anti-draft mob that sacked a recruitment office and had thrown an enrollment officer down a flight of stairs. "Enrollers were spat upon, beaten, scalded with hot water and in some cases shot."¹⁴ Protest was coupled with corruption such as bribing enrollment officers. Lincoln had to do something to ensure that there would be a

viable draft. The document suspending the writ of habeas corpus begins,

"Whereas it has become necessary to call into the service not only volunteers but also portions of the militia of the States by draft, in order to suppress the insurrection existing in the United States, and disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary processes of law from hindering this measure and from giving aid and comfort in various ways to the insurrection".¹⁵

It was a specific and serious problem that required Lincoln to take this drastic measure. Lincoln knew that the Union needed men and that the draft had to succeed. His drastic action was in accordance with the dire situation.

When Lincoln authorized the arrests of all "Rebels and Insurgents, their aiders and abettors within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting militia drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice," he left room for interpretation of who would be affected.¹⁶ As it turned out numerous civilians were arrested. The traditional figure of 13, 535 is accepted by this study. The number of those arrested is not of primary concern. Rather, the reasons for the arrests and denial of normal trials are of utmost importance. Were there valid reasons for the arrests? Rather than the compelling stories of men being denied their right to free speech or press, most of the civilians arrested were guilty of tangible crimes against the Union and its war effort.

"They had been acting as Confederate agents, furnishing supplies to the

¹³ Ibid., xi.

¹⁴ Donald Dale Jackson, *Twenty-Million Yankees: The Northern Homefront* (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1985), 92-3.

¹⁵ The War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1899), 587.

¹⁶ James M. McPherson, *Ordeal By Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1982), 294.

enemy, encouraging desertion from the service of the United States, committing outrages upon Unionists, stealing military supplies, destroying bridges, engaging in bushwhacking, making drawings of fortifications, carrying 'treasonable' correspondence, intimidating loyal voters, or otherwise materially assisting the enemy."¹⁷

Many of those arrested were draft evaders; 75,000 deserters were caught after the first year of the war.¹⁸ Thus many of the "civilian arrests" involved military men running from their duty. The two primary prisons holding arrested civilians were Forts Lafayette and Warren. Prisoners there were almost entirely guilty of blockade-running, rather than "political" or "free-speech" crimes.¹⁹ The few political prisoners have stolen the attention from the majority who are largely unexciting due to their mundane crimes. Most men were not arrested because of their oratory skills; instead most were caught pursuing selfish ends at the war's expense. The common crimes were desertion, running blockades, and selling liquor.

Another point that sheds light on the pragmatism of the suspension of habeas corpus and subsequent military arrests involves the geography of the arrests. Most of those arrested were either in or from Confederate held territory or the border-states. This seems a rudimentary fact, but it is absolutely vital. Most of those arrested were citizens of rebellious states, not Northerners. Suspensions in these regions were well founded. The Confederacy enlisted men between the ages of 17-50, therefore, the Union had to be wary of any Southern male, regardless of whether or not he was in a military uniform. Covert operations were suspected, and the enemy

could not be counted on to distinguish themselves with a uniform.

Lincoln clearly had cause to be concerned with the developments in Maryland and Kentucky. These states marked the borders of the Union and were pro-slavery. Lincoln realized the importance of not allowing dissent to gain momentum in these vulnerable states. He dealt with this issue before by rescinding "unofficial emancipation orders." As Lincoln stated:

I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us.²⁰

It was largely in these border-states that the precautionary arrests of Confederate sympathizers were made.

The political affiliation and action of those arrested must be noted when examining the demographic data. Lincoln has, after all, been accused of using his military powers to purge the political spectrum of his opponents. Ironically some contemporaries in the North accused him of using Democrats for too many important tasks in the war effort. His letter in response to one such accusation,

I understand you now to be willing to accept the help of men who are not Republicans, provided that they have 'heart in it.' Agreed. I want no others. . . It does seem to me that in the field the two classes have been very much alike in what they have done and what they have failed to do. In sealing their

¹⁷ J.G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963), 155.

¹⁸ Neely, 131.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.

²⁰ Hendricks, 143. In a letter dated 2 September, 1861, Lincoln wrote to General John C. Fremont explaining why he rescinded the emancipation order in Missouri. The letter reveals the caution with which Lincoln is operating in order to maintain the allegiance of the border states. To add Maryland and Kentucky to the Rebel's cause could have been devastating. Thus the reason for the preemptive arrests in these states are explained.

faith with their blood, Baker and Lyon and Bohlen and Richardson, Republicans, did all that men could do; but did they any more than Kearny and Stevens and Reno and Mansfield, none of whom were Republicans, and some at least who have been bitterly and repeatedly denounced to me as secession sympathizers?²¹

Lincoln seemed to be able to set aside partisan differences in light of the need to save the Union. He did not use this crisis to rid himself of those politicians that were thorns in his side. The vast majority of records show that those arrested were guilty of tangible crimes against the Union. Some historians contend that there could have been more "political" arrests that went unrecorded. This is not likely or reasonable.²² A military officer might not record another drab example of someone who was guilty of selling whiskey across the Confederate border. However, it is not likely that he would forget to record the arrest of a well-known political figure that will become the subject of subsequent speeches, debates and newspaper articles. The unrecorded arrests (like the majority of the records that we do have) were likely unexciting and the result of infractions in the rules of war.

Critics of Lincoln sight the cases of Lambdin P. Milligan and Clement Vallandigham as confirmation that Lincoln was politically motivated. These cases will surface when doing any study of depth

regarding Lincoln and the Constitution. Entire works have been devoted to discussing just these two cases. However, this study's scope permits just a brief perusal. Vallandigham was campaigning in Ohio for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. In a speech on March 1, 1863, he reiterated his persistent themes in an increasingly defiant manner saying that the war was a failure, the Emancipation Proclamation should be repudiated, and the suspension of habeas corpus was an unconstitutional act by "King Lincoln." Further he held that the North should stop fighting and have a peace conference even if it did not include the New England area of the country.²³ He was arrested by troops at his home in the early hours of the next morning. He was imprisoned and later fled to Canada. First, it is important to note that Gen. Burnside made this arrest independent of advice from the President. Lincoln backed the arrest after initial plans to issue a special restoration of habeas corpus to Vallandigham. He supported the arrest because Vallandigham was not only disparaging the government, but more significantly, was discouraging the enlistment of troops and the general support of the war effort. Was this justifiable? Lincoln said in a confident self-defense:

... as the constitution itself makes no such distinction, I am unable to believe that there is any such constitutional distinction. I concede that the class of arrests complained of, can be constitutional only when, in cases of Rebellion or Invasion, the public safety may require them; and I insist that in such cases they are constitutional wherever the public safety does require them-as well in places to which they may prevent the rebellion extending ...²⁴

This was not the type of arrest that Lincoln had suspended the writ for, but he

²¹ Ibid., 187. In a personal letter to General Carl Schurz dated 24 November, 1862, Lincoln went out of his way to defend the Democrat generals. He is saying that although the war is not proceeding in the smooth way that Northerners anticipated, it is not because of Democratic leadership. His personal faith in individual democrats is not shaken by, political whims as is evidenced by his patience with General McClellan.

²² Neely and others studying the arrest records of the Civil War concur that many of the records either did not survive or possibly were never recorded in a detailed way. The statistics that they obtain are estimated by studying the precise records that have survived and projecting from those regarding the lost.

²³ McPherson, 345-6.

²⁴ Hendricks, 146.

allowed that it was in his jurisdiction should he deem it necessary and in the best interest of the war effort.

The arrest of Lambdin P. Milligan is the other case by which detractors of Lincoln often make their argument. Mark Neely takes special exception to the way that this case has been exaggerated in criticism of Lincoln's actions.²⁵ Milligan, a Democrat, was arrested for his involvement with the Sons of Liberty, a disloyal Northern organization, in 1864. He was later released by the Supreme Court decision that has been hailed as a "savior" to civil liberties. Many claim that it shows that Lincoln was wrong. The outcome regarding this case is often cited by historians as a deserved rebuke to Lincoln by his judicial contemporaries. This context in mind, it may surprise many that Neely dismisses it. As one reviewer of Neely's work noted with surprise, "One sacred cow that is unceremoniously butchered is the Supreme Court's decision in *Ex Part Milligan* (1866)."²⁶ The problem with condemning Lincoln based on the Milligan decision is that the decision has been overturned in the years since its announcement. The Supreme Court decision that has been hailed "savior of civil liberties" condemned Lincoln for the use of military commissions and arrests in place of due process. However contrary to the ruling, the practice of using military commissions for arrests continued into the 1870's, long after Lincoln and the Civil War had passed. Any pretense that the decision was being followed was officially swept away by World War II and the 1944 *Korematsu v. U.S. decision*. Lincoln's condemnation from the Supreme Court did not stand the test of time. Other leaders have taken the same action as Lincoln, and are not held to the Milligan

decision. Some historians conveniently ignore this discrepancy, however, and still insist that the Milligan decision single-handedly shows Lincoln's action to be wrong. Admittedly, this is a simplified explanation of the Milligan decision, and simply because other leaders have acted similarly does not unequivocally justify Lincoln's action. What is asserted, however, is that the Milligan decision is not the airtight argument against Lincoln that it is often cited as.

While I have taken pains to show that the arrests that occurred under the suspended writ were largely due to tangible offenses against the Union, Lincoln offers his own defense regarding the arrests that were due to freedom of speech issues. It is important to remember that while arrests solely for things said or written were the minority, they were the ones that elicited the most outcries from protesters. Lincoln, ever the pragmatist, offers this unapologetic explanation:

... He who dissuades one man from volunteering, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be not defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.²⁷

He also realized that the Confederates knew of the protection of the Constitution and planned to use it. "Under the cover of 'liberty of speech,' 'liberty of press' and 'habeas corpus,' they hoped to keep on foot amongst us a most efficient corps of spies."²⁸ While it can also be said that Lincoln at times limited newspapers, he did not do this casually. When Burnside shut down a prominent Chicago Democratic

²⁵ Neely, 160-84. Neely takes a chapter to painstakingly explain that a decision not followed except in times of peace and eventually overridden cannot be claimed as the judge of Lincoln's action.

²⁶ Donald G. Nieman. "A Book Review of *Fate of Liberty*" in the *Journal of Southern History*. Dec. 1991: 163.

²⁷ Hendricks, 212. Abraham Lincoln wrote an open letter to Arastus Corning and Others on 12 June 1863, explaining why the drastic steps (such as arresting Clement L. Vallandigham) he was taking were justified.

²⁸ Ibid., 211.

newspaper, Lincoln stepped in and restored its presses. He subsequently warned his generals, "you will only suppress newspapers when they may be working palpable injury to the military you charge."²⁹ Thus Lincoln's own words offer a logical/pragmatic defense of why and how he would restrict speech and press in extreme circumstances.



Northern Justice will not allow the South to secede. Albert Shaw, *Abraham Lincoln: Illustrated with Contemporary Cartoons, Portraits, and Scenes*, 254.

Having used the nature and type of arrests as the foundation of the assertion that Lincoln's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and subsequent military arrests were pragmatically justified, the Constitutional argument from which Neely steered away must be cited. Lincoln's view of the Constitution was one that he had developed over years of law study and it consequently affected the way he led the country. In his first presidential inaugural address Lincoln

stated, "I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, that Union of these States is perpetual."³⁰ In this and other remarks, he expresses his adherence to the written Constitution. However, Lincoln also asserted that moral right is not always clear, but that the Constitution allows for the freedom of action needed to follow it. The Constitution did not necessarily demand the drastic actions that he took during the rebellion, but it allowed him the freedom to do what was best for the country. The suspension of habeas corpus was Lincoln using the "wobble room" within the Constitution. He understood that the Constitution was untouchable "except when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require."³¹ Herman Belz summarizes by saying:

Lincoln adhered to the written Constitution of the framers - it forms, procedures, principles, and spirit - and was guided by it in political action aimed at achieving the ideals asserted in the Declaration of Independence.³²

Lincoln specifically used the freedom that he was given in the Constitution to move the country in the direction of equality noted in the Declaration.

The 1864 election provides further Constitutional justification of Lincoln's actions. The evidence lies in the fact that

³⁰ Hendricks, 117. This is from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, 4 March 1861.

³¹ Paul Finkelman, "Civil Liberties and the Civil War: The Great Emancipator as Civil Libertarian," *The Michigan Law Review* vol. 91 (1993): 1366-7. Mr. Finkelman argues that the war of 1861-1865 was clearly a rebellion in the context of the Constitution. He also notes that the fact that the military must make the arrests, is somewhat of a moot point. The United States had no federal law enforcement agencies. Thus, the military was the only one with the capability to uphold the law.

³² Herman Belz, "Abraham Lincoln and American Constitutionalism," *The Review of Politics*. Fall 1995: 169.

²⁹ Jackson, 30-1.

democracy went undisturbed. If there had ever been a time in the nation's short history that an incumbent president might have canceled an election, this was it. The Civil War offered Lincoln an excuse to cancel the peoples' vote. Lincoln thought that he would lose the election, and he knew that if a Southern sympathizer such as George B. McClellan won there would be a turn from the issues that Lincoln held to be important. Still he allowed a "public referendum" on the war and his administration. No country had ever held free elections during a time of war. In fact until World War II, the United States was the only country to have done so.³³ This adherence to the Constitution was made by a president who some argue was bent on dictatorial power, and with the knowledge that the election could shift the course that the North would take. As Lincoln explained:

We cannot have a free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us.³⁴

The 1864 election produced words of liberty, but more importantly, it sustained actions honoring freedom and democracy.

The final element of research supporting the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus comes in somewhat of a backdoor manner. Lincoln is further justified in light of the actions of other Presidents. During World War I, President Wilson used the Espionage Act of 1917 to combat speech harmful to the war effort. Among those that were convicted were Socialists Eugene V. Debs and 150 members of the United Industrial Workers of the World. Wilson also allowed the American Protective League to conduct "slacker raids" which

produced the arrest of nearly 40,000 Americans that were perceived to be a threat to the effectiveness of the draft. President Roosevelt during WWII placed 100,000 Japanese-American *civilians* in internment camps disallowing them the right of a trial. In addition, FDR sought to overcome the political opposition to his "war on poverty" by "packing" the Supreme Court. He sought to add justices that would be sympathetic to his plans. FDR further strained the democratic process by achieving the presidency four times. George Washington's precedent of two presidential terms survived only through a Constitutional amendment after Roosevelt's death. Even Andrew Jackson, before ascending to the Presidency, declared martial law in Louisiana during the War of 1812 in order to control the crucial cities of New Orleans, St. Louis, and Baltimore. The examples are noted not to disparage other Presidents, but rather to provide context for the actions of Lincoln. War caused United States Presidents to act in extreme ways. All war presidents have dealt with unstable regions, detrimental speech, and draft problems. Excessive force was often used to combat these problems. Certainly Lincoln should not be exonerated simply because he was a lesser evil in history. Rather, Lincoln and his suspension of the writ of habeas corpus are justified on multiple levels -- pragmatically, constitutionally, and in light of history.

Thus by examining the nature of the arrests, a powerful case is made to support Lincoln's decision to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. Add in the Constitutional argument, the election of 1864, and the comparison of Lincoln to other presidents during a time of war, and it becomes even more difficult to condemn the actions of Lincoln. A substantial argument exists that he was justified in his means to save the Union.

Lincoln was not a dictator. This established, research can proceed further into the understanding of Abraham Lincoln.

³³ McPherson, 456-7. Britain for example, twice canceled elections in the twentieth century because of war.

³⁴ Hendricks, 248.

As previously mentioned, the second aspect of Lincoln's presidency to be examined will be the Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln did not merely issue the proclamation as a military measure, but rather it was the calculated move of a true liberator. Lincoln's life-long hatred of slavery will be cited to show that he had the desire to emancipate when the opportunity arose. Explanations of seemingly paradoxical measures and statements will be considered. For example, why did Lincoln rescind earlier emancipations and make negative statements against blacks? Explanations as to the times and situations, in light of Lincoln's own evolution of thinking regarding slavery, will address these concerns.

Lincoln's early hatred of slavery is well documented and oft quoted. The brutality of slavery troubled Lincoln in his childhood. Young Lincoln made a trip to New Orleans and witnessed a slave-market. He there saw the separation of families, the whipping post, and the general brutality of the institution. He remarked to a companion, "If I ever get a chance to hit that institution, I will hit it hard."³⁵ In addition, some claim that Lincoln's relationship with his father stirred his empathy for slaves. Lincoln's father, generally a good and hard-working man, sporadically punished his son both with his words and fists. The younger Lincoln hated the treatment largely because it came in arbitrary patterns and rarely had anything to do with his own actions. Thus, he empathized with the helplessness of the slaves. Lincoln is renowned throughout historical writings for his "tender-heart."³⁶

³⁵ Charles Wallace French, *Abraham Lincoln: The Liberator* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1891), 41. In New Orleans his friends remarked that at the sight of the slave trade "his heart bled, he was mad, thoughtful, abstracted, sad, and depressed."

³⁶ Hendricks, 249-50. An example of his compassion is his personal letter to Mrs. Lydia A. Bixby dated 21 November 1864. Lincoln took time to personally write a bereaved mother. "I feel how weak and fruitless you must be from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering

He simply seems to have been a man with empathy for others. This was noted from the times when he cared daily for his dying mother as a child and again throughout his later years as president. The empathy and "tender-heart" of Lincoln are mentioned to begin to establish that Lincoln had a personal distaste for slavery. These are, of course, admittedly weak as concrete evidence, yet worth noting as it has been consistently documented throughout the lore of Lincoln.

The consistency of Lincoln's assertion that slavery was evil and that it should not spread is formidable and merits a brief study. Throughout his public service Lincoln remained consistent. He served in the Illinois State Assembly from 1835-1842 and during his tenure there condemned the dangers of slavery. While certainly not an abolitionist, Lincoln was concerned about the reactionary legislation that the Illinois legislature was considering. In an official protest he stated, "I believe that the institution of slavery is founded both on injustice and bad policy. . . . And that the Congress of the United States has the power under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia."³⁷

In 1847, Lincoln won a seat in the United State House of Representatives. There he continued his fight against slavery, especially in the District of Columbia. Serving just one term in the U.S. House, Lincoln retired from public service and once again returned to the practice of law. However, the undermining of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 brought him back to

to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic that they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom."

³⁷ Hendricks, 4. From a *Protest in the Illinois Legislature on the Subject of Slavery, March 3, 1837*. This protest also contains clear language as to Lincoln's difference to abolitionists.

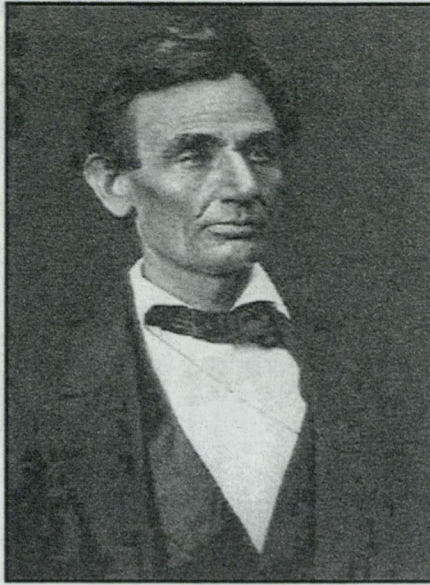
politics. The assurance that slavery was on the road to "ultimate extinction" was now gone.³⁸ Senator Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 embraced regional "popular sovereignty". Lincoln did not approve of this ambiguous position and vied for the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate. "This declared indifference, but, as I must think, covert real zeal, for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its influence in the world . . . And insists that there is no right principle of action but self-interest."³⁹ Lincoln was of little consequence in the 1854 senate race, but the Republican Party gave him their full support to challenge Stephen Douglas again in 1858.

The senatorial contest of 1858 was an epic confrontation. Through this campaign, Lincoln catapulted onto the national scene by steadfastly stating that slavery was an evil and that it should not spread. Critics contended that this was not really his personal opinion, but rather opportunist posturing against slavery in order to gain votes. This contention was ill founded, as Illinois was generally sympathetic to the South. Beginning with his famous "house divided" speech, the Lincoln-Douglas debates focused on slavery and the Kansas-Nebraska Act despite the fact that the Act had been in effect for four years. "Whoever

teaches that the Negro has no humble share in the Declaration of Independence is going back to the hour of our own liberty and independence, and muzzling the cannon that thunders its annual joyous return . . . Blowing

out the moral lights around us and eradicating from the human soul the love of liberty."⁴⁰ Lincoln, of course, lost the 1858 election to Douglas, but the stage had been set for his ascent to the Presidency.

In his 1860 campaign for president, Lincoln made his most comprehensive presentation of his anti-slavery philosophy. He maintained his convictions that slavery was evil, and that its spread should be stopped, but he also made the politically astute move to separate himself from John Brown and the Harper's Ferry revolutionaries. Lincoln advocated change through votes and process.



Lincoln, 1859. Mabel Kunkel, *Abraham Lincoln: Unforgettable American*, 128.

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation. . . But can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national Territories, and to overrun us here in these free States? If our sense of duty forbids it, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Paul M. Angle ed., *Created Equal: The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), 27. This is from Lincoln's response to Douglas at the 7 October 1858 debate at Galesburg.

⁴¹ Hendricks, 104. Lincoln's address to the Cooper Institute of New York on 27 February 1860, is regarded as one of his greatest pieces of political persuasion.

³⁸ John H. Rhodehamel and Thomas F. Schwartz, *The Last Best Hope on Earth: Abraham Lincoln and The Promise of America* (San Marino, Ca: Huntington Library, 1993), 21.

³⁹ Hendricks, 31. From the *Speech at Peoria, Illinois, in Reply to Senator Douglas, October 16, 1854*.

Lincoln

Even as President-elect, Lincoln was firm in his direction to Republican Congressmen. In personal letters he emphasized, "Let there be no compromise on the question of extending slavery. . . Stand firm. The tug has to come, and better now than any time hereafter."⁴²

The White House brought a change of residence, but little change in convictions. If anything, Lincoln became more resolute. He accepted the high price to be paid, "Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman'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, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: "The judgements of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."⁴³ As the war drew to a close, Lincoln restated the parameters of negotiation. "Any proposition," he said, "which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union and the abandonment of slavery . . . Will be received and considered . . ."⁴⁴ Lincoln maintained throughout his life that slavery was evil and should not spread.



Political cartoon depicts Lincoln using the glue of the Union to cement North and South together. Albert Shaw, *Abraham Lincoln*, 251.

The words of Lincoln's contemporaries accentuated those of his own. Frederick Douglass demands first attention. As a freedman, the primary advocate for blacks, and acquaintance of Lincoln, Douglass' opinion holds considerable weight. He was often critical of Lincoln, and frustrated with the actions that he took. However, his realistic view of Lincoln confirms that Lincoln believed slavery was an evil and that he sought to prohibit the spread of it. He demanded no more or less until the time of the Emancipation Proclamation. Douglass confirmed, "Though Mr. Lincoln shared the prejudices of his white fellow countrymen against the Negro, it is hardly necessary to say that in his heart of hearts he loathed and hated slavery."⁴⁵

Eloquent words from Lincoln and Douglas duly noted, many cannot overlook the fact that

Lincoln waited to abolish slavery or that he actually rescinded emancipation edicts in Missouri, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. Lincoln ordered that Generals Fremont and Hunter modify their orders of emancipation in those states. How does one contend that Lincoln truly wanted liberation in light of these facts? There were many other factors to be figured into the equation. In Missouri's case, Lincoln was rightfully

⁴² Ibid., 107. From a personal letter to Republican Congressman William Kellogg written 11 December 1860.

⁴³ Ibid., 261. From Lincoln's Second Inaugural address, 4 March 1865.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 246. *Announcement Concerning Terms of Peace*, 18 July 1864. Many are pushing for Lincoln to end the war. He will only on the terms for which it was fought.

⁴⁵ Waldo W. Braden. Ed. *Building the Myth* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 99. This is from a speech by Frederick Douglass entitled "Expression of Gratitude for Freedom." Douglass concluded his speech with the words. "In doing honor to the memory of our friend and liberator . . . We have been fastening ourselves to a name and fame imperishable and immortal . . ."

concerned about losing the support of the border-states.

Lincoln had two objectives. Stop the spread of slavery, yes - but also to save the Union. To save the Union, Lincoln believed, was his primary duty during the Civil War. It is important to note the Lincoln never backed off from his principle that slavery was evil and should be prevented from spreading. However, abolishing slavery in individual states, and in a random way, would have made it much more difficult to preserve the Union. Lincoln needed to save the Union and stop the spread of slavery. He makes no mention of sacrificing one for the other. Lincoln was searching for a solution that would be mutually successful. This led to some of the awkward suggestions for which he is criticized. He suggested colonizing slaves and that slave-owners be compensated for slaves set free.⁴⁶ While he never conceded to the expansion of slavery, Lincoln was initially willing to preserve the Union in its original composition.

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Hendricks, 172. In a telegram to General George B. McClellan on 1 July 1862, Lincoln offered the pragmatic plea, "How much better for you as seller, and the nation as buyer, to sell out and buy out that without which the war could never have been, than to sink both the things to be sold and the price of it in cutting one another's throats! I do not speak of emancipation at once, but a decision at once to emancipate gradually."

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 174. From a personal letter to Horace Greeley 22 August 1862. Lincoln's implication was that he would never permit the further spread of slavery. Without further spread, he believed that slavery would eventually die. He wanted the Union to be rid of slavery, but was resigned to a gradual course. Lincoln only changed from his gradual plan when it became evident that the Constitution not only allowed for emancipation during the war, but also would be protected by it.

Another factor to consider when questioning why Lincoln, a self-proclaimed hater of slavery, would disallow earlier emancipations is that of Lincoln's respect of the boundary between the Presidency and his personal morals. He admitted that there was, to an extent, a dichotomy between these two realms. This dichotomy is alluded to in Lincoln's response to Horace Greeley's accusation of not caring about the slave first. "I have here stated my purpose to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free."⁴⁸ In the earlier stages of the war, Lincoln did not feel that he was permitted by the Constitution to abolish slavery. He realized emancipation would be considered a political and constitutional error unless it was done in legitimate military necessity. The skeptics question how it ever became "right" procedurally to free the slaves. When it became clear to Lincoln that the freeing the slaves would aid the defense of the Union, and thus the Constitution, Lincoln became convinced he could liberate.

I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. . . . I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the military measure, "God alone can claim it. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, . . . Impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 175. A committee representing the various denominations of Chicago demanded the President issue a proclamation of Emancipation. This was his reply dated 13 September 1862.

⁴⁹ Hendricks, 244. From a letter to A.G. Hodges, a delegate of Kentucky.

Lincoln

It is true Lincoln was able to emancipate only when it became a viable military option, but that does not overshadow the anti-slavery passion of the rest of his life. Lincoln's personal conviction and official role as President were merged when he was able to free the slaves. Lincoln was a

tution and desired that it be contained. These beliefs in themselves were ahead of their time. However, this disappoints people who have been fooled by a mythical Lincoln. Lincoln is sometimes portrayed as the man who personally loved the black man, hoped to allow him the same life and opportunities



Slavery divides the Union. Albert Shaw, *Abraham Lincoln*, 221.

calculating liberator. When he was able to emancipate, Lincoln did so eagerly and trusting that God was using him to rid the United States of an injustice.

While some are dissuaded by the fact that Lincoln stopped earlier emancipations, others stumble over his occasionally disparaging remarks about blacks. It is asked how a man who truly hated slavery could say things such as:

There is a physical difference between the two [races], which in my judgement, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality . . . He is not my equal in many respects . . .⁵⁰

In first response to a quote like this, one must look back and realistically assess the ambitions and limits of Lincoln. Lincoln acknowledged slavery to be an evil insti-

as the white man. Lincoln hated slavery more than he loved the black man. This in itself is no small thing. History must not taint Lincoln because of aspirations that he never had, but rather acknowledge that he realized and fought a paramount evil long before most of his countrymen. Lincoln's limits and strengths are succinctly summarized by LaWanda Cox's study on presidential leadership. She said that Lincoln argued matter-of-factly that "the Negro is a man."⁵¹ He should be held to no more or less, and a historian must analyze any further interpretations carefully. Unequivocally, Lincoln believed that the "Negro" was a man and that meant he could not be enslaved.

When reading "anti-black" statements, it is also important to remember the political reality of the times. It can neither be said that the North was racially tolerant, nor that

⁵⁰ Ibid., 62-3. From Lincoln's rebuttal during the Ottawa debate, 21 August 1858.

⁵¹ LaWanda Cox, *Lincoln and Black Freedom: A Study in Presidential Leadership* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 20-2.

it was committed to freeing the slaves. Approximately 1 in 10 soldiers of the Union army fought to free the slaves. Some were forthright in their own racism. Remarked one New Yorker, "I think the best way to settle the question of what to do with the darkies would be to shoot them."⁵² As an astute politician, Lincoln was aware of the general hesitance even amongst the Northerners to fight specifically to free the slaves. This political awareness led to some controversial statements and made the rally cry one of saving the Union rather than freeing the slaves.

The political reality surrounding the Lincoln-Douglas debates is especially noteworthy, as many "anti-black" quotes come from these speeches. In a brilliant political maneuver, Douglas put Lincoln in the awkward political position of having to fight against "popular sovereignty." Douglas shaped the debate for the newspapers and voters. To fight against the right to choose was a no-win situation, as Lincoln well knew. Thus, he tempered his remarks. He needed to convince the people that he was not a radical, John Brown type. Lincoln joked about the precarious situation that he had been placed in. He stated sarcastically,

"I will state-and I have an able man to watch me-my understanding is that popular sovereignty, as now applied to the question of slavery, does allow the people of a territory to have slavery if they want to, but does not allow them not to have it if they do not want it."⁵³

Lincoln countered the protection of an institution that was commonly deemed a necessary evil through logic and humor. He contended that if the Negro was truly a non-man, he was equal to any hog or horse. The South had condemned the slave trade as evil and a crime worthy of a hanging. Therefore, it followed that Southerners should do the

same to any rancher or farmer that traded livestock. Lincoln attempted to confront pro-slavery forces with their discrepancies by pointing out, "you never thought of hanging men for catching and selling wild horses, wild buffaloes, or wild bears."⁵⁴

Having examined the steadfastness of Lincoln's position regarding slavery, revealing how some of his actions and words require a contextual study of the times and political atmosphere, I will succinctly explore the evolution of Lincoln's anti-slavery stance. Lincoln grew up with a hatred for slavery. He entered the White House with the conviction that there would be war rather than compromise on the issue of slavery spreading. Within one year of the war's beginning, Lincoln concluded that slavery must be abolished. After waiting for the proper time, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Midyear in 1863, Lincoln stood firm that he would not allow Louisiana into the Union as a slave state. By the end of the war, Lincoln had laid the groundwork for the 13th amendment. Thus, the progression can be seen. The evidence that he seized the opportunities that he had before him supports Lincoln's image as a calculated liberator. He did not waiver and end the war with a peace that would have allowed slavery to linger. Rather he took the opportunity to destroy the institution. Lincoln did it in a calculating, deliberate fashion ensuring no major mistakes were made to allow slavery to reemerge. The title of liberator or emancipator is further validated when surveying Lincoln's overall presidency. He provided consistent leadership towards the end of slavery. He may not have gone at the speed that some desired, or with the caution that others called for. He did, however, keep pushing forward - taking advantage of the legitimate opportunities that the war and his presidency presented him. "Lincoln was not pushed into

⁵² McPherson, 275-6.

⁵³ Angle, 120.

⁵⁴ Hendricks, 35. This is from Lincoln's reply to Senator Douglas during debate in Peoria, Illinois 16 October 1854.

antislavery action by military and political expediency. He was no reluctant emancipator."⁵⁵

In a span of two days in 1862, Lincoln made two decisions that were discussed by his contemporaries and are still being debated by historians today. Understanding or misunderstanding of one or both of these events shapes the common perception of Lincoln. In the early stages of this research, it became evident that the exploration of these two decisions would be most profitable in conducting a limited study of Lincoln. An understanding of these two decisions is vital to understanding Lincoln. Certainly, this study has not been exhaustive, nor has it erased all major doubts surrounding the decisions but, a solid case has been presented. Lincoln's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and his issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation were not "tyrannical twins." Rather both measures show Lincoln at his best. They portray a president doing everything within his means and the bounds of the Constitution to save the Union and stop the spread of slavery. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation were awkward and misunderstood measures. Thankfully, however, the measures were successful. The Union was saved, slavery stopped, and the United States was allowed to evolve into the country that it is today. The outcome alone supports a positive presentation of Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln was merely a man, not the mythical figure that some are enamored with. However, when thrown into the fire of the Civil War, he prospered. He suspended the writ of habeas corpus, justified pragmatically, constitutionally, and in light of history. He issued the Emancipation Proclamation; not merely a military move, but the calculated decision of a liberator. One can question the immediate effec-

tiveness of the proclamation, but the fact remains that the intact Union was purged of slavery. Lincoln made two decisions in the midst of the greatest pressure; both to be the subject of great debate, and the source of much criticism. Ironically, these decisions can be used to see Abraham Lincoln's greatest good.

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Ryan's special areas of academic interest are the Civil War Reconstruction, U.S. Presidential History, and the history of the Olympics. After completing his M.A., Ryan plans to pursue a Ph.D. through a university on the East Coast. He would like to be closer to our nation's political center, Washington, D.C. Ultimately, he plans to teach and write at the collegiate level.

⁵⁵ Gabor S. Boritt, *The Historian's Lincoln: Pseudohistory, Psychohistory, and History*. (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1988), 182.

“Women Who Fought Back: Feminism in Victorian America”

Colleen Robledo

Women's struggle to gain rights denied both by custom and law is one of the basic movements for human liberty in the United States. In the nineteenth century the demand for equality and assurance of privileged rights motivated women to organize and fight discrimination in the social, legal, economic and political spheres. In this article author Colleen Robledo recognizes Victorian women and their contributions to the feminist cause. Despite the social constraints of the period, these early crusaders successfully elevated the status of women and established the foundation for the modern feminist movement.

Women

The women's movement in the United States is a social phenomenon generally associated with the twentieth century. During this century, two distinct eras marked the development of significant empowerment for women. The first began with the Progressive reforms at the turn of the century, and encompassed both World Wars. This period witnessed the birth of the 'modern' woman, the development of social work, the institutionalization of prohibition, and realization of the long sought after goal of political suffrage. The shortage of labor on the home front during the First and Second World Wars created an unprecedented demand for women in the mainstream workforce, giving the average woman a glimpse into a world previously inhabited only by those willing, or forced out of economic necessity, to break with the traditional roles assigned to women. The general expectations met during this period were short-lived though, and women found themselves relegated once again to more traditional roles after the men returned home from war. Forced to remain stifled after tasting several decades of success, the women's movement experienced its second era of momentum during the 1970s as an outgrowth of the civil rights movement—the birth of modern feminism.

It was, however, the Victorian Age that first gave rise to the ideology of women's rights. Just as the Civil War lit the fuse that began the long struggle for racial equality in America, so did the latter half of the nineteenth century ignite the first battle of the gender revolution. Victorian ideals of the roles of men and women underwent attack in the social, political, and legal arenas. Nineteenth century women laid the groundwork for much of the later reforms and set in place critical milestones that marked the evolution of the women's movement in the United States. Though many of these women actively sought empowerment and equality, the majority of women at this time were looking to fulfill

more basic needs: improving conditions within their family life and for society in general.



As this scene demonstrates, harvest time conflicted with the Victorian notion of separate spheres for men and women. Lois W. Banner, *Women in Modern America: A Brief History*, 50.

Victorian Myths

In order to appreciate the social advances set in motion during the nineteenth century, it is necessary to first explore and understand the Victorian view of men and woman that prevailed in America during this time. Historians illustrate the roles of men and women at this time as belonging to separate spheres. In basic terms, women belonged in the home, while men belonged in the public sphere of work, law, and politics. Though these relegations had dominated gender ideology among the upper classes of Europe and America for centuries, this separation of roles was not always a possibility or practicality for the majority of early Americans. Most had little choice in whether the women took part in the household business—be it the family farm or the family store—because their participation was often essential to a family's economic survival. However, industrialization and urbanization changed this for a large number of Americans by ushering in the development of an actual middle class and the

concept of leisure. For the first time, a large number of women were now afforded the luxury of remaining at home while their husbands went off to work.¹ Women were expected to be ladies and aspire to the ideal of "true womanhood" by practicing the "knowledge of 'proper' domestic skills, values, piety, virtue, submissiveness, and enlightened motherhood."² On the other hand, the ideal of "true manhood" demon-strated such characteristics as individualism, compe-tition, aggression, and dominance.³

The Victorian era assigned very specific roles in society to men and women. Men were expected to be the breadwinners, decision-makers, and protectors of their households — shielding the more delicate sex from the harshness of outside life. Women, as participants in the "cult of domesticity," were expected to provide an escape for their husbands from the hectic world of business and take care of their homes. By nature of their virtues and responsibilities, women and mothers were elevated as the moral guardians of family and the republic making it unthinkable for any woman to not seek out the ultimate goal of marriage and family.

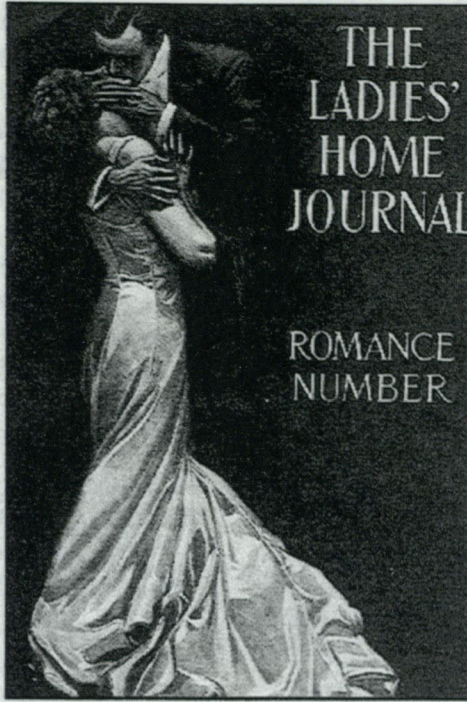
The Victorian view of gender roles also espoused the new idea of a companionate

marriage as a "relationship based on the belief in romantic love."⁴ Whereas through most of history marriages were arranged or made for other motives, Victorians

encouraged marriage on the basis of love and intimacy. Loving relationships were popularly championed in the prescrip-tive literature of the period, even in local newspapers — something that would be unimaginable in the main-stream press of today. In 1870, the *Anaheim Gazette* featured on its front page an article titled "How To Have A Loving Wife." This encou-raged husbands to "love your wife; be patient; remind her that you are not perfect, but try to be; let whiskey, tobacco and vulgar company alone; spend your evenings with your wife, and live a decent Christian life, and your wife will be loving and true."⁵ Also featured on a front page, an 1867

edition of *The Los Angeles Semi-Weekly News* printed the poem "Speak Gently to Thy Wife." It reminds husbands to act lovingly towards their wives, and to not take out the troubles of the outside world upon them when coming home:

Speak gently, kindly to thy wife, She knows enough of sorrow; Oh, seek not from each little ill. An angry word to borrow. The early light of household love, as more than golden worth,



THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL

ROMANCE NUMBER

First published in 1889, the *Ladies Home Journal* is representative of middle-class opinion in its glorification of home and motherhood. Lois W. Banner, *Women in Modern America: A Brief History*, 112.

¹ Glenda Riley, *Inventing the American Woman: An Inclusive History*, 2d ed. (Wheeling Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1995), 69-70.

² *Ibid.*, 70.

³ Danelle L. Moon, "Marital Violence Revealed: California Divorce, 1850-1899," (M.A. thesis, California State University, Fullerton: 1994), 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵ "How To Have A Loving Wife," *Anaheim (California) Gazette*, 3 December 1870, 1.

Which from her heart one smile of
thine Can call in beauty forth.⁶

Victorian Realities

Although Victorian values and ideas dominated nineteenth century America, only a certain sector of the population was able to share in them. Because predominant white, Protestant, middle-class ethics defined morality for all, those outside of these parameters, who could not or did not seek to espouse these same principles, found themselves excluded. Belief in the popular notion of a racist and cultural hierarchy, along with the economic disparities of the time, reinforced this separation. In addition, the romantic ideal of companionate marriage paradoxically created grave social problems for some.

The Victorian expectations placed on men, woman, and marriages can be attributed to a rise in divorce throughout the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. These were generally middle-class attitudes that could not possibly be applied to society as a whole and even proved too unrealistic for those within the middle class itself:

Probably, for some couples this arrangement worked well, but for those "others" who fell outside the middle-class umbrella, the reality of love, romance and companionship were unaffordable luxuries. And even for those who subscribed to middle class ideals, the realities of everyday married life failed to live up to marital expectations.⁷

The separate roles assigned to men and women by this Victorian ideology also had potentially serious consequences for women. They faced stigmatization unless they adhered to their submissive and obedient

roles, which proved dire when faced with an overly dominant and aggressive husband who abused the power awarded him within the family. For some, the consequence was often physical abuse. In spite of its high notion of morality, Victorian society chose to ignore such abominations. Myra C. Glenn offers an explanation as to why the prescriptive marital literature of the period ignored the issue of domestic violence:

Ultimately most of these writers did not discuss this issue because it jeopardized the very ideology that they sought to perpetuate—the cult of domesticity. By its very nature the problem of wife-beating threatened to explode the myths cultivated by the cannon of domesticity. It dramatically contradicted this cult's cherished idealized views of marriage and the family.⁸

Perhaps the most important reason domestic violence was tolerated was that Victorian women had very little recourse to fight it or escape from it. Most state laws of this period did not recognize married women as legal entities, but instead viewed their legal existence as resting solely in the identification with their husband. For most women, the consequences of divorce—the threat of social stigmatization, the fear of public embarrassment, and the lack of economic support for them and their children—caused them to remain silent and to continue tolerating an abusive relationship. "Women apparently received no police protection against their husband's violence...One recourse was divorce, but it was rare: personal disgrace was attached to that condition and most middle-class women

⁶ "Speak Gently to Thy Wife," *Los Angeles Semi-Weekly News*, 30 April 1867, 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 50-1.

⁸ Myra C. Glenn, "Wife-Beating: The Darker Side of Victorian Domesticity," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 15, no. 1 (1984), 28.

had no reasonable economic alternative to their husbands' support."⁹

The social status assigned to motherhood, and the sexual expectations of companionate marriage, created additional health risks for women in the form of childbirth. While society expected women to relish in their elevated status as mothers, women had very little control over the size of their families. The demands of industrial and urban America no longer required such large families. This, combined with the fact that childbirth remained the largest cause of death among women, caused a surge in interest for birth control, which threatened Victorian culture. "The birthrate began to drop, at least among Anglo women in urban areas. This alarmed many Americans who feared population loss. Thus, beginning in 1829, many states began to pass laws against abortion."¹⁰ The 1873 passage of the Comstock law "banned the dissemination through the mail of birth control information" and made it more difficult for women to retain control over their bodies and fight the dangers of childbirth.¹¹

Nineteenth century moralists forced these views upon women and "condemned women to the private world of home and family and cut them off from the social world inhabited by their husbands."¹² Though professed to be a matter of protection in shielding the more delicate sex from the harshness of the world, this isolation in fact served the purpose of making women more dependant upon their husbands and less likely to stand up for

themselves if faced with an abusive or unjust situation. In spite of these chivalric notions on the part of Victorian society, many women chose to face the real world head-on and not remain limited to the domestic sphere assigned to them.

Changing the Social, Political, and Legal Systems

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the rise of women's groups, which fought to eradicate the Victorian attitudes toward gender in the social and political arenas. Many of these groups were unique in that they were run by women and for women. Unlike later feminists, most nineteenth century women wanted to achieve these goals within the existing system. Peggy Pascoe identifies this as "cultural feminism"—the attempt to identify and define the distinctive values of a 'women's culture' and to show how the adoption of these values might lead to a better world."¹³ This is in opposition to the modern feminist's goal of gender-equalization.

Ironically the first group that provided a public platform for women activists, the Temperance movement, started out as an organization dominated exclusively by men. Jed Dannenbaum's study on temperance activism points out that while "women were active in the temperance cause from the time of its foundation as a national movement in the late 1830s . . . typically they did not hold office, did not vote, and did not speak at meetings where men were present."¹⁴ Even as late as 1877, a newspaper listing of members of the Executive Committee of the Temperance Party of Los Angeles County reflects the board's membership as all

⁹ Michele Shover, "The Blockhead Factor: Marriage and the Fate of California Daughters." *The Californians* 7, no. 3 (1989), 36.

¹⁰ Riley, 75.

¹¹ Elizabeth Pleck, *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of Social Policy Against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 65.

¹² Robert L. Griswold, "Apart But Not Adrift: Wives, Divorce, and Independence in California, 1850-1890," in *Pacific Historical Review* 49, no. 2 (1980), 265.

¹³ Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), xiii.

¹⁴ Jed Dannenbaum, "The Origins of Temperance Activism and Militancy Among American Women." *Journal of Social History* 15, no. 2 (1981), 236.

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male.¹⁵ In spite of this, Dannenbaum points out that male temperance reformers recognized the importance of having women, the moral guardians of society, in the movement. "Female influence within the domestic sphere was the key to the success of the moral suasion efforts that dominated temperance reforms activity after 1830."¹⁶



Victorian understanding of separate spheres dictated women to be the guardians of purity, piety, and the home. Colleen McDannel, *The Christian Home in Victorian America*, 1840-1900, 8.

The Temperance movement emerged out of evangelical Protestantism and emphasized the authority of women in maintaining moral order.¹⁷ Temperance advocates sought to eliminate alcohol and the abusive behavior to which they associated it. According to Danelle Moon, "... the Temperance movement was the first group to recognize the problem of domestic violence in American society, a problem which they saw as directly related to alcoholism."¹⁸ Although the movement allowed women to step outside their domestic

realm, it did not discourage them from participating because their involvement did not threaten the traditional roles assigned to Victorian women. Lady Temperance crusaders were merely working to protect the moral character of their husbands and defend the most sacred of Victorian social institutions--the family.

During the latter half of the century, however, women began to demand more active participation within the Temperance movement. No longer content to stand idly by while their male counterparts effected policies and set agendas, temperance women experienced a shift in motivation:

When in the 1850s temperance tactics shifted from the advocacy of moral suasion to that of prohibition, women were left without a meaningful function to perform in the movement, and they quickly began to demand an equal role in traditionally male spheres of action. Their efforts to gain full participation brought to many temperance women a new feminist perspective, causing them to swell the ranks of the emerging women's rights movement.¹⁹

This desire to perform a more active role in the Temperance movement led to the formation of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1874 under the leadership of its first president, Annie Wittenmyer. Illustrating Victorian women's concern for the wellbeing of their families, and society in general, the WCTU grew into the largest women's group of the nineteenth century.²⁰

While temperance activists were the first to publicize the plights of mistreated and abused women, it was the philanthropic and missionary movements that first sought to provide direct relief to these victims. The first of these, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) was established in

¹⁵ "Jesse Yarnell, "Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Temperance Party of Los Angeles County," *Los Angeles Daily Star*, 9 January 1877, sec. City and County, 4.

¹⁶ Dannenbaum, 26.

¹⁷ Moon, 46.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁹ Dannenbaum, 236.

²⁰ Riley, 154.

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1867. Knowing the difficulties encountered by single women and working women during this era, the YWCA sought to establish temporary housing for "young, single working women."²¹ Established in Boston, local chapters soon spread across the United States reaching its most western borders. Hull House, co-founded in 1889 by Jane Addams, launched the highly successful settlement house movement.²² These houses offered room and board, social activities, education, and vocational training to women in the large urban centers.

Though the YWCA and the settlement houses offered support to workingwomen in the growing number of large cities across America, the missionary movement of the late nineteenth century was particularly active in providing relief to more unconventional types of women. Concentrated primarily in the West, their activities took the form of rescue homes during the 1870s and 1880s. The female missionaries involved in these projects believed that "women had a special 'mission' to sustain Protestant moral values by 'rescuing' female victims and teaching them to emulate the family and gender roles of white, middle-class Victorian culture."²³ The rescue homes provided housing, social training, medical and legal assistance, education, financial assistance and career placement to a diverse and largely ignored collection of women:

Omaha Indians confined to reservation life, former Chinese Prostitutes in San Francisco, unmarried mothers in Denver, and Mormon women wishing to escape from polygamous marriages in Salt Lake City.²⁴ Although their efforts can be criticized for seeking to "Victorianize" rescue home residents and ignoring each groups' ethnic and cultural beliefs, the missionary rescue home matrons

did provide a tremendous amount of dedication and assistance to a group of women who might otherwise have remained abandoned.

Unlike the lady crusaders of the temperance movement and those involved in philanthropic and missionary organizations, the third group of women to have a significant impact on Victorian America did not want to achieve their means within the existing social and political systems. These women encompassed the more militant of women activists, those who actively fought for equality. Their campaign began on 19 July 1858 in Seneca Falls, New York at



Feminist, suffragist, and leading reformer Susan B. Anthony in 1868 at age 48. Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era*, 192.

the first national women's rights meeting.²⁵ Organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, female and male reformers and activists at this meeting promoted their mutual goals of suffrage and empowerment for women.

One group that came out of the movement started at Seneca Falls was the Suffragists. The American Woman Suffrage Association formed in 1869 in response to women failing to obtain the vote under the fourteenth amendment. From this group, a

²¹ Riley, 147.

²² Ibid., 187.

²³ Pacoe, 6.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Riley, 119.

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more radical contingent arose which favored easy divorce laws and other social reforms. The group that split off was led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and became known as the National Woman Suffrage Association.²⁶

Another activist group formed at this time was the General Federation of Women's Clubs, organized in 1889. They made up a more militant women's rights group that sought not only suffrage, but birth control as well. Although the vote remained the first priority for many women activists, it was viewed not as an end in itself, but as a means for attacking a broad range of social problems.²⁷ While the club movement "may have been largely middle- and upper-class, . . . it reached beyond native-born Protestant women."²⁸ A multitude of affiliations arose representing a variety of religious and ethnic women's interests as well. Though the club movement dominated primarily in the East, its influence spread westward as well.

It was through Temperance and Women's movements that women gained entrance into the public (male) sphere and publicized family violence and the inequities of marriage."²⁹ However, in spite of the advances of these groups, many women were still locked into unhappy, if not abusive, marriages. All of these groups, even those who sought to protect the status of the Victorian family, soon realized that divorce presented the best chance of survival for those women whose marriages could not be repaired:

The early [Temperance] movement encouraged wives to appeal to husbands' sense of responsibility and duty to the family, but by the 1850s reformers began to articulate

a more radical stand, which included supporting divorce. Divorce, they felt, was preferable to subjecting one's self to abusive inebriated men, and more importantly saving their children from the immoral influences of errant men. The discussion of liberalized divorce legislation extended to women's rights in general, which included custody rights and rights to personal income.³⁰

Unfortunately, divorce did not always prove to be a viable option for many women. Until the latter half of the 1800s, some states still continued to grant divorces solely on the grounds of adultery, though most did recognize desertion and physical abuse as well. Yet, if granted a divorce, women continued to face additional hardships because the courts rarely awarded the wife — even if the victim — custody of the children or alimony. The majority of western states, however, offered easier divorces by allowing for a broad range of grounds, a shorter timeframe, and lax requirements for residency. This promoted migratory divorce in states such as Indiana, and later Nevada, as a solution for those women who could afford the westward journey. Because this did not offer a solution for all women, it triggered a movement among women advocates for the establishment of more uniform and liberal divorce laws across the country.

The adoption of mental cruelty as an acceptable ground for divorce had a tremendous impact on divorce in the late nineteenth century. It allowed even those women who were not subjected to adultery or physical violence to seek relief from the courts. The landmark 1849 Pennsylvania case of *Butler v. Butler* established precedent by rejecting "the idea that only violence or threats of

²⁶ Leon F. Litwack, Winthrop D. Jordan, Richard Hofstadter, William Miller & Daniel Aaron, *The United States: Becoming a World Power*, 6th ed., vol. II (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.): 556.

²⁷ Litwack, 556.

²⁸ Riley, 181.

²⁹ Moon, 50.

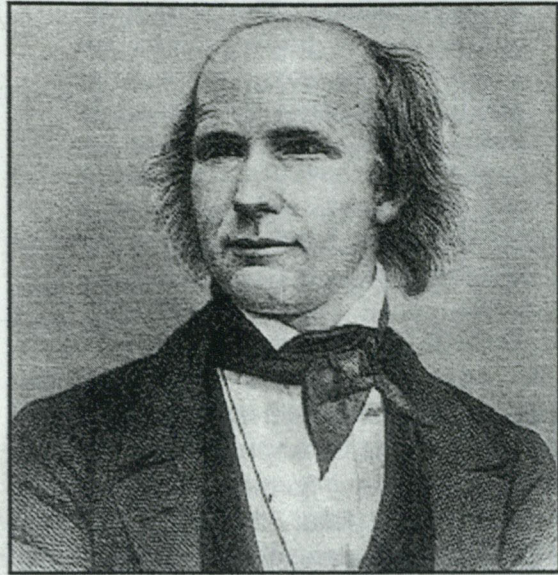
³⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

violence justified a finding of cruelty."³¹

Due to the delicate nature of women, it was decidedly possible that factors other than physical violence could affect a woman's health—including words. Furthermore, "building on these assumptions, a growing number of jurisdictions after 1880 began staking out radically new ground by averring that mental cruelty might warrant a divorce even in the absence of observable damage to the health of the victim."³² Although more conservative states initially disallowed mental cruelty as grounds for divorce, most were forced to accept it as so by 1900.³³

The issues of migratory divorce and the liberalization of divorce prompted an outcry from those who opposed such convenient means to end the sacred institution of marriage. Victorian America was afraid the breakdown in marriage would result in a breakdown of the social order. Protestant ethics, built upon the foundations of the New Testament, sanctified the institution of marriage. In addition, it was believed that an increase in the divorce rate would lead to a decline in the birth rate and gravely affect the citizenry of the nation's future. A tremendous percentage of both northern and southern populations had been killed during the Civil War, and the country was still recovering.

The arguments of those opposed to divorce reform were echoed in a series of written debates in the early 1860s between the founder and editor of the nationally syndicated *New York Tribune*, Horace Greeley, and Robert Dale Owen, a former member of Congress and the state legislature of Indiana.³⁴ Using his position in the press



Social reformer and newspaper editor Horace Greeley supported temperance, a homestead law, and women's rights. Coy F. Cross II, *Go West Young Man*, 6.

and politics, Greeley never missed an opportunity to take a stand on his staunch moral beliefs. Although generally a champion for women's rights — even a close personal friend of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton — he staunchly opposed the availability of migratory divorce and the push for more liberalized divorce. Instead of divorce, Greeley advocated separate maintenance agreements as an alternative, and urged that legally separated women should be allowed more control over their own earnings and property:

Cases are constantly occurring in which a virtuous and worthy girl persists in marrying a dissolute scapegrace, in spite of the most conclusive demonstrations of his worthlessness. Five years hence, when he has become a miserable loafer and sot, she will wish herself divorced from him; but the law says No, and we stand by it. But the law ought to allow her to earn for herself and her little ones, and not enable him to

³¹ Robert L. Griswold, "The Evolution of the Doctrine of Mental Cruelty in Victorian American Divorce, 1790-1900." *Journal of Social History* 20, no. 1 (1986): 131.

³² *Ibid.*, 127.

³³ *Ibid.*, 133.

³⁴ Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York: J.B. Ford & Co., 1868).

appropriate and squander her few hard-won shillings. This is asked for, and ought to be granted. So the law should allow the woman who is living wholly separate from her husband, by reason of his brutality, cruelty, or profligacy, to have the same control over her property and earnings as if she had never married. This is not now the case.³⁵

Through the reform efforts of women's rights advocates divorce laws were becoming more liberalized and were awarding more legal rights to women. Wives in the nineteenth century began to obtain the right to separate, to divorce, to keep custody of their children, to earn an income and to live an independent life.³⁶

By the time of the Civil War, courts throughout the United States were giving wives custody of their children, even, at times, when the wife was judged to be the one at fault for the failure of the marriage. Many jurisdictions were liberal-izing their divorce laws. And because of the extended federal structure of the American constitutional order, it was possible for unhappy wives and husbands living in less liberal jurisdictions (like New York) to move themselves to divorce havens (like Indiana). And because of the size of the American continent, it was possible for many more unhappy wives and husbands simply to leave their marriages – to separate or abandon – and to rebuild lives in new jurisdictions where their marital histories would not be known.³⁷

In spite of this liberalization of family law throughout nineteenth century America,

historian Hendrik Hartog argues that, in practice, it generally did not improve the conditions of women. Wives' legal and economic dependency changed very little. Relatively few wives gained control of property or earnings. Child custody rules continued to place a heavy burden on mothers to prove and to maintain a restrictive virtue. Husbands retained power within ongoing marriages. Divorce rules relaxed, yet the stigma divorced women faced was enormous. And relatively few women, by modern-day standards, actually divorced. There was a slow and gradual evolution but no dramatic legal change.³⁸

Conditions in the West

It is important to explore how the nineteenth century West fit into this national evolution of gender roles, and if it responded differently to women's issues. Most of the Western states tended to hold a more liberal attitude toward women in the social and political arenas. Marriages in the early stages of settlement formed more as partnerships than as companionate relationships. This was not the result of ideology, but a result of necessity.

Frontier life in the West did not allow for many luxuries. Women as well as men were expected to perform the hard, strenuous labor required to establish a life in the early settlement period. Eastern and middle American attitudes toward gender roles had to be tossed aside once confronted with the harsh realities of surviving both the journey out West and the establishment of a new home and livelihood. Meek passive women could not survive in this territory. Life in the West required strong, aggressive women who could withstand the harsh frontier, and protect their families in their husbands' absence. It was not unusual to see a woman brandishing a gun, rounding up

³⁵ Greeley, 572.

³⁶ Hendrik Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights, and 'the Unwritten Law' in Nineteenth-Century America," *The Journal of American History* (June 1997), 92.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 94.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

livestock, plowing the land, or working in the rough mining towns.

One of the conditions which made life in the West a little different for women was their ability to obtain work and even run their own businesses. The harsh and desolate conditions of frontier life and the need to develop an economy required female participation. Thus, frontier society frowned less upon employment for women than middle and eastern America. States formerly subject to Spanish and Mexican laws, such as California, granted women sole-trader status, which prevented husbands from being able to take part of their wives' businesses in the event of divorce if that business belonged solely to the wife.

The West also has a history of allowing women to own property. Because the frontier territories and states had a disproportionate number of men to women, women were offered land as an incentive to move west. Property ownership for woman also dates back to California's Spanish and Mexican periods. Women in Spanish society were legally entitled to own land, and this carried over to Spanish America. The property rights of women were protected by California's community-property law, which also dates back to Spanish origin.³⁹ Community-property laws protect any properties that spouses bring into a marriage from being taken by the other spouse in the event of divorce, and they also equally divide any properties jointly acquired during marriage. Courts can only invade upon this rule to award spousal support, or to accommodate unusual grounds for a divorce, which usually benefited the wife.

In the event of divorce, if the decree be rendered on any other ground than adultery or extreme cruelty, the

community property is equally divided between the spouses. If granted on other grounds the court has the power to divide the community-property in such a way as may be just, awarding the larger interest (usually two-thirds or three-quarters) to the innocent party. Where the divorce is granted for adultery or extreme cruelty, the entire community property may, in the discretion of the court, be awarded to the innocent party.⁴⁰

Although the frontier conditions of the early West made it necessary to espouse a more liberal view of gender roles, rapid urbanization and industrialization soon changed this. The urbanized cities of the West were now able to settle into a more comfortable Victorian lifestyle. Many of the more affluent and middle classes actually sought out the very values from which they had previously fled. To be able to lead the Victorian lifestyle of the East was a mark of status for those seeking a higher social standing in the cities of the West. As in the rest of the United States, the Victorian constraints now placed on gender roles prevented a full-fledged gender revolution from actually taking place. Wives were held subject to the ideals expected of them by Victorian society, and husbands were expected to be dominant over their wives. For some women, this change did not prove to be a problem, but for those women that found these conditions unbearable, divorce became an increasingly common option.

Just as in the rest of the United States, women's rights organizations fought to change the attitudes toward women in the social, political, and legal arenas of the West. What made it less of a struggle in the West than in other parts of America were the liberal roles women played in early frontier life. It is important to note that, although American women did not obtain universal suffrage until the passage of the nineteenth

³⁹ Leon R. Yankwich, *Marriage and Divorce: Aspects of Marriage and Divorce, with Extracts from the Mexican Law on the Subject* (Los Angeles: Graphic Press, 1937), 67-8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 78.

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suffrage until the passage of the nineteenth amendment in 1920, many Western states had already granted this right to its female citizens. Wyoming pioneered the drive to grant women the right to vote in 1869, and Utah shortly followed suit in 1870. Men and women in the West were not necessarily more receptive to change than their counterparts in the East, they were simply forced out of necessity to accept these changes because of conditions unique to life in the young West.

Conclusion

If asked to describe women of the Victorian era, many people would apply adjectives such as "oppressed", "repressed", "meek", "passive", and "obedient;" few would consider it a time of great strength and courage. Aside from a small number of notable names, few people are aware of the activists and their accomplishments during this period. Feminism is something usually associated with the two most recent generations, not the nineteenth century. However, feminism is not a recent concept or movement, but something that has existed since the colonial period. For centuries, American women have been challenging the societal expectations by fighting for rights and recognition. It was not until the Victorian era that women became effectively organized on a national scale and grew strong enough to explode with such a force that society could no longer ignore their existence or deny their rights as citizens.

The modern feminist movement could never have achieved its accomplishments had it not been for the advances made by its Victorian predecessors. However, many of the earlier battles are still being fought today. Just as lady crusaders of the Temperance movement fought to protect their families against the vices of alcohol and abuse, today's women continue the fight against alcoholism, drug addiction, and domestic violence. Whereas suffragettes

fought for the right to vote, women continue to fight for access to public office. Like their earlier counterparts who fought for the right to work, women today maintain the fight for equality on the job. The struggle for equality has been a long one, and will assuredly continue for several generations. Rather than looking at this pessimistically, it is imperative to consider the incredible achievements made in the past two-hundred years. In the area of women's rights, no other nation has been able to match the accomplishments made by American women.

Colleen Robledo: see staff biography

“Two Paths Into Silence: Exploring the Differences and Similarities of the United States Marine Corps Force Recon and the United States Army Long Range Recon Patrols”

**Wade Wright
Eric Barrientos
Daniel Boswell
Peter Chance
Gerardo Correa
Jason Duca**

In war, accurate intelligence, widely disseminated, is vital for making correct decisions. In “Two Paths Into Silence,” the authors compare the similarities and differences in the United States Army and Marine Corps reconnaissance programs during Vietnam, and how the two organizations had to be developed in order to meet the demand for accurate intelligence that could be quickly analyzed. After comparing the strengths and successes of each service, the authors conclude the lessons learned in Vietnam have been heeded and carried forward into more recent military actions.

Two Paths

In any war or conflict, there is a need for intelligence. While much of this intelligence can be gathered from radio intercepts, spy satellites, and clandestine operations, a significant amount must come from on the spot reconnaissance by teams of trained or hastily trained military personnel. Reconnaissance is necessary in order to ascertain vital facts on terrain, and its effects on a battle's potential mobility and lethality. It also determines the types of men and material that must be used to win the battle. Reconnaissance is also needed to identify the enemy, and its ability to fight or withdraw. Without such reconnaissance, entry onto a battlefield can mean a costly victory, needless stalemate, or devastating defeat. The battlefield importance of reconnaissance is especially visible when looking at the Vietnam conflict, where American troops fought North Vietnamese Army (NVA) troops as well as irregular forces (Viet-Cong, or VC) often going out into the field to search out and either kill or capture enemy forces.

During the time America spent in Vietnam, intelligence gathering in the military services was neglected primarily due to long-term inter-service rivalries. As each branch of the military sought to protect their infrastructure and influence, they failed to share accurate information. Often, information was deliberately distorted before it was disseminated. The two branches of the military in Vietnam for the United States were the Army and the Marine Corps. The Army High Commanders felt that the Marines were performing an Army task; while the Marine Command Staff were attempting to prove that the Marines were capable of performing a task that the Army was not, i.e. defeat North Vietnamese regular and irregular forces.¹ As realization set in that the North Vietnamese forces were

winning, and that changes would have to be made, individual commanders of ground units from both branches saw the need for a higher degree of cooperation. This cooperation, informal to begin with, started in the area of reconnaissance; while it did not have formal authorization from official channels, the honest sharing of information and training allowed men out in the field to have an increased chance to survive while simultaneously allowing the intelligence gathered by either service to be used more effectively by both services. As the effectiveness of recon missions improved, higher-ranking unit commanders started to recognize the value of these units and asked for their services.² The higher effectiveness of Army and Marine recon units did not mean that they were the same, however, as each service had different mission goals. The Army's primary mission for reconnaissance units was to be able to perform extended patrols which would discern enemy troop numbers and movements, while the Marine Corps primary mission for Force Recon teams was to conduct pre and post-assault reconnaissance in support of the assaulting force.³

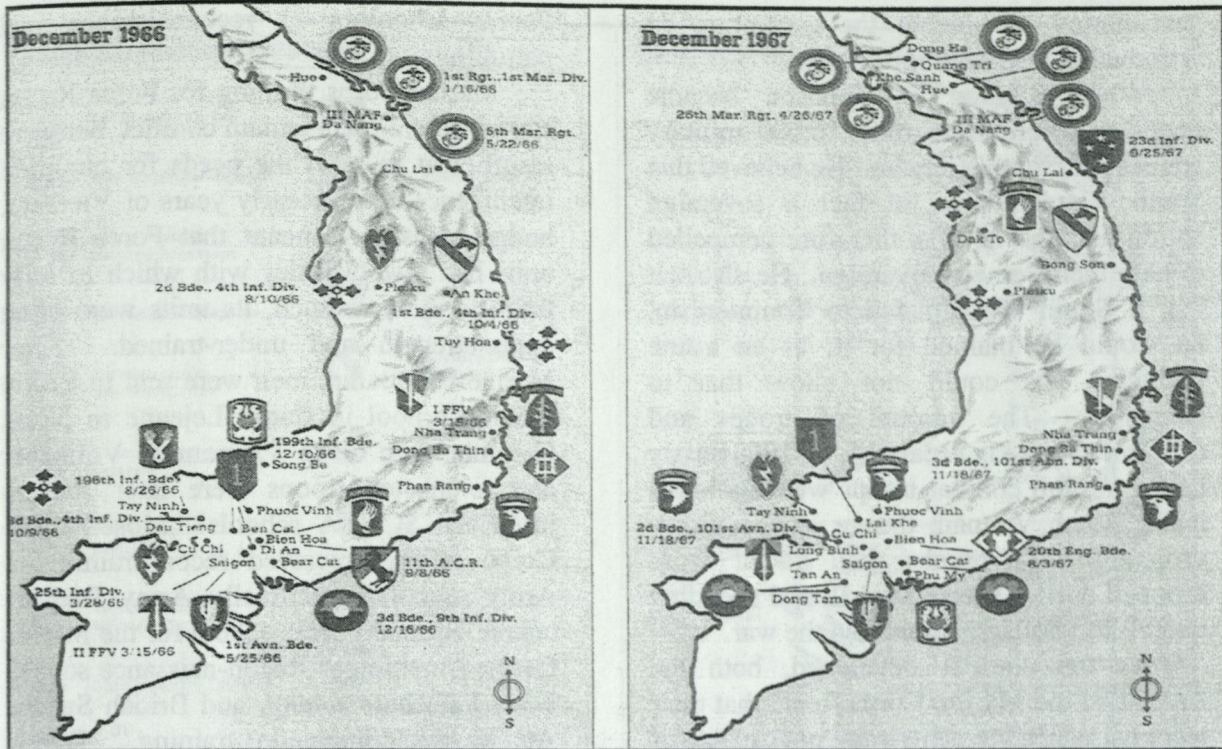
The United States became involved with Vietnam well before any shooting began, when on 2 September 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam independent from France with Americans in attendance.⁴ Unfortunately, the need for French participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Cold War with the Soviet Union, caused the US to withdraw its support for an independent

¹ Loren Baritz, *Backfire: A History of How American Culture Led Us into Vietnam and Made Us Fight the Way we Did* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1985), 254.

² Frank Camper, *L.R.R.P. The Professional* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1988), 8-9.

³ Shelby L. Stanton, *Rangers at War: LRRPs in Vietnam* (New York: Ivy Books, 1992), 19. See also Bruce H. Norton, *Force Recon Diary, 1969* (New York: Ivy Books, 1991), 65.

⁴ George C. Herring, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam 1950-1975* (New York: Random House, 1986), 3.



Unit Disposition 1966-1967. Terrence Maitland et al., *The Vietnam Experience: A Contagion of War*, 11.

Vietnam.⁵ American response to these fears coalesced around a plan formulated by George F. Kennan in 1947. Mr. Kennan's plan proposed the US should contain Communism by use of political, economic, social, and military measures; that, in order to prevent the spread of Communism beyond its borders, it was important for the West- and in particular, the United States- to maintain pressure upon the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR).⁶

After the French were defeated in 1954, all sides involved signed the Geneva Accords of 1954, by which Vietnam was split along the seventeenth parallel until elections were held in 1956. The US tried various tactics to hinder the Vietminh government in North Vietnam and strengthened its position in the South, including pamphlets and scare tactics in the North, and

pouring economic and military aid in the South.⁷ Both North and South won rigged elections in 1956-7, with ninety-five percent of the vote.⁸ Diem later blocked the elections called for by the Geneva Accords.⁹

The increase in military expenditures by the United States was largely wasted due to an endemic corruption, which encompassed most of the South Vietnamese leadership- including the military. This corruption included rigged elections, forced resettlement, food and livestock confiscated from peasants, suppressed newspapers coverage, rigged "kangaroo" courts, and deeply entrenched nepotism.¹⁰ Even after Diem was assassinated, the subsequent half-dozen short-lived regimes failed over a two-

⁷ Herring, 44-6.

⁸ Baritz, 96. See also Herring, 55.

⁹ Ibid., 96. Ibid.

¹⁰ Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History: The first Complete Account of Vietnam at War* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), 223-4, 233, 255-8, 265-7. See also Cooper, 154, 157.

⁵ Ibid., 3. See also Chester L. Cooper, *The Lost Crusade: American in Vietnam* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1970), 54-5.

⁶ Baritz, 64-5.

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year period to combat the corruption by introducing meaningful reforms.¹¹

When Lyndon B. Johnson became President, there were over 16,000 military advisors in South Vietnam. He believed that South Vietnam was in fact a sovereign nation and he was therefore compelled to help them remain sovereign. He also felt that if South Vietnam fell to Communism, he would be blamed for it; as an astute politician, he could not allow that to happen.¹² The amount of troops and equipment quickly escalated; by 1968 nearly half a million combat troops were stationed in the South Vietnam theater of operations, dropping more bombs than all of those dropped during World War II, and spending two billion dollars a month on the war.¹³

As the conflict developed, both the Army and the Marine Corps found that their reconnaissance elements were not capable of retrieving the type or amount of information needed to combat the enemy effectively. Consequently, the Army decided to set up new programs; in order to keep up with the volume of troops going into Vietnam, however, the Marine Corps opted to expand existing programs. After the World War II and the Korean War, it was evident that long range patrolling and reconnaissance were essential to military strategy. The development of training and tactics became vitally important if the military hoped to utilize their forces to their best advantage. The initial training for both services was that of basic infantry, and only men who excelled in training and in field experience went on to begin early reconnaissance units.¹⁴ The use of Army Ranger training was the initial advanced schooling for soldiers going into patrol units while in Vietnam. Later, more advanced training became available through the use of Special

Forces schooling in reconnaissance and patrolling.

Marine Corps training for Force Recon started before the Vietnam conflict, but were insufficient to meet the needs for qualified intelligence. In the early years of Vietnam, budget constraint meant that Force Recon units had few facilities with which to fully train its men; as such, its units were often under-strength and under-trained. After Marine boot camp, men were sent to Recon training school in Camp Lejeune in North Carolina, then on to Vietnam.¹⁵ Volunteer and re-enlisted troops were later sent to jump and SCUBA schools. Most Marine Corps officers received recon training in Army schools, specifically Army Rangers course, Special Forces school for the Marine Corps, Amphibious Recon-naissance school, Navy Parachute school, and British Special Air Service (commando) training.¹⁶ Due to the lack of enough time or money to formally train everyone in the recon units, the specialized training went to the commanding officers, it was expected that the knowledge and skills gained would be disseminated down through the ranks.

In the Army, the idea for reconnaissance had been in development prior to Vietnam, but no units had yet been created. During the Korean War, the services of Recon/Ranger units were in need; by orders of Army Chief of Staff General J. Lawton Collins, training facilities for these units were built at Ft. Benning, Georgia.¹⁷ Initial requirements for recon training required that a soldier had to be "airborne qualified"; this required additional specialized training.¹⁸ This early emphasis on specialization made for higher standards, which meant that most, if not all, soldiers serving in these units were well trained for

¹¹ Baritz, 127.

¹² Karnow, 320-1.

¹³ Herring, 78.

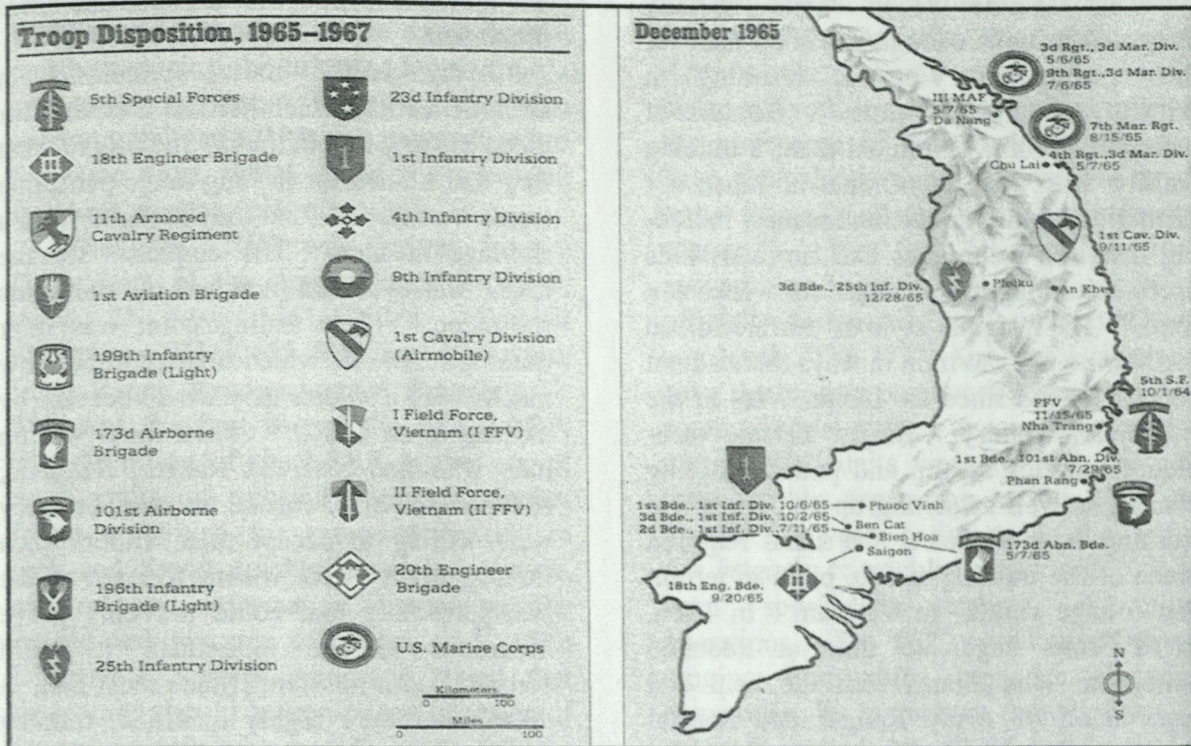
¹⁴ Stanton, 9.

¹⁵ Lt. Col. Alex Lee USMC (ret.), *Force Recon Command: 3rd Force Recon Company in Vietnam* (New York: Ivy Books, 1995), 34.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁷ Michael Lee Lanning, *Inside the LRRPs: Rangers in Vietnam* (New York: Ivy Books, 1988), 38.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.



American Troop Disposition 1965-1967. Terrence Maitland et al., *The Vietnam Experience: A Contagion of War*, 126.

duty.¹⁹ After the Korean War ended, the need for specialized units dropped, and soldiers who had completed Ranger school were expected to return to their respective squads and platoons and teach the techniques of combat and recon patrolling.²⁰ By the time America became involved in Vietnam, many of these men were out of the military; this resulted in a loss of knowledge and skills that had not been systematically replaced, and consequently resulted in less time spent on missions, and more time training new soldiers arriving in the theater of operations.

While the Marine Corps had recon units built into their companies and battalions, due to limited practice and few instructors, practical knowledge of reconnaissance skills were limited. A need for unit training and preparedness was always a concern so, in order to be utilized more effectively,

considerable amounts of time were spent training and retraining members within recon units.²¹ Training done in these units was always informal, as time spent on missions cut into the quality and quantity of training. Sometimes recon units held classes on a number of areas to insure that they would be well prepared for whatever mission lay ahead of them. As Lt. Col Alex Lee stated in *Force Recon Command*, "We held classes on aircraft capabilities and limitations, munitions effectiveness, and all of the rules of usage [sic] that schooled on the careful precise radio procedures that the artillery lived by."²² Most of these subjects were barely taught to Marines coming in country. Tragically, the necessity for them to have that training was the difference between life and death in the field in Vietnam.

¹⁹ Stanton, 38.

²⁰ Lee, 43.

²¹ Ibid., 46.

²² Ibid., 43.

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The Marine recon units initially struggled to have enough qualified men for the conflict in Vietnam, resulting in critically understaffed units.²³ Because of the shortage of well-trained men, a training facility was built on Okinawa, Japan for further schooling in reconnaissance, including insertion techniques and survival skills useful for living in the jungle for weeks at a time.²⁴ The irregular style of warfare forced the Marine units to train in ways that had not been practiced since the Indian Wars of the eighteenth century. Jungle warfare techniques utilizing stealth and patience during patrols, as well as setting up ambushes and learning how to detect the same required much of the training to take place in terrain and foliage similar to Vietnam. In 1966, LRRP units began to train at Recondo School in Nha Trang with the help and supervision of Army Ranger and Special Forces instructors.²⁵ This school enabled Marine Recon units to prepare for the rigors of extensive recon missions.²⁶

The rush to get troops into Vietnam had an effect on how men in country were expected to train. The Marine Recon units were forced to train while in the field, but were also hindered by the number of teams needed. This resulted in discarding of manuals and standard operating procedures. New types of missions were starting to be required of the Marine Recon units and their areas of operation began to increase as well.²⁷ Troops borrowed information and training from any member in their unit that had had the opportunity to attend any specialty schools. Because new types of missions were being required of the Marine Recon units, their areas of operation began to increase as well; thus information and training expertise gained from a member in

one unit was shared with all other members of the unit.

Army LRRP units specialized in airborne tactics, which became a criteria for those wishing to join them. Sticking to what they had trained for in long range patrolling teams worked well, but they suffered from a shortage in men. The emphasis for the LRRP was to recruit members of other units for recon. Their selling point was their training regiment, which boasted about how much better a soldier they would become by training as an LRRP.²⁸ Their focus was on men who had received Ranger, Recondo, Airborne, or other formal training, but they were willing to accept men without such training if they were willing to learn on the job, something that could not only prove hazardous to the individual, it could compromise a mission. Since most men in these units were highly qualified, training mostly concentrated on field operations in order to become more effective as a team rather than trying to keep up with one another.

For the Marine Corps however, emphasis on team unity was the goal once they were together. This meant retraining and motivating individuals to work as a team by intensive training.²⁹ Training as a team worked wonders for units that had been hastily thrown together and had loose ends in manpower. Individuals become aware of everyone's role within the unit and became aware of what to do if and when a man went down in battle. Special importance was placed on training for *Immediate Action* drills, which had the unit practicing and training for different scenarios countless times, and was a large part responsible for many lives being saved.³⁰

Army LRRP units generally had more training time together, due to prior Ranger or Special Forces experience.³¹ Initially

²³ Lee, 52.

²⁴ Ibid., 53.

²⁵ Ibid., 59.

²⁶ Gary A. Linder, *Phantom Warriors: LRRPs, LRP and Rangers in Vietnam* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2000), 14.

²⁷ Lee, 35.

²⁸ Stanton, 132-3.

²⁹ Lee, 53-4.

³⁰ Ibid., 55-6.

³¹ Lanning, 64-5.

there were few qualified men to serve in the LRRPs, which made it easier to work as a unit by reducing the time needed to train a unit to competence. Nearly all the men serving within an LRRP unit were trained to the same level, which eased the transition from one mission role to another.

The term LRRP was derived from a Department of the Army Directive 525-4, dated 25 May 1961, titled, "Combat Operation, ROAD-65 Training Literature, Long Range Reconnaissance Patrolling."³² This was the first use of the term LRRP. The definition of the LRRP is the use of small units of specially trained combat forces employed for extended periods to seek and report quickly detailed, accurate, and relevant information concerning the enemy and his area of operations.³³ The Directive's concept paragraph stated that these units should be comprised of teams of four to six men who would operate at night or in times of limited visibility and would assume concealed positions during daylight hours in order to observe specific targets or routes.³⁴

This contrasted with the Marine Corps' Force Recon, whose official role was to conduct pre-assault and distant post-assault reconnaissance in support of the landing force. This role changed over time as individual unit commanders utilized their recon assets in other ways, such as forward observers for pre-arranged artillery attacks, or to merely track an enemy unit to see what paths or roads were preferred for travel, and others.³⁵ Force Recon units were mixed, with Marine combat troops supported by Navy Medics.

The US Army had no official plans to send LRRP units into Vietnam. As with every other instance in Ranger history, it took actual combat before the staff officers would take the LRRP concept off the shelf

and utilize it on the battlefield. There were a couple of reasons for this, such as the Army's reluctance to create elite units in order to avoid lowering overall morale and the preference of high ranking officers to have their large units receive the credit, rather than a small unit led by a lieutenant or captain.³⁶ The first US regular troops arrived in Vietnam in 1965, with no officially designated LRRP units attached at any level. The 173rd Airborne Brigade did have the basic groundwork laid out and had some personnel trained in reconnaissance, so when LRRP units were formed, they had little trouble organizing. The 173rd was formed two years earlier to be the Army's *fire brigade*, or troubleshooter unit.³⁷ It had been specifically trained in jungle operations. The 173rd could insert groups ranging from three men up to whole companies by parachute, small boat, or submarines, and they could sustain training missions lasting up to a month by being resupplied via airdrops.

An LRRP Company was comprised of a headquarters, operations, communication section, and two patrol platoons, with a total of around one hundred men plus mess personnel. Each patrol platoon was comprised of seven squads of six men each, plus a platoon leader and sergeant. Each squad or team member had a specific role within his team.³⁸

A Marine Force Recon Company was comprised of a headquarters, a supply and services platoon, and four reconnaissance platoons. Each recon platoon contained three teams of six men. The company was organized to provide the landing force commander with individual teams that required support personnel to execute missions. All members of the teams were trained as surface swimmers, inflatable boat handlers, and parachutists. A limited number of men were trained as underwater

³² Ibid., 44.

³³ Ibid., 45.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Norton, 65-8.

³⁶ Lanning, 52.

³⁷ Ibid., 53.

³⁸ Ibid., 191-1.

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swimmers (SCUBA). Being a Recon Company, the unit was not capable of offensive operations and was not employed as a tactical unit. The company's mission was to provide small scout teams, with support personnel, to enter unknown territory and gather intelligence.³⁹

Not only were there similarities in the way that both the US Army LRRP and USMC Force Recon companies were set up, there were also parallels in the way in which the individual patrol teams functioned and how power was delegated. In both cases, a non-commissioned officer (NCO) more often than not led the patrol teams.

Within an LRRP team, the team leader may have been a different person from company to company, mission to mission, but was most often was a sergeant or a staff sergeant. These sergeants generally had years of training and had spent time in the field, and in leadership positions were the most crucial feature of the team. An aspect of this importance was the fact that irrespective of the rank of the individual leader, or those accompanying the patrol, orders given by him were to be followed to the letter.⁴⁰

Marine Recon teams also relied on NCOs to lead and disseminate information and training. Recon NCOs were given more latitude by their officers than regular Marine NCOs. It was widely known—regardless of the branch of armed services being discussed—that the “average” soldier would rather have an NCO lead them into battle over an officer. There was much distrust and even disdain towards officers by enlisted men. To a soldier who had spent months in actual warfare, facing immediate danger on a regular basis, an officer, with his spit shined boots and scientific theories, had no concept of a soldier's life, and, therefore, could not be trusted. Both logic and personal experience told the recon soldier that when his life was on the line, it was best to

have someone next to him that he knows he can trust. An NCO was often someone who they had fought right next to or even trained with. Thus, an NCO could empathize with his subordinates. He would also know that direct experience is often the better teacher than a stint in any academy and made his decisions accordingly. An officer, to most enlisted soldier, was not be trusted, because he tended to do things he learned in an academy that did not always apply to “real-life” situations, and his actions led to his men being killed, wounded, or captured.

A third similarity, in tactics and leadership between LRRP and Recon teams, involved equipment. Equipment needs varied from mission to mission, due to the LRRP philosophy to use whatever was available for whatever was necessary.⁴¹ As the war continued and the recon teams became more experienced with field needs, the equipment that was used became modified to suit the needs of not only the soldiers, but the missions as well. This evolutionary process of equipment use was based on the operation itself. Although equipment was generally regular from one unit to the next, there were instances when recon units used equipment manufactured by the enemy.

This process of change in uniforms, weapons, and communications helped both LRRP and Marine Recon teams to become successful in the field. Knowing what worked and what did not was learned by experience from those who were already in country. The common uniform used in Vietnam was the olive-drab jungle fatigue. Made of cotton, they dried quickly; even the multiple pockets on the shirt and pants had grommet holes, which allowed water to drain quickly after crossing a stream or marsh. The fatigues allowed for recon units to masquerade as regular troops, but failed to provide sufficient camouflage to prevent detection in the jungle.⁴² The preferred field

³⁹ Norton, 65.

⁴⁰ Lanning, 83.

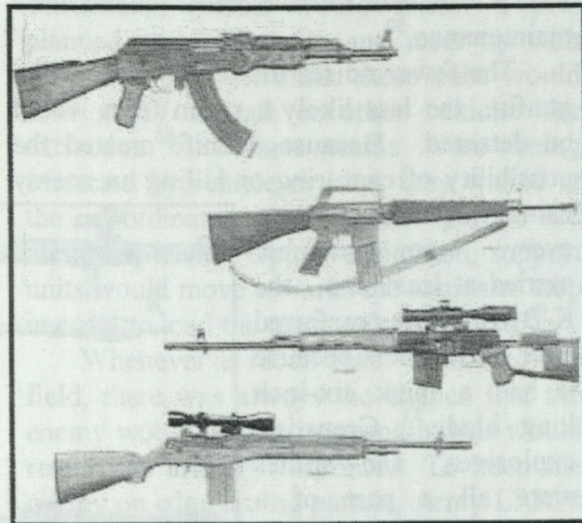
⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 112.

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uniform for Army recon units was a print known as "tiger stripe."⁴³ This color scheme, with its black and green colors stitched in shadowy stripes, allowed units to blend in better. However, as they were made for the soldiers of the South Vietnamese Army they were generally too small for the larger-sized American troops; as such, they were difficult to acquire. Some units ordered them specifically to fit the US soldier. Enemy uniforms were also worn by US recon units, who found the advantages of the black pajamas outweighing the possibility of getting shot by friendly forces. No matter what kind of field uniform worn, though, all individual insignia of rank, unit designation, names, and awards were removed to deny the enemy intelligence in case a soldier was killed or captured. Only in the rear were insignias and such allowed to be worn.⁴⁴

Army and Marine recon units were both issued a wide web canvas belt with an attached shoulder harness for carrying ammo, grenades, canteens, and knives.⁴⁵ For heavier gear, troops were issued rucksack equipped with multiple pockets; these could hold up to 80 pounds when fully loaded.⁴⁶ Besides ammunition, water and food were the most essential equipment carried by the recon units. Each member carried three two-quart rubber canteens as well as iodine tablets to purify water collected during a mission.⁴⁷ C-rations, along with canned fruit, were the most common type of food carried. Other amenities included toilet paper, chewing gum, matches, cigarettes, and salt. While food and water could be heated by using C-4 explosives, recon units usually ate their food raw in order to avoid detection.⁴⁸



Some of the weapons used in Vietnam: an AK-47 (top) and an M-16 (second from top). Edgar Doleman et al., *The Vietnam Experience: The Tools of War*, 84.

Although there were similarities, it was the choice of weapons that most defined the differences between the Army and Marine Corps. Most often, however, personal preference--combined with whatever killed the enemy quickest--favorites in weaponry. The M-16 was the most commonly used rifle. Recon units also liked the CAR-15: though it was noisier when fired. It was also shorter and lighter and thus easier to carry.⁴⁹ Recon teams also used Soviet made AK-47s; as it was the standard weapon used by the enemy. Firing it did not automatically alert the enemy and ammunition was usually abundant.⁵⁰ Other light weapons like M-60's and Smith & Wesson 76's and pistols, were also used, as were heavier weapons such XM-148 grenade launchers, which could be mounted on an M-16.⁵¹ Remington, Winchester, and Stevens all produced pump action shotguns twelve gauge that were also popular among recon team members because they ignored the thick jungle foliage. The most common type of pistol used was the .45 caliber M-

⁴³ Ibid., 112-3.

⁴⁴ Lanning, 114.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 117. See also Norton, 70.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 118. Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 119.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 120-1.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 123-4. See also, Norton, 71.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 124-5.

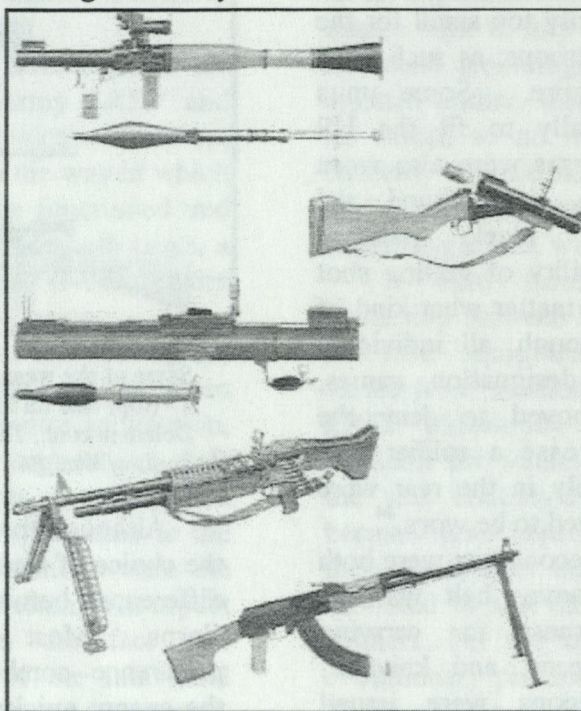
⁵¹ Ibid., 125-6.

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1911A1; it was reliable and required little maintenance.⁵²

The fewer noises the enemy heard, like gunfire, the less likely a recon team would be detected. Because a knife created the possibility of capturing or killing an enemy using stealth tactics, every team member carried at least one - the K-BAR. It was preferred over most others because it had a thick six-inch long blade.⁵³ Grenades, explosives, and mines were all a part of a reconnaissance team's equipment. Chemical Smoke, M-26 fragmentation, and smoke grenades were all carried. Each team member also carried claymore anti-personal mines.⁵⁴

Insertion and extraction of both Force Recon and LRRPs was a vital part to any mission in Vietnam. Speed and stealth were required to ensure that the enemy did not know that a team was in the field or at least was not sure where that team was. Although accomplished in different ways, the insertion or extraction required a high degree of coordination in order to achieve the highest level of stealth possible. Most insertions and extractions were done via helicopter.⁵⁵ Poorly implemented insertions and extractions could cause the loss of men, material, and valuable information, thus the success or failure of an execution often determined the outcome of many battles.



The M-60 (second from bottom) used by USMC Recon forces in Vietnam. Edgar Doleman et al., *The Vietnam Experience: The Tools of War*, 85.

Both Force Recon and LRRP units also used boats, trucks, and often their feet to insert themselves into the mission, but never as much as the helicopter.⁵⁶ Helicopter insertion was quick, relatively quiet, and could reach areas otherwise inaccessible.

The UH-1E was liked more because it had a four-man crew, two pilots and two door-gunners, whose covering firepower made insertion and extraction easier and safer.⁵⁷ Most insertion missions were done in the morning, partly because of the surprise element, but also because of the fact that the lift capacity on the helicopter was better at that time. Nighttime insertions were done rarely, as they were unusually risky and were not significantly more productive than those done in the morning.⁵⁸

Insertions had to be done quickly; an officer flying over-head in a support aircraft commanded all insertions, watching for possible enemy occupation in the designated landing zones while his troops rappelled or jumped to the ground.

Jumping from an aircraft required a great deal of training and it was the responsibility of the unit leaders to determine if the height was sufficient to land safely. Recon team members often carried up to eighty pounds of gear and jumping into uncertain terrain was just not viable, though aviators often felt otherwise.⁵⁹ If the

⁵² Ibid., 126. See also Norton, 71.

⁵³ Ibid., 127.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 127-9. See also Norton, 81.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 154.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Lee, 79-80.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 57.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 76.

helicopter was too high, team leaders aborted and proceeded to the alternate LZ.⁶⁰ Insertion by ladder or rappelling required a "belly" man who secured the base of the ladder or rope. The helicopter hovered from ten to twenty feet above the ground, and the belly man commanded the pilot into position and directed the recon team down the rope or ladder into the LZ.⁶¹

Insertions held a lot of dangers because of what lurked in the jungles. Friction between commanding officers and aviators arose over landing zones and suitability.⁶² Marine pilots often put the value of their aircraft over that of ground troops. Army pilots were more flexible and most commanding officers of both services were aware if this and preferred Army transportation, as coordination between the pilots and the ground units was easier.⁶³

For both services, patrol extraction was conducted mostly by helicopter, though walking, vehicle, and boats were used as well.⁶⁴ Helicopters either landed on the ground to allow direct boarding or troops were lifted out via rope or ladder.⁶⁵ Any ladder or rope extractions were done with caution, due to the uncertainty of possible enemy pursuit.⁶⁶ Fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters, such as Cobras, Hueys, or OV-10s, were called as needed for fire support. If water was near by, naval fire support from patrol boats or other ships might also be called in.⁶⁷

When pilots and recon unit leaders were unable to agree on a landing site or how much support was needed, or when aircraft had difficulties reaching a landing zone due to enemy fire, the patrol would have to walk out. Differences in opinion also forced teams to walk out. During a "foot

extraction", patrols would follow a pre-planned route of march and meet up with designated support units, these units would then notify aircraft or other vehicles for extraction.⁶⁸ When teams were being extracted by vehicle or boat, they waited at the coordinates until each party had identified itself. Upon verification, support units would move towards the team and stop in order to load the team and equipment.⁶⁹

Whenever a recon team went into the field, there was always the chance that the enemy would be met in strength; this would require an artillery response. To keep the enemy on edge during patrols, Army LRRPs preferred harassment and interdiction fire from 155mm batteries. In one case, an LRRP utilized this strategy at a time when they believed an enemy would be grouping there.⁷⁰ For example, for a few days one team observed an NVA patrol passing at a point where a trail went into a stream and decided it was time to harass them. The team used artillery to hit the location, which allowed the LRRP team of six a better chance of extraction by reducing their chance of becoming involved in a firefight with a superior force.

The Marine Corps Force Recon teams depended on artillery in extraction situations. All too often, Force Recon teams would be outnumbered and surrounded by NVA troops. In these situations, a fire mission from a pre-set 155mm battery would lay a blanket of shrapnel to cut off NVA movement towards an LZ.⁷¹ Since the team was on its way out, they could use artillery as support without fear of being discovered.

The use of fixed wing aircraft for support was common to both LRRP and Marine recon units, however, the type of

⁶⁰ Lanning, 197.

⁶¹ Ibid., 197.

⁶² Lee, 222.

⁶³ Ibid., 78.

⁶⁴ Lanning, 204-6.

⁶⁵ Stanton, 21.

⁶⁶ Lanning, 204-6.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 208-9.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 204.

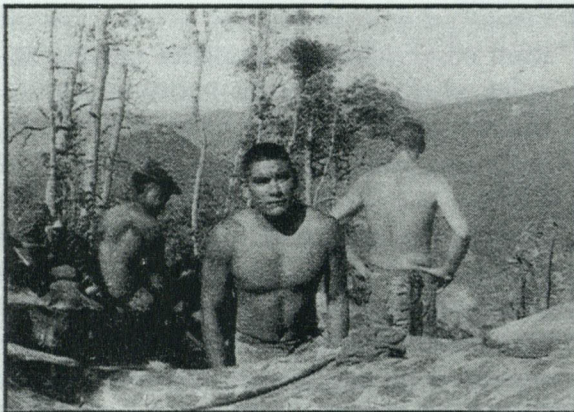
⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ John Burford, *LRRP Team Leader* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999), 80.

⁷¹ Dr. Bill Peters, *First Force Recon Company: Sunrise at Midnight* (New York: Ivy Books, 1999), 95.

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aircraft and how they were used differed. The Marine Corps Recon units used aircraft for better communication and observation as well as fire support, while Army Recon patrols generally called for fire support missions only. Force Recon teams generally used the Navy's propeller-driven OV-10 *Bronco* and supersonic A-6 *Intruder*, while LRRP units usually used the F-4C *Phantom*, an Air Force fighter-bomber they used to clear their landing zones by requesting bombing sorties over the location. The A-6 was an all weather aircraft capable of carrying thousands of pounds of bombs, rockets, and missiles, and delivering them with great accuracy onto any target at any time of day or night.⁷² The Marine teams however, preferred the fixed wing support of



Recon troops at rest. Bruce H. Norton, *Force Recon Diary*: 1970, 104.

the OV-10 *Bronco*. This versatile aircraft with its six 7.62mm mini-guns could set down a withering cover fire.⁷³ It could be used to communicate with other fixed wing aircraft and artillery units to request close-in fire support and to adjust missions for fighter-bombers.⁷⁴ Finally, the OV-10 could carry rockets under its wings to mark targets for larger aircraft. Thus, a typical Force Recon mission might use OV-10 rockets to mark targets for F-4 *Phantoms* napalm and 500-pound bombs. By having

access to these aircraft, Recon teams got air support in weather that did not permit other support craft to operate effectively and in areas that artillery did not reach.⁷⁵

A primary goal of both recon teams was finding the VC in the endless jungle without being caught or seen. While we will never know just how many times recon teams had contact with the enemy, one method of finding who was the more successful is to look at the 101st company F of the 58th Infantry and the 1st Force Recon Company. Both had teams that served similar tours in length and both found the enemy numerous times. Through 125 patrols, Company F's LRRP team was able to sight the enemy on 54 occasions.⁷⁶ The LRRP team was able to do this by covering areas of about 25,000 square yards⁷⁷ and relaying their valuable information to their parent unit.

Teams of the 1st Force Recon Company were able to sight 7,747 enemy soldiers on its 191 patrols from March through November 1969.⁷⁸ Force Recon teams normally covered an area of about 10,000 square yards, which was less than that of LRRP teams.⁷⁹ The difference is that Force Recon did more missions on less ground while the LRRP teams did fewer missions on more ground. Both teams were successful on their own scale of enemy sightings.

LRRP Company F was able to inflict a total of sixty-two NVA/VC casualties during its stay in Vietnam.⁸⁰ This count, when compared to 3rd Recon Company, which had 267 NVA/VC casualties, seems low, however, most recon missions were designed to avoid enemy contact.⁸¹ Each went on different types of patrols, the amount of ground covered was different, and length and numbers of patrol sorties varied, thus it

⁷² Norton, 171.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁷⁵ Burford, 147.

⁷⁶ Stanton, 161.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁷⁸ Peters, 235.

⁷⁹ Norton, 118.

⁸⁰ Stanton, 161.

⁸¹ Norton, 267.

is hard to say which one was more successful. Therefore, although the evidence shows that Force Recon teams were able to inflict more casualties than the LRRP teams, this same evidence would indicate that LRRP teams were the more stealthy.

In every war or conflict, errors in judgment are made. During Vietnam, from the most senior General in country to the newest 2nd lieutenant fresh from Officer Candidate School, the most common error came in applying reconnaissance missions to determine the lay of the land and the organization and capacity of the enemy, be it VC or NVA. Both Army and Marine officers often did not use reconnaissance patrols properly. There were also occasions when good information gained from patrols was not believed or used. This happened mainly due to recon intelligence conflicting with established perceptions, assumptions, and beliefs of men who "knew" they were right and so discarded any fact or information that threatened to undermine their positions.

One such example occurred immediately prior to the 1968 Tet Offensive. The North Vietnamese Army under General Go Nguyen Giap used a series of assaults, in which his forces sustained significant casualties, to lull General William C. Westmoreland into believing that the United States was winning. Westmoreland disregarded intelligence reports which seemed to suggest that enemy units were slipping into many of the largest South Vietnamese cities like Saigon and Da Nang. Despite captured enemy documents and transcripts of prisoner interrogations, his pre-conceptions did not allow General Westmoreland to believe the intelligence he was receiving.⁸² The VC had been able to infiltrate and gather intelligence to be used later during the Tet offensive.⁸³ Even though a communications breakdown caused some VC units to attack early, on 30

January 1968, these attacks failed to alert the US Command Staff of the danger. The next day, massive attacks raged all across South Vietnam.⁸⁴

The lack of respect for reconnaissance-based intelligence in Vietnam did not stop with General Westmoreland. It was pervasive throughout the military early on during the Vietnam conflict. Some of this disrespect arose from frustration. One such example occurred during Operation Thayer-Irving in early 1967. Although there was intelligence, inability to move quickly hindered or outright thwarted US forces from acting on them. Other leads were not recognized until after the fact. The lack of results in Operation Thayer-Irving frustrated the troops who had been participating, as they felt their efforts had been wasted, that their comrades had died for no recognizable results.⁸⁵

Because of unrecognized clues, reconnaissance missions, over time, sometimes became boring affairs in some parts of Vietnam. However, this complacency often led to fateful and unexpected contact with the enemy, such as that of Alpha Company, 1st Battalion, of the 9th Cavalry on 2 October 1966. This unit was sent to perform surveillance on a village called Hoa Hoi that had previously been ignored due to its geographic and tactical unimportance.⁸⁶ When over flown by observation aircraft, the village, had many armed NVA troops protected by trenches and bunkers.⁸⁷ A team of only thirty-three men was sent in to clean out what initially had been thought to have been a platoon, of thirty to thirty-five men. The NVA, actually company strength, were supported by mortars and two or more .50 caliber machine guns.⁸⁸ A reaction force was called in as

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ S.L.A. Marshall, *Vietnam: Three Battles* (New York: De Capo Press, Inc., 1971), 5-6.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 170-1.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 172-3.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 173, 177-9.

⁸² Keith William Nolan, *The Battle for Saigon: Tet 1968* (New York: Pocket Books, 1996), 4.

⁸³ Ibid., 5.

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reinforcement to the recon team under fire. When they saw the damage done to American forces already on the scene, they concluded that the recon team had been overeager and compromised, therefore, they chose to disengage.⁸⁹



NVA troops passing in review. Terrence Maitland, Peter McNerney et al., *The Vietnam Experience: A Contagion of War*, 95.

After Tet, reconnaissance began to take on a belated importance to the Marine Corps. They began to be called upon to hold the NVA above the DMZ while the rest of the US forces were being withdrawn. All along the DMZ and northern border areas of South Vietnam, the various Marine recon units went out and searched for VC and NVA troops. An example was the 1st Marine Division which conducted over 1,000 patrols along the DMZ in any given twenty-four hour period.⁹⁰ The Marine units constantly pushed the NVA into combat, actively sought out the enemy, and fought a war of attrition in hopes that the enemy would quit. As more US forces were withdrawn, remaining forces had to try to contain the NVA with fewer assets. Fortunately, as peace talks were going on,

the amount of time spent on patrol and combat lessened. By 1970, Marine units began to pull out, and by the fall of 1971, nearly all Marine units had been withdrawn.⁹¹

For the military, Vietnam showed the value of inter-service communications and cross training. They realized that gathering intelligence simply was not enough; that it had to be understood and then heeded; and that intelligence was meaningless unless it was acted upon. For the intelligence to be fully understood, there had to be prompt and distortionless communication among all branches of the military. The Army and Marine Corps both developed organizations for reconnaissance missions in Vietnam. The Army used its recon elements primarily for information gathering. Marine Recon teams, while not as stealthy, usually carried more firepower and were, therefore, more capable of getting out of trouble spots. As to which service's recon design worked best, their similarities make that distinction difficult to determine, just as their differences aided or limited them in individual missions. Each service branch's recon units had its success in determining the enemy's place, numbers, and disposition. In that regard, both are equal. The recon experience in Vietnam has resulted in better understanding for the need for concise, clear intelligence that can be shared quickly, without distortion. In Grenada and Panama this concept was refined and by the Persian Gulf War, it was nearly 100% perfected. All this means nothing if the general staff and politicians are unable to adapt to changing environments and situations, both tactically and strategically. There is still a need for manned reconnaissance, for as just as humanity creates new technology for detection, it also tries to find ways to deceive and hide from that same technology. The lessons learned in Vietnam must not be forgotten.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 177, 180-8.

⁹⁰ Keith William Nolan, *Death Valley: The Summer Offensive I Corps, August 1969* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1987), 7.

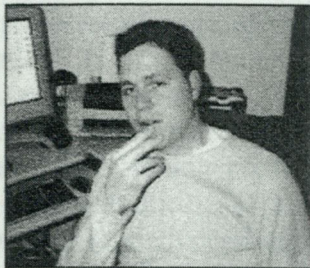
⁹¹ Ibid., 356-8.

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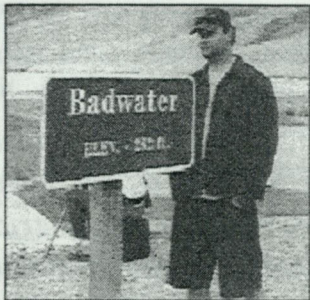
Lead Author: Wade Wright - see staff biography.

Collaborative Authors:

Like Wade Wright, **Eric Barrientos** is a senior at California State University at Fullerton with a passion for U. S. History. Perhaps it is their shared passion that made their collaboration work so well. He currently works as a Big Brother, "to help support my community and to establish a greater sense of good feeling toward mankind." He is also very active in political campaigns, most recently having worked in the last presidential campaign. Upon graduation, Eric plans to pursue a second degree in engineering at California Polytechnic University, Pomona.



Fellow collaborator **Daniel Boswell** is a senior in the history program at California State University, Fullerton. After receiving his degree, Daniel intends to teach and to make motion pictures.



Unlike his fellow authors, **Peter Chance's** passion is European History. He is currently a middle school instructional assistant for children with learning disabilities, but he would eventually like to teach middle school social studies. Peter also owns a children's summer camp in Dana Point and intends to extend this business. In his spare time Peter likes to fish, play music, and do carpentry work.



Fellow senior and Titan **Gerardo Correa** has a dual emphasis in United States and Latin American history and, like others in his cadre, plans to teach U.S. history and government at the secondary level. However, his ultimate goal is to enter educational administration where he says, "I can actually participate in setting educational policy." When away from his academic pursuits, he devotes much of his time to high school leadership programs with Chicanos/Latinos.

Finally, senior **Jason S. Duca** intends to complete his single-subject credential and teach U.S. history in a local high school after his graduation later this year.

“The Changing Image of Western Heroism from John Wayne to Clint Eastwood”

Kelly C. Reck

Of the many symbols and images associated with the American spirit of independence and individualism, few are as recognizable and as enduring as the cowboy. For more than one hundred years this legendary hero of the West has been glorified and accepted as an integral part of American culture and history. In this essay, author Kelly Reck focuses on how the cowboy of film has changed and developed over the past sixty years. From John Wayne to Clint Eastwood, the evolution of this mythical character is one that reflects the changing political and social environments of the twentieth century.

¹ Ibid. 177, 180-8.

² Klein, William Nolan, *Death Valley: The Scourge of Offense I Corps, August 1969* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1987), 7.

³ Ibid. 156-8.

A common argument between artists and historians is whether life imitates art or art imitates life. In the case of motion pictures, there is a strong argument for the latter. With few exceptions, the Western genre has nearly always reflected societal and/or political trends. Early novels and other written media introduced the character, but it was during the last sixty years of the twentieth century that motion picture heroes such as John Wayne and Clint Eastwood brought the cowboy to life. How has society altered the screen image of these men over the decades? Is the character still evolving? To answer these questions, this paper will examine the development of the Western character in the motion picture industry in relation to the political and social environments of the twentieth century.

In order to compare the hero roles of John Wayne and Clint Eastwood and how those roles have changed in the last sixty years, it is necessary to understand the context in which the character was introduced. Many historians agree that the introduction of the cowboy in American history can first be traced to the written work of Owen Wister in his novel *The Virginian*.¹ Three aspects of the book defined general characteristics of the Western film genre. First, as American settlement continued westward after the Civil War, the book presented the idea that the West was the last frontier, and the cowboy was free to explore it. This excerpt, taken from chapter four, is but one example.

Sometimes I strolled in the town and sometimes out on the plain I lay down with my daydreams in the sagebrush. Pale herds of antelope were in the distance, and near by the demure prairie-dogs sat up and scrutinized me. Many things merged in my thoughts in a huge, delicious indifference. It was like swimming in an ocean that was smooth, and neither too cool nor too

warm. And before I know it, five lazy imperceptible hours had gone by.²

Second, at a time when industrialization had confined many Americans to crowded urban tenements and factory jobs with long hours and little pay, *The Virginian* idealized the vast Western frontier as the land of opportunity. Wister referred to the success of mid-western cattle ranchers when he wrote,

To use the language of the Cattle Land, steers had 'jumped to seventy-five.' This was a great and prosperous leap in their value. To have flourished in that golden time you need not be dead now, or even middle aged, but it is Wyoming mythology already -- quite as fabulous as the high jumping cow.³

Third, adventure and opportunity are appealing images, but if hostile American Indians clouded the Western plains, the dangers they posed to cowboys and settlers would lessen the appeal of the frontier. To counteract this possibility, Wister referred to the Indians as a collectively defeated foe, with only scattered pockets of hostile tribes. Though the hero is nearly killed by an Indian ambush in one passage, his opinion of the natives was understood when he stated,

Do not believe reports about Indians. They are started by editors to keep the soldiers in the country. Then the friends of the editors get hay and beef contracts. Indians do not come to settled parts like Bear Creek is. It is all editors and politicianists.⁴

Though the Indian image underwent changes in subsequent decades, Wister obviously felt that along with the images of

² Wister, 41.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 238.

¹ Owen Wister, *The Virginian* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1902).

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Silent Movie star Tom Mix in a publicity pose for his 1926 film *Canyon of Light*. His wholesome screen image and idealized Western costume set the standard for future stars, such as Gene Autry and Roy Rogers. Michael Parkinson, *A Pictorial History of Westerns*, 99.

opportunity and adventure, the recipe for the success of this novel also depended on the depiction of the Native American as posing little or no threat to the frontier settler. It was these three main ideas that became the backdrop for many early Western movies.

Besides main themes, many personal characteristics of the cowboy delineated in *The Virginian* found their way into early Western films. Wister created a cowboy character that was handsome, witty, determined, a skilled horseman, possessed with strong moral values, and adored by the opposite sex.⁵ In one scene, the narrator and good friend of the Virginian observed,

I caught sight of one farewell given without words. As the landlord lady looked her last upon the Virginian her

lips were faintly parted, and no eyes ever said it more plainly, "I am one of your possessions [sic]." What look she may have received from him I could not tell. His eyes seemed to be upon the horses, and he drove with the same mastering ease that had roped the wild pony yesterday.⁶

Thus, armed with a glamorized public image given his character by *The Virginian*, the cowboy soon captured the hearts and minds of a new generation of Americans through an emerging medium of entertainment, the motion picture industry.

The first three decades of the twentieth century saw the birth of the film industry and one of the foremost themes was the Western. The basic value of many of these movies was the triumph of progress and the middle-class working man over alternative lifestyles (industrialization and Robber Barons) that threatened an agrarian society.⁷ Stars of the silent film era including Tom Mix, Hoot Gibson, Will Rogers, and Gene Autry and their cowboy roles renewed faith in basic American values within a world of economic uncertainty during the Great Depression.⁸ As Michael T. Marsden observed,

During the first three decades, the Western developed a clearly cinematic vision of the genre with clearly defined characters, landscapes, styles and story forms. While it would be too limiting to accept the argument that there are only seven basic Western plots, it is not restrictive to suggest that by the middle of the 1930s the conventions of cinematic Westerns were fixed for future renditions.⁹

⁵ Ibid., 138.

⁷ Michael T. Marsden, "The Rise of the Western Movie: From Sagebrush to Screen," *Journal of the West* 22 no.4 (1983): 27.

⁸ Duane E. Nachbar, "Horses, Harmony, Hope and Hormones: Western Movies, 1930-1946," *Journal of the West* 22 no.4 (1983): 27.

⁹ Marsden, 23.

⁵ Wister, 110-3.



A young John Wayne is given his first starring role in the 1930 Raoul Walsh film *The Big Trail*. Michael Parkinson, *A Pictorial History of Westerns*, 22.

Needless to say, nearly thirty years after *The Virginian*, the cowboy image was still vivid in the minds of Americans, who even in the throes of the Great Depression managed to find extra money to attend movie houses. The transition from silent to talking motion pictures in the early to mid-thirties did little to change the scenery and image of the Western. However, the new technology brought with it the need for extended amounts of dialogue and an individual who possessed a good speaking voice, formidable size, athletic prowess, and the ability to act. Originally, directors only chose accomplished stage actors, casting those who had extensive experience in speaking lines convincingly. Then, in 1930, director Raoul Walsh discovered a young man working shirtless on a movie set and asked if he might like to take a screen test for an upcoming film. That young man was

Marion Morrison, who later changed his name to John Wayne.¹⁰

Throughout the Depression-ravaged thirties, Wayne acted in several Westerns, trying desperately to make a name for himself and hone his acting talents. As Archie P. McDonald observed,

The Saturday matinee movies and serials Wayne filmed during the 1930s proved tiresome, grueling, and unrewarding—except financially. While much of America hungered for a job, Wayne earned from \$100 to \$500 per week and learned more about his trade.¹¹

Wayne's hard work and perseverance paid off as the decade of the thirties came to a close, and his first big box office success defined him as the all-American cowboy hero for the next thirty years.

In 1939, good friend and director John Ford cast Wayne in *Stagecoach*, a film considered a landmark in the evolution of the Western genre. At the close of the thirties, an upbeat spirit of national optimism had arisen, and Wayne's character in *Stagecoach* epitomized everything the American public had grown to love about the cowboy hero. He was strong, courageous, morally sound, a gentleman, a frontiersman, and a patriot. More importantly, he represented hope for the future, and this premise alone would contribute heavily to the box office success of *Stagecoach*.¹² But despite its typical storyline, the film featured roles previously unseen in Westerns. For example, reviewer Charles M. Berg wrote,

The characters in the film epitomized society's inconsistent value system, (the drunk, the prostitute, the outlaw, the lawman, and the drifter) and

¹⁰ Archie P. McDonald, "John Wayne, Hero of the Western," *Journal of the West* 22 no.4 (1983): 56-7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 59.

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postulated that Ford's main theme was that society's laws and attitudes do not necessarily represent virtue and nobility.¹³

The entangled circumstances between the diverse characters in *Stagecoach* set this classic film apart from all other Westerns made in the thirties. The film's unique venture into the reality of frontier travel set the stage for future Westerns and eventually some thirty years later led to the creation of a new character, the anti-hero.

The political and social environment of the United States changed dramatically in the forties. After the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and forced America into World War II, the issues of nationalism and patriotism were at the forefront of Hollywood filmmaking. As a result, the Western genre gave way to the war film for much of the decade. As America's box office hero, Wayne proved his versatility as an actor by starring in war films, most notably *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), which earned him an Academy Award nomination.¹⁴ After the war, Hollywood resumed creating Westerns, and as usual, Wayne was at the head of the resurgence of the genre. The only significant change during the late forties was the insertion of references to war, courage on the battlefield, nationalism, and patriotism. Films such as *Red River* (1948), *Fort Apache* (1948), and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949) always contained battle scenes where Wayne's character emerged triumphant against long odds and usually at the expense of the American Indian.¹⁵ McDonald described the personality of Wayne's roles during this decade as, "The driven fanatic, unyielding but with a soft heart; the hard-handed man who quests for the grail of truth, the real man with human appetites but few weaknesses. A resourceful

individual who believes in hard work, in right, and in winning.¹⁶ These heroic and nearly flawless traits solidified Wayne as America's hero and his box office success continued into the next decade.

The fifties brought about significant changes in the cowboy genre. The social climate of the nation had changed from post-war nationalism to cold-war concern. Sensationalist anti-Communist accusers, led by Senator Joseph McCarthy, were constantly in the news. His verbal attacks often involved Hollywood studio executives, and as a result, filmmakers shunned political viewpoints from their productions and concentrated instead on social issues.¹⁷ For many Americans, a more realistic threat was the possibility of nuclear destruction and the aftermath of an atomic war. It appears that Western filmmakers responded to this public sentiment by narrowing the scope of plotlines and portraying the cowboy in a more realistic fashion. The first movie that most significantly illustrated this change was John Ford's *The Searchers* (1956). Wayne's character is still the ultimate hero, but here he became less than ethically flawless. One reviewer described him as a bitter, hardened individual, who was both complex, misunderstood, and imperfect.¹⁸ At the time of its release, reviewers received the movie as only moderately competent, but subsequent critics rated it as Ford's finest work and one of the best films of all time. As Don K. Thompson observed, "The concern with the dynamics of racism and the more violent aspects of the American experience makes *The Searchers* all the more remarkable for a film produced in 1956."¹⁹ Ford's attention to detail, his venture into a more realistic depiction of American frontier life, and the departure of

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 69.

¹⁸ Review of *The Searchers*, by Frank S. Nugent, *Variety Film Reviews* vol. 9 (1983): March 14, 1956.

¹⁹ Don K. Thompson, review of *The Searchers*, by Frank S. Nugent, *Magill's Survey of Cinema* no. 4 (1980): 1504-5.

¹³ Charles M. Berg, review of *Stagecoach*, by Frank S. Nugent, *Magill's Survey of Cinema* no. 4 (1983): 56.

¹⁴ McDonald, 60.

¹⁵ Ibid.

his main character from a completely virtuosic individual set the stage for the creation of an entirely new cowboy, the anti-hero.

The sixties ushered in a new political and social climate. Societal norms were being challenged by a new generation. Protests, sit-ins, and riots on college campuses were commonplace. Unrest over issues such as racism, the Vietnam conflict, sexuality, violence, and censorship headlined the evening news. In this environment, artists continued the trend towards creating more realistic films, and the Western genre was no exception. Technology brought changes such as color and wide-screen imaging to the movie industry. As a consequence, the larger budgets that accompanied this technology created additional pressures for actors and filmmakers to achieve box office success. But Wayne was still the mainstream leading man of the genre, and even though society's tastes were changing, his characters remained conservative and his films continued to be financially successful.²⁰ Nonetheless, societal pressures forced some contemporary issues into his movies. For example, *The Sons of Katy Elder* (1965), included a great deal of graphic violence and some sexuality, scenes Wayne vehemently opposed. In *True Grit* (1969), Wayne is no longer the morally flawless, blindly courageous, hero. His is a character hardened by the experience of fighting lawlessness, more realistic about his chances of survival in difficult situations, and prone to excesses such as smoking, drinking, and overeating.²¹ These changes, caused primarily by altered American ideals, the necessity for box office success, and societal pressures on the film industry, paved the way for the transition to the anti-hero cowboy character.

While Wayne was busy starring in mainstream productions in the mid-sixties, Clint Eastwood began his feature film career

in Italy. Director Sergio Leone first cast Eastwood in the film *A Fist Full of Dollars* (1964).²² In this movie, Eastwood portrayed



John Wayne, with Glen Campbell and Kim Darby in the 1968 film *True Grit*, spurns the romantic-heroic role to portray a mercenary with obvious flaws. Michael Parkinson, *A Pictorial History of Westerns*, 89.

a cowboy character that was markedly different than those associated with Wayne. However, while Eastwood's roles revealed new and more realistic features of cowboy life, many of the old virtues associated with the persona remained. For example, Eastwood is handsome, an accomplished horseman, athletic, racially unbiased, and morally sound. But aside from the basics, this new anti-hero is radically removed from his noble predecessor. Three defining differences became apparent in *A Fist Full of Dollars*. First, while he respected the law, he realistically understood that sometimes it was necessary to break it to achieve the desired heroic result. Second, women were portrayed as possessions rather than strong-minded individuals, and were often treated disrespectfully. Third, it becomes apparent that acquiring monetary wealth, even illegally, was as important as staying within the law.²³ Its sequels, *For a Few*

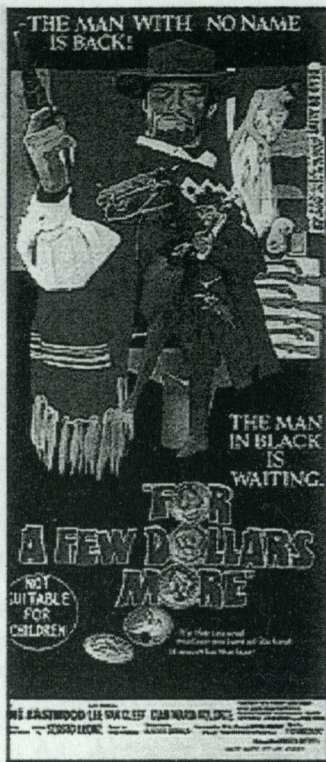
²⁰ McDonald, 62.

²¹ Ibid., 63.

²² *A Fist Full of Dollars*, by Sergio Leone, 119 min., (Dino de Laurentis Pix., 1964), Videocassette.

²³ Ibid.

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Clint Eastwood introduces the cowboy as an anti-hero in a string of Italian Westerns that included 1965's *For a few More Dollars*. Kevin Mulroy, *Polish Poster Art and the Western*, 38.

Dollars More (1965)²⁴ and *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* (1966)²⁵ operated along similar plotlines, and their respective success at the box office probably prompted American movie studios to seek Eastwood as a leading man in the ensuing decade.

The seventies were nearly as politically and socially turbulent as the sixties. Crises such as Watergate and the subsequent resignation of President Richard Nixon, continued anti-war sentiment, the gasoline shortage, and the sexual revolution affected all forms of filmmaking, including the Western. Though Wayne made several movies in the seventies, it was Eastwood's ant-hero roles that clearly exemplified the

extent of unrest and protest in American society.²⁶ Films such as *High Plains Drifter* (1973) and *The Outlaw Josie Wales* (1976) contained even more realistic elements of the cowboy persona. Characteristics like immoral sexual behavior, constant swearing, graphic violence, excessive drinking, smoking and chewing tobacco, and indifference to patriotism and war, took the role to new extremes.²⁷ It seems that Hollywood directors exploited this new character rather than develop complicated storylines. This idea is evidenced by the recurring plotline in nearly every Eastwood Western, the revenge theme. It appears that filmmakers in the seventies, rather than direct attention toward some social issue such as racism or patriotism, decided it was easier to create individual villains and allow Eastwood's character to seek revenge for some wrong committed against him. It is these movies where the revenge formula was not only a politically and socially safe storyline, but also an effective box office draw. Thus, the anti-hero character became mainstream and never again would society find the idealized hero of earlier Wayne Westerns believable.

The eighties and nineties saw fewer productions of Western films. It seems that as social realism became the norm, issues such as civil rights, the spread of AIDS, and political corruption took precedence among Hollywood filmmakers. Beginning in the sixties, civil rights activists began a campaign of political correctness that challenged some of the myths associated with Westerns, most notably the image of the American Indian. For example, movies such as Kevin Costner's *Dances With Wolves* (1990) garnered critical acclaim and the Academy Award for best picture for its sympathetic and informative portrayal of the Native American. As a result of these and other changing social perceptions,

²⁴ *For a Few Dollars More*, by Sergio Leone, 111 min., (Dino de Laurentis Pix., 1965), Videocassette.

²⁵ *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, by Sergio Leone, 102 min., (Dino de Laurentis Pix., 1966), Videocassette.

²⁶ McDonald, 63.

²⁷ *The Outlaw Josie Wales*, by Phil Kaufman and Sonya Chernus, 136 min., (Warner Bros Pix., 1976), Videocassette.

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conventional story-lines present in earlier Westerns, with the exception of the aforementioned revenge theme, were no longer socially acceptable. Strangled by these constraints, filmmakers all but abandoned the genre, with two notable exceptions.

The film *Pale Rider* (1985) is an excellent example of a modern anti-hero Western. In true eighties fashion, there is no racism, no Indian engagements, and no disrespect shown to female characters. Instead, the theme is the now familiar revenge story. This important evolution of plot and character define the modern Western, and even though Eastwood's role remains the anti-hero, his rough edge personality seems to have somewhat softened.²⁸ The film, a box office success but poorly received by critics, proved that the Western could still draw mass audiences.²⁹

The culmination of over fifty years of Western filmmaking and the complete evolution of the cowboy character can be seen in the film *Unforgiven* (1992). The movie contained virtually all aspects of the classic Wayne Western, as well as the characters and personalities of Eastwood's anti-heroes. The setting was Big Whiskey Wyoming, and beautiful scenery and vast

landscapes abounded. The main character was William Munny, who gave up gun slinging and whiskey for the love of a woman. When two drunken cowboys cut the face of a prostitute and she sought vengeance by offering a reward for their deaths, an opportunity arose for Munny to avenge her. His partner and best friend was an African-American, and his cause was noble. Because of his past, Munny was both a hero and an anti-hero, and his antagonist was a corrupt white sheriff rather than an Indian. In the end, he carried out his act of revenge, but in the process his best friend was beaten to death. He then returned to the bottle and his gun fighting ways.³⁰ This character symbolized the synthesis of hero and anti-

hero and epitomized the evolution of the cowboy role. He was gentle yet ruthless, compassionate yet indifferent, law abiding and delinquent, and fearless yet vulnerable.³¹ From these

observations, it is not difficult to see why *Unforgiven* became the first Western to win the Academy Award for best picture of the year.

Contemporary critics maligned the anti-hero for several reasons. Some said Hollywood moviemakers went beyond reality and glamorized anti-social behavior in order to sell more theatre tickets. Others believed gross depictions of reality in Westerns, especially the use of firearms, corrupted modern society, and production



Clint Eastwood's character in the 1992 film *Unforgiven* symbolizes the synthesis of hero and anti-hero, and epitomizes the fifty-year evolution of the cowboy role. Bruce Hershenson, *Academy Award Winners' Movie Posters*, figure 380.

²⁸ *Pale Rider*, by Michael Butler, 113 min., (Warner Bros. Pix., 1985), Videocassette.

²⁹ Len Engel, "Rewriting Western Myths in Clint Eastwood's New 'Old Western'," *Western American Literature*, vol.29(3) (Fall 1994), 268.

³⁰ *Unforgiven*, by David Peoples, 131 min., (Warner Bros. Pix., 1992), Videocassette.

³¹ *Ibid.*

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companies should have been more responsible. Moviemakers countered that motion pictures are free expressions of opinion and that the movie rating system was designed to prevent America's youth from seeing graphic violence and should be policed accordingly.³² In truth, both arguments are valid. It is apparent that when a production company finds a formula for box office success, it will continue to produce similar films in succession until the theme exhausts itself. This trend was apparent in the sixties with the early Eastwood Westerns and continued in the seventies by both Wayne and Eastwood. The debate, however, is not whether sequels should be made, but to what extent filmmakers should go to entice moviegoers to the box office. Just because graphic violence draws viewers, should directors be allowed to depict it? If so, should movie studios be held responsible if someone imitating an Eastwood character commits a violent act? In an ever-changing American society, these debates between artists and critics will surely continue.

Has the Western genre run its course in American film? American moviegoers in the new millennium are more realistic, racially aware, and morally conscious than ever before. Certainly, the market for the Western movie still exists, but to ensure a profitable continuation of the genre, it will be necessary to carefully construct interesting storylines that appeal to mass audiences. Perhaps modified depictions of historical events that are sensitive to a multicultural audience are the answer. Maybe carefully constructed plotlines involving members of different races, such as that of *Unforgiven*, are the solution. As Len Engel concluded,

Using some traditional conventions
and turning others upside down,
Eastwood has made a provocative
Western and has shown that the genre,

far from dead or even close to its last
gasp, can be creatively reimagined to
provide fine, tension-filled drama and
serious social commentary.³³

While it is probable that emphasis on storylines is the key to the future of the genre, it is also obvious that the personality of the main character will no longer dictate the success of a modern-day Western. But how will the modern anti-hero persona continue to evolve? Will he return to the moralistic, virtuous hero of early Wayne Westerns or will he become a combination of both characters? Will he even be a man? As long as these questions remain unanswered, the Western and its characters will continue to be reinvented by a new generation of Hollywood filmmakers.

The Western genre has undergone many changes, from the virtuous hero characters portrayed by John Wayne in the thirties, forties, and fifties, to the transitional films of the sixties, to the anti-hero roles played by Clint Eastwood in the seventies, eighties and nineties. Taking cues and basic themes from novels, politics, and social issues, Western films have evolved from the idealistic, heroic cowboys played by Wayne to the realistic anti-heroic roles portrayed by Eastwood. Whether this evolution was the perfecting of the art of filmmaking or just a way to lure people to the theatre is still a subject of debate. However, because modern day Westerns have proven that the genre can still generate mass appeal, it is apparent that it has yet to run its course in the American movie industry. After analyzing how different social and political issues during successive decades have influenced Western filmmakers, it is also obvious that with each new decade, new trends and ideas will continue to alter both the main character and storyline of future Westerns. For these reasons, it is interesting to ponder the question of whether life imitates art or art imitates life. In truth, in

³² Engel, 267.

³³ Ibid., 269.

many ways, each imitates the other. However, the evidence presented in this essay supports the idea that the depiction of cowboy life in the American West by Hollywood filmmakers has changed, not because directors and screenwriters desired viewers to understand frontier life in realistic terms, but because the American public became more socially realistic and demanded it. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that with few exceptions, in the case of Western films, art imitates life.

Kelly C. Reck is an undergraduate in the History program at California State University, Fullerton. He expects to graduate in the Fall of 2001, and then enter a teaching credential program. When not busy with his studies, Kelly enjoys reading books particularly classics, and modern works of fiction by authors Stephen King and Dean Koontz. He is also an avid golfer.

Kelly's ultimate plan is to teach United States history and coach golf at the high school level. He enjoys inspiring students and exposing them to new fields of knowledge. Kelly credits Dr. Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg for being particularly influential in his studies at CSUF.

highly acclaimed and debated cultural documents of the Great Depression

The Dust Bowl Era

The decade of the 1930s witnessed one of the bleakest and most significant eras of American history. Triggered by the stock market crash of October 1929, the Great Depression shook the American spirit to its core—economically, politically, and socially. Historian Studs Terkel refers to the Depression as "the most devastating experience since the Civil War."

Riding a wave of unprecedented growth, the American economy plummeted into a state of chaos and despair previously unknown in the nation's history. Massive unemployment, except for the military, threatened the very survival of the nation. At the state level, the majority of these relief efforts were administered at the state level with eligibility being determined by state residence. Though these reforms provided temporary assistance to a large segment of the population, they failed to help those members of the population who were unable to establish state residence.

One of the best-known episodes of the Great Depression involved the mass migration of what the press identified as Dust Bowl refugees. The Dust Bowl refers to "a large area of the southern part of the Great Plains region of the United States, much of which suffered extensively from wind-

Charles J. Shields, *Dust Bowl: Refugees in the American Imagination* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 148.

Studs Terkel, *The Great War & the Great Depression: 1914-1932* (New York: New Press, 1964), 7.

"Grapes of Wrath"

Colleen Robledo

Colleen Robledo examines the historical accuracy of the film, The Grapes of Wrath. Although Hollywood filmmakers assumed a daring position by remaining contextually true to the novel, their approach downplayed Steinbeck's indictment of banks and capitalism. To John Ford the people of the story were paramount and the public concept of the film as an historical epic was largely unintentional. The film's historical legacy is its continued relevance to the downtrodden that Ford wished to portray with love, compassion, and dignity.

The cinematic masterpiece *The Grapes of Wrath*, like its Pulitzer Prize winning predecessor, has been popularly accepted for decades as a vivid and accurate depiction of one of the most dismal periods in American history — the Dust Bowl migration during the Great Depression. The fact that both works are fiction has not diminished this popular consensus. Circumstances surrounding the work of author John Steinbeck lent credibility to the novel as being historically valid. Because the movie offers such a close interpretation of the novel, this lent authority to the film as well. In spite of scholarly criticism over the past few decades, both works continue to be viewed as important historical documents.

What made the film so significant though was not its depiction of history, but rather its role in making history. "While Steinbeck targeted a specific audience by selecting literature as his medium, Ford tried to include everyone in his audience by telling stories in the popular and easily understood medium of film."¹ For the first time, the plight of the Dust Bowl migrants reached out to an entire nation—both literate and illiterate. Director John Ford's Academy Award winning film awoke America's social conscious by bringing to life the visual images of squalor, despair, and pain. The Joads became a real family, and their situation could no longer be ignored. The impact created by this movie had been unprecedented in cinematic history and has not been since matched. Released only one year after the book's publication, the movie forced the conditions of the migrants into the public conscious through its superb casting and cinematography, and its vivid portrayal of the migrant experience. Ford's work resulted in both a cinematic masterpiece as well as one of the most

highly acclaimed and debated cultural documents of the Great Depression

The Dust Bowl Era

The decade of the 1930s witnessed one of the bleakest yet most significant eras of American history. Sparked by the stock market crash of October 1929, the Great Depression shook the American spirit to its bone—economically, politically, and socially. Historian Studs Terkel refers to the Depression as "our most devastating experience since the Civil War."²

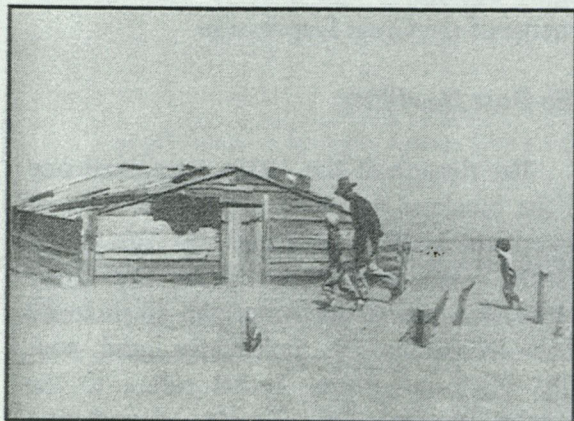
Riding a tide of unprecedented growth, the American economy plummeted into a state of chaos and despair previously unknown in this nation's history. Massive unemployment swept the country affecting all segments of society. Fortunes, livelihoods, and homes were lost. Previously fearful of a large and powerful federal government, the American people now turned to the government as their only source of hope. President Franklin D. Roosevelt used his administration to enact a series of emergency recovery and relief measures known as the New Deal to combat this economic downfall. Legislated and funded at the federal level, the majority of these relief efforts were administered at the state level with eligibility being determined by state residence. Though these reforms provided temporary assistance to a large segment of the population, they failed to help those members of the population who were unable to establish such residence.

One of the best-known episodes of the Great Depression involved the mass migration of what the press identified as Dust Bowl refugees. The Dust Bowl refers to "a large area of the southern part of the Great Plains region of the United States, much of which suffered extensively from wind

¹ Charles J. Shindo, *Dust Bowl Migrants in the American Imagination* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 148.

² Studs Terkel, *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War II* (New York: New Press, 1984), 8.

Grapes of Wrath



Dust Storm, Cimarron County, Oklahoma
1936. Arthur Rothstein, *The Depression Years*, 19.

erosion during the 1930s.”³ Plagued by a combination of soil depletion due to incompatible farming practices and intense periods of severe drought, the topsoil in this region became harshly exposed and blew away.⁴ This environmental disaster destroyed crops and consequently the incomes of a vast majority of farmers. Because this crisis occurred concurrently with a larger migration movement from the Southwest region to California, the press assumed these were all Dust Bowl migrants:

The group commonly referred to as dust bowl refugees or migrant farm-workers made up only a portion of the total migrant population of the Southwest, and therefore an even smaller portion of the total population of migrants during the depression.⁵

New Deal subsidies encouraging farmers to take a portion of their crops out of commission and increased agricultural mechanization proved to be the main reasons for the mass migration. Unable to sustain their livelihoods due to these

changes, entire communities of farmers faced foreclosure and homelessness. Lured by rumors of work and prosperity, thousands of southwestern families left their homes of several generations for the chance of a new start in California. Unlike their predecessors during more prosperous times, the majority of these refugees encountered hostility and bigotry upon arrival in California due to the social and economic turmoil of the Depression. All such migrants came to be referred to as “Okies” even though they originated from a large number of different states:

These Okies, as they were derogatorily named, became the center of concern for many Californians during the depression, even though migration from the dust bowl was smaller during the depression than in either of the decades before and after the 1930s.⁶

This hostile treatment in alliance with the repressive and exploitive practices of California’s powerful agribusiness economy subjected these migrants to the most deplorable of conditions. Relegated to their new status as agricultural laborers, the refugees had to follow California’s diverse and sometimes inconsistent harvest seasons in search of work. This tremendous influx of migrants created a surplus of desperate labor allowing the farming companies to take advantage of the situation and award work to those who would accept the lowest wages. These wages were hardly enough to feed a family, much less enough to allow them to purchase land or a home, or luxuries such as clothing and medical care. In response, a series of formal and informal migrant camps arose at which the refugees attempted to settle. The majority of these camps did not provide electricity, running water, or even permanent shelters. Nor did they meet the residency requirement necessary for the

³ “Dust Bowl”, in *Microsoft Encarta 97 Encyclopedia* [CD-ROM] (Microsoft Corporation, 1993-1996).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Shindo, 17.

⁶ Ibid.

migrants to obtain state aid. The migrants were caught in a destitute life from which there appeared no escape.

Gradually, however, the deplorable conditions of the agricultural migrant camps began to receive attention from the press and reformers. Several key publications arose in response to these conditions. Dorothea Lange's documentary photographs, commissioned by the Federal Farm Security Administration, first brought the issue of the migrant camps to light. The most famous of these photographs, *Migrant Mother*, came to represent not only the plight of the migrants, but also "became a national symbol of the depression."⁷ In 1936, author John Steinbeck underwent a tour of California's migrant labor camps at the request of the *San Francisco News*. His earlier novel *In Dubious Battle*, which dealt with union organizers, had already "established John Steinbeck's reputation as a serious writer with expertise on farm labor matters."⁸ Published in both the newspaper and book form, Steinbeck's fieldwork and research resulted in his literary masterpiece *The Grapes of Wrath*.⁹ This book, though a work of fiction, provided the public with the most graphic account yet of the migrant experience and life in the camps. Published in 1939, the book generated both critical acclaim and a swarm of controversy.

From Literary Work to the Big Screen

In the very midst of the ensuing controversy from Steinbeck's novel, Twentieth-Century Fox producer Darryl F. Zanuck purchased the film rights to the story. Appreciating both the genius of and the debate surrounding Steinbeck's work,

Zanuck handpicked the talented and successful director-actor combination of John Ford and Henry Fonda to make the film version. Zanuck "...knew that John Ford, with his feelings for Americana and his compassion for simple people, was the only man for the job."¹⁰ He also enlisted the services of screenwriter Nunally Johnson. "As a conservative Southerner, Johnson emphasized the personal and dramatic side of the story rather than the political."¹¹ The resulting production remained contextually true to the novel, however the filmmakers' approach and interpretation of events differed considerably.

One of the earliest and most evident differences lies in each artist's explanation of the causes of migration. Both acknowledged the same environmental and economic factors: the dust storms, draught, conditions of the Depression, and agricultural mechanization. It is their interpretation of these factors that differs. Steinbeck harshly accuses banks, and capitalism in general, of being a "monster" intentionally feeding upon the unfortunate circumstances faced by the farmers' crop failures and foreclosures.¹² Any intentional blame is absent from the film version, as seen in the second title page:

"This is the story of one farmer's family, driven from the fields by natural disasters and economic changes beyond anyone's control (emphasis added) and their great journey in search of peace, security, and another home."¹³

⁷ Ibid., 53.

⁸ John Steinbeck, *The Harvest Gypsies: On the Road to the Grapes of Wrath*. With an introduction by Charles Wollenberg (San Francisco: San Francisco News, 1936. Reprint with introduction, Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 1988), vi.

⁹ Ibid., v.

¹⁰ Dan Ford, *Pappy: the Life of John Ford* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979), 141.

¹¹ Ibid., 142-3.

¹² John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Viking Press, 1939. Reprint, Penguin Books, 1992), 42-3.

¹³ *The Grapes of Wrath*. Produced by Darryl F. Zanuck and directed by John Ford. 128 minutes (Twentieth Century Fox, 1940), Videocassette.

Grapes of Wrath

Like the Steinbeck work, Ford's finished film offered forth a vivid and intimate portrayal of the migrant experience. Brought to life by its outstanding cast and cinematography, the film enables the audience to experience the sense of helplessness and frustration of the refugees in having their farms, homes and way of life taken away. As the Joads pull out onto the road in search of a better life, the camera pans away from their empty house as the shudders bang against the howling wind. The soundtrack compliments the affect by staging the scene against the lonely sound of a banjo playing in the background. The exchange between Ma Joad and her younger son Al dramatizes the refugees' sense of loss:

Al: "Ain't you gonna look back, Ma? Give the ol' place one last look?"

Ma: "We goin' to California, ain't we? All right, let's go to California then."

Al: "That don't sound like you ma. You never was like that before."

Ma: "I never had my house pushed over before. Never had my family stuck out on the road. Never had to lose everything I had in life."¹⁴

The camera then focuses on the rest of family riding in the back of the truck and fades away as they look back quietly and sadly with a look of disbelief and numbness.¹⁵

Taking a lesson from Steinbeck's novel, the film took assumed a daring position in Hollywood by gently yet unabashedly making the public aware of the issues of bigotry and discrimination. Like most Okies, the Joads encountered hostility rather than acceptance from most Californians. This is best exemplified in the scene when the Joads cross into California through Needles. Two gas station attendants' comment upon the

Joad's living conditions and ignorance when crossing the desert:

Man 1: "Holy Moses, they're a hard lookin' outfit."

Man 2: "All them Okies is hard lookin'."

Man 1: "Boy, would I hate to hit the desert in a jalopy like that."

Man 2: "You and me got sense. Them Okies got no sense and no feelin's. They ain't human. No human being would live the way they do. Human being couldn't stand to be so miserable."

Man 1: "They just don't know any better, I guess."¹⁶

This hostility is reinforced by the state agricultural inspector who allows them to pass through without inspection because of the apparent condition of Grandma. He tells them to find a doctor in Barstow, but they are not to stop or get off in town except to see the doctor.¹⁷

The film's portrayal of the different types of migrant camps closely resembled that of the novel. The squalor of the squatter, "Hooverville", camp outside of Barstow is vividly depicted. The cinematography closely resembles a Dorothea Lange photograph. Families have crammed their makeshift homes in wherever possible, the people and their possessions look worn and ragged, and a look of destituteness and hopelessness show on all the faces of the residents. This is all in stark contrast to the government run "Farm Worker's What Patch Camp." Here, the Joads receive a friendly reception for the first time in the film. The camp and people are clean, and the children are happy and playing. This change is emphasized through brighter lighting (high-key lighting) and less darkness than in the other scenes of the movie. The lonely

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Welebaethan



Migrant Labor Camp in the Cochella Valley of California. Keith F. Davis, *The Photographs of Dorothea Lang*, 40.

and sorrowful background music is replaced with more festive tunes.¹⁸

What is different in the film version, however, is the chronology of events in the camps. In the novel, the Joads first encounter the misery and filth of the roadside squatter camp, then the cheerful and unpolluted government camp. The dignity and respect they gain at the government camp is drastically shattered by what they later experience at the company-run labor camp and finally, the boxcar encampment of cotton pickers. Steinbeck chose to focus on the helplessness and despair of the migrant conditions as the ending to his story. The story line is altered in the movie, however, to emphasize instead a gradual improvement of conditions and increase of hope for the family. The audience sees the living situation improve slightly from the squatter camp to the company camp, and then drastically in the family's final stay at the government camp. Rather than depicting the family thrown back into a hopeless situation, Zanuck wanted the film to end on a more optimistic note with a sense of hope instilled in the Joads at the government camp that goes with them as they leave the security of the camp in search of work.¹⁹ This strength

of spirit and renewal of faith in American values are represented in the final dialogue of the film:

Pa: "We sure takin' a beatin'."

Ma: "I know. That's what makes us tough. Rich fellas come up and they die and they kids ain't no good and they die out. But we keep a-comin. We're the people that live. They can't wipe us out, they don't lick us. We'll go on forever Pa, cause we're the people."²⁰

In contrast to the book, the film ends on a positive note, with a harmonica playing in the background as the procession of migrant cars streams along the highway in search of a better life.

The Solutions offered to the migrant situation by Steinbeck and Ford reflect each artists' biases and motives. The novel strongly emphasizes Steinbeck's advocacy of unionization and government relief efforts. He intended to influence both public opinion and initiate political and economic reforms. Although the movie remains true to the literary work by acknowledging the solutions presented by Steinbeck, the film focuses more on the will of the human spirit and the willingness to work hard as the tools necessary for survival. Ford's primary objective was to capture a story of human struggle and depict the strength of traditional American values. His biographer, son Dan Ford, discusses the results of this effort:

While the book is remembered as a political and social document, the film is remembered for its austere and tender beauty. Its focus, first and last, is human; however strident the political implications, it is the *people* who ultimately count. The characters are bathed in an idealizing light and presented with love, compassion, and human dignity.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ford, 145.

²⁰ *The Grapes of Wrath*.

²¹ Ford, 144.

Grapes of Wrath



Cast publicity photo. Note Jane Darwell (third from left) and Henry Fonda (fifth from left). Courtesy of the Academy of Motion Picture Science. Charles J. Shindo, *Dust Bowl Migrants in the American Imagination*, 121.

The Film as a Historical Document

Although *The Grapes of Wrath* came to be popularly accepted as one of the greatest historical films ever made, this was not the filmmakers' intention. The public assigned to the movie its label as a "historical film". This conviction can be attributed to the artistic direction evident in the documentary like affect of the cinematography, the high level of authenticity in the production, and the commanding and believable performances of the cast. Particularly powerful are the portrayals of Tom and Ma Joad. Henry Fonda "whose portrayals of humble, real people have won him plaudits in the past, stepped naturally into the shows of dogged, fighting Tom Joad."²² Jane Darwell received overwhelming acclaim for her depiction of "that unconquerable woman of the soil, Ma Joad, who battled to hold her homeless family together."²³

Intending to offer only a highly artistic and accurate adaptation of the current events

portrayed in Steinbeck's work of fiction, Zanuck and Ford unknowingly stepped in the role of cinematic historians. Their credibility was further reinforced by the general acceptance of John Steinbeck as a specialist on the issues of agricultural laborers. Indeed, all the publicity posters used to advertise the release of the film show Steinbeck's name in larger type than either the filmmakers' names or those of the cast.

Impact and Legacy

In spite of its vividly realistic portrayal of the horrors experienced by California's migrant laborers, the impact of the final production did not generate nearly the amount of debate or censorship that the book created after publication. This can be attributed to the filmmakers' intentional focus on the struggle and strength of the American people rather than Steinbeck's political and social accusations. Public uncertainty over the film's interpretation did exist throughout the production process however. Controversy lasted from the minute it became known that Fox purchased the film rights until the release of the finished product. Zanuck was keenly aware of the situation:

From a corporate and a political point of view, this was an exceptionally difficult film to make. The Steinbeck novel was much more than the story of one uprooted farm family; it was a scathing indictment of American society, and many conservatives (including most of Fox's board of directors) considered it a radical text, subversive material not suitable to put on the screen. On the other hand, many liberals (including most of the critical establishment) saw *The Grapes of Wrath* as holy writ, and if Zanuck muted the book's tone

²² *The Kern County Union Labor Journal* (Bakersfield, Calif.), 1 March 1940, p. 5.

²³ *Ibid.*

of moral outrage they were ready to pounce on him. Zanuck was walking on a tightrope.²⁴

The end product resulted in overwhelmingly critical acclaim from both the press and the labor activists themselves. The following write-up by a *New York Times* film critic summarizes the opinion held by most members of the critics' circle after previewing the film at its initial release.

In the vast library where the celluloid literature of the screen is stored there is one small, un-crowded shelf devoted to the cinema's masterworks, to those films which by dignity of theme and excellence of treatment seem to be of enduring artistry, seem destined to be recalled not merely at the end of their particular year but whenever great motion pictures are mentioned.²⁵

The Kern County Union Labor Journal actively solicited attendance to the film, calling its general release in theaters the "most important screen news of the year."²⁶

The film's historical legacy is relevant as a depiction of the persisting socio-economic conditions that continue to exist for a large segment of the American population. The horrors portrayed in both the book and the film are still evident today. The nation's large agribusiness still relies heavily upon and take advantage of a large population of cheap and desperate although, once again, largely immigrant migrant labor. Homelessness remains very much alive across the country, both in rural and urban areas, inspire of America's tremendous economic affluence. For these groups, the struggle for survival and the desperate search to establish a home continues to be a

daily nightmare. Like their Okie predecessors, these groups also continue to face tremendous bigotry and hostility from those who fear that their despair will turn into action.

One has to only look outside their safe and comfortable home to find a modern version of the Joad family. Unfortunately, the sense of alarm and outrage experienced by the American audience at the film's realistic depiction of such wretched conditions has diminished over time. The American people, like so many other modern societies, became used to and in some cases indifferent to such depravity and abuse. Perhaps, another such monumental depiction is needed to awaken our social conscious once again.

Colleen Robledo: see staff biography.

²⁴ Ford, 142.

²⁵ Review of *The Grapes of Wrath*, by Frank S. Nugent. *New York Times*, 25 January 1940, 17 (N) and 2 (L). Reprint, New York: New York Times & Arno Press, 1970.

²⁶ *The Kern County Labor Journal*.

“Vietnam: A Hollywood Perspective”

David N. Lofdahl

Movies and television shape American culture as much as they influence Americans' understanding of history. Because these media sources are becoming the primary method of disseminating historical knowledge, legitimate fears are being raised about Hollywood's responsibility for insuring the accuracy of the history it creates. Author David Lofdahl uses the Vietnam War as an example of how war films change as society's values evolve. It is these changes in American culture that is forcing Hollywood to reflect on how it created history films in the past, and how it intends to approach future historical films aimed at American audiences.

²² *The Kern County Union Labor Journal*
(Bakersfield, Calif.), March 1949, p. 5.
²³ *Ibid.*

Scholars today feverishly debate the validity of films depicting history as a legitimate method with which to disseminate accurate interpretations and presentations of history. This argument has recently increased in significance because, as stated by Professor Robert Burgoyne, many people are now acquiring the majority of their historical knowledge through this visual medium that is "immediately readable by all classes."¹ Film historian Robert A. Rosenstone further supports this view because, in his opinion, the increasing popularity of film has indicated a decreasing interest in the written word;² thus, according to Rosenstone, Hollywood possesses the awesome capability of presenting a biased, distorted interpretation of history which can significantly influence our perceptions of our national identity.³ Therefore, it is imperative for us as a nation and culture to periodically examine the historical perspective of a film within the context of the time of its production and the culture of its contemporary audience. Hollywood's various portrayals of the Vietnam conflict are an example of how motion pictures are influenced by, and depictions of, the infinitely conflicting emotions and issues of their time.

By employing the visual medium of motion in film as its primary means of communication, Hollywood has the ability to shape historical perspective. Nowhere is this more evident than in its treatment of the Vietnam War. As illustrated by the examination of several cinematic depictions of this event, the period in which each film was produced, as well as the subjective nature of the creative forces behind each project, reflected the changing sentiments

toward the morality of this conflict; and in so doing, each film influenced the nation's perception of its participants.

The involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War began as a response to events taking place during the transition between World War II and the Cold War. In order to insure a unified Europe and resist the spread of Russian communism, the United States felt obligated to support the colonial interests of France. Thus, over the next few decades, the conflict escalated - from its initial involvement as advisors to the South Vietnamese government, to its eventual role of total commitment. As detailed by historian George C. Herring, over 2.7 million men and women eventually became an integral part of that commitment.⁴ Americans watched in horror as American sons and fathers died before their eyes, and they became sickened when they saw the commission of horrendous atrocities on the nightly news; it was the adolescence of the Television Age. Public dissatisfaction intensified as dishonesty surfaced within the Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon administrations. While the increasingly violent nature of the Civil Rights Movement, the evolving counter-culture, student protests, and a series of devastating urban riots, moved the nation toward the possibility of internal collapse. According to Herring, involvement in Vietnam was perceived by much of the nation as senseless and immoral.⁵ Several films about the Vietnam experience were conceived within the context of this turmoil.

The Green Berets represented a pro-war perspective; as such, it reflected much of the patriotism evident in World War II-era genre films.⁶ Films such as *Apocalypse Now*,⁷

¹ Robert Burgoyne, *Film Nation: Hollywood Looks at U.S. History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997; University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 2.

² Robert A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film To Our Idea of History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995; Harvard University Press, 2000), 3.

³ Burgoyne, 13.

⁴ George C. Herring, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975*, 3d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996), 306.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xii.

⁶ James Lee Barrett, *The Green Berets*, prod. and dir. Ray Kellogg and John Wayne, 142 min., Warner Home Video, 1997, DVD.

Platoon,⁸ and *Full Metal Jacket*,⁹ made in the late 1970's and through the 1980's, reflected the sentiment of a period during which U.S. military involvement became unpopular, and in which the ambiguous role of a continued U.S. military presence abroad led to feelings of both concern and disrespect among many Americans. Later films such as *Hamburger Hill*¹⁰ and *The Walking Dead*,¹¹ while still adamantly antiwar in texture and message, contributed to the new paradigm of a nation coming to terms with itself and its past, and to the healing process which would ensue in the coming decades. Thus, examining these films within these contexts will serve to illustrate the power Hollywood has in the shaping of our perceptions of history by engaging us in its entertainment value; by allowing us to perceive the lessons of history in the ways we retell it; and, through the director as author, how we essentially rewrite history the way we as a culture wanted it to happen.



John Wayne introduced Hollywood to the Vietnam War genre in *The Green Berets*. Mark Ricci, *The Films of John Wayne*, 271.

The rising Hanoi-inspired insurgency in South Vietnam led to the creation of a specialized Army unit—the Special Forces.¹² *The Green Berets* represented a tribute to the unit whose name is mirrored in the title.

While under the leadership of the fictitious Colonel Mike Kirby, the unit sets forth on a quest to capture an important enemy general. Skeptical journalist George Beckwith, symbolically representing opposition to the war, accompanied them. In the film's attempt to sway public opinion, he eventually became convinced of the necessity to defeat the Communist led insurgents.¹³

Although many Americans had become increasingly apprehensive, most were relatively naive in their understanding of the war and our involvement in it. *The Green*

Berets, produced in 1969 during this period of increasing national polarity, acrimonious debate, and immense social friction, assumed a conservative and patriotic stance as it addressed the morality of our engagement. It also became the first film to deal with this controversial subject. However, in order to fully appreciate both the political and social nature of this film, John Wayne as co-director, co-producer, and actor must be carefully examined. Ronald Reagan stated that Wayne, "was one of the few stars with the courage to expose the determined bid by a band of communists to

⁷ Francis Ford Coppola and John Milius, *Apocalypse Now*, prod. and dir. Francis Ford Coppola, 153 min., Paramount Pictures, 1999, DVD.

⁸ Oliver Stone, *Platoon*, prod. Arnold Kopelson, dir. Oliver Stone, 120 min., Orion Pix, 2000, DVD.

⁹ Stanley Kubrick, *Full Metal Jacket*, prod. and dir. Stanley Kubrick, 116 min., Warner Home Video, 1999, DVD.

¹⁰ Jim Carabatsos, *Hamburger Hill*, prod. Jim Carabatsos, dir. John Irvin, 110 min., Paramount Pictures, 1999, DVD.

¹¹ Preston Whitmore II, *The Walking Dead*, prod. Doug McHenry, dir. Preston Whitmore II, 89 min., Savoy Pictures, 1997, videocassette.

¹² Herring, 87.

¹³ *The Green Berets*.

take control of the film industry.”¹⁴ His roles in such World War II-based dramas as *Sands of Iwo Jima*¹⁵ and *The Longest Day* certainly contributed to the symbolically patriotic portrayal of his character, and added a sense of credibility to our involvement in the conflict.¹⁶ It would not be too absurd to believe that, for many Americans in the late 60’s, if The Duke was for it, then they would be, too.

However, with the eventual release of a new cadre of Vietnam films directed by a new set of directors with a more jaundiced view, questions pertaining to the morality of U.S. involvement and the increasing internal conflicts created within the military began to be addressed.

Francis Ford Coppola thought his 1979 production of *Apocalypse Now*, inspired by Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*,¹⁷ was going to be the only major American film, which would deal with the war.¹⁸ Because of this, Coppola was intent on creating “a film experience that would give its audience a sense of the horror, the madness, the sensuousness, and the moral dilemma of the Vietnam War.”¹⁹ In addition, to enhance the intensity of the visual experience, the film’s title and credits were omitted and the viewers received programs upon entering the theatre.²⁰

In a symbolic statement against the madness of the war, *Apocalypse Now* portrayed the psychological journey of

Captain Willard as he traveled upriver in search of the Cambodian jungle sanctuary of Colonel Kurtz. As Willard proceeded toward the renegade Colonel, he quickly realized that his assignment to “exterminate the Colonel with extreme prejudice” had degenerated into total chaos.²¹ Paralleling the lack of clarity in the purpose of Willard’s mission, Coppola depicted the war as un-winnable because U.S. military command had lost its focus and direction in persecution of the war. Coppola poignantly alluded to this sentiment in his portrayal of Lieutenant Colonel Kilgore. In the desire to secure a good surfing beach, Kilgore proceeded to obliterate a village of Vietnamese school children. To the Lt. Colonel, however, there was no question as to justification for the massacre because, after all, “Charlie don’t surf.”²²

Ironically, it is in the inevitable meeting with Colonel Kurtz that Captain Willard fully understands the futility of the American commitment to the war. Kurtz, a decorated hero with a promising career, represented the many honorable combatants who wasted their lives in Vietnam. As Willard discovered, the colonel was the only person who really understood what the war was all about. Kurtz knew that a U.S. victory was impossible as he realized, “It’s judgment that defeats us. They were stronger than we. You have to have men that are moral and at the same time . . . kill without feeling.”²³ In an attempt to deal with the “horror,”²⁴ Kurtz accepted his insanity as a self-prescribed means of survival. Even in his detachment from reality, Colonel Kurtz was able to epitomize the sentiments of a disillusioned American public towards the management of the Vietnam conflict, for “there is nothing I detest more than the stench of lies.”²⁵

¹⁴ Ronald Reagan, “Unforgettable John Wayne,” *Reader’s Digest* 20 (October 79): 118.

¹⁵ Harry Brown and James Edward Grant, *Sands of Iwo Jima*, prod. Edmund Granger, dir. Allan Dwan, 129 min., Artisan Entertainment, 1998, DVD.

¹⁶ *The Green Berets*.

¹⁷ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1989).

¹⁸ Coppola and Milius, “Excerpts from the Theatrical Program,” *Apocalypse Now*, prod. and dir. Francis Ford Coppola, 153 min., Paramount Pictures, 1999, DVD.

¹⁹ James S. Olson and Randy Roberts, *Where the Domino Fell: America and Vietnam, 1945-1995*, 2d ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 270.

²⁰ Coppola and Milius, “Excerpts,” *Apocalypse Now*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, *Apocalypse Now*.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*



Movie poster from Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* illustrates the madness of war. Catherine Legrand, *Chronicle of the Cinema*, 685.

The continued attempt by Hollywood to project a more realistic image of the conflict's immorality and confusion surfaced with the release of *Platoon*. Reviewer Vincent Canby referred to this 1986 film as an "exceptional representation of the infantryman at ground level."²⁶ As the personal antiwar statement of Vietnam War veteran director Oliver Stone, it began with a dedication to the men who had fought and died in Vietnam.

The motion picture depicted a sheltered college student, Private Chris Taylor, wanting to do his part for America. As the mythical, ethnically diverse 25th Infantry division embarked on its search for enemy troops, his opinion quickly changed as the morals of the squadron deteriorated in a destructive cycle leading to murder and rape. Sheila Benson, of the *Los Angeles*

Times, described Stone's accurate depiction of the war as having "no master plan ... only terror, bone-deep exhaustion, nighttime patrols, and the humid jungle crawling with snakes, insects, and the Viet Cong."²⁷ The view of the "cherries" as being disposable led to the feeling that, to avoid additional suffering, these new recruits might be better off dead.²⁸

The distance between the war's end and the mid-1980s allowed for a detached perspective that permeates this film. The post-war opinion of the American public concerning the lack of support for the veterans, needed to-had to-be addressed. In his poignant reply, Stone enacted a vivid portrayal of their dilemma by illuminating their struggle to maintain sanity. Due to their general lack of education, the infantrymen considered themselves as the "bottom of the barrel." With an average of two years of high school education, America expected them to fight for a nation's freedom.²⁹ The greatest difficulty surfaced as they attempted to locate the invisible enemy. Canby referred to their existence as "we are grunts and they are gooks ... that's reason enough to kill or be killed."³⁰ As Private Taylor reflected, "we did not fight the enemy, we fought ourselves- for the enemy was in us."³¹

Faithful to the unique cinematic style seen in *Dr. Strangelove* and *A Clockwork Orange*, director Stanley Kubrick released *Full Metal Jacket* in 1987. As in other films produced in the 1980s, his film continued to convey the disorder of war as it attempted to gain support for America's veterans. Although the combatants were shown as mindless killers in his two-part presentation of boot camp and combat,³² he depicted the

²⁶ Vincent Canby, review of *Platoon*, by Oliver Stone. *New York Times* (26 June 1987): sec. C, 12.

²⁷ Sheila Benson, review of *Platoon*, by Oliver Stone. *Los Angeles Times* (19 December 1986): sec. Calender, pt. 6, 1.

²⁸ *Platoon*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Canby, 2.

³¹ *Platoon*.

³² *Full Metal Jacket*.

brutality of the recruits as the product of the corrupt establishment. Reviewer Sheila Benson referred to his creation as "a powerful and centered statement of outrage . . . Kubrick spared very little to make the audience feel the terror and confusion of the ordinary infantryman."³³

The movie commenced as the new recruits began their basic training at Parris Island. During their ensuing dehumanization, Gunnery Sergeant Hartmann turned them into killing machines. Kubrick, as he reinforced the damaging effects of the military establishment, presented an ironic turn of events when Private Leonard "Gomer Pyle" Lawrence, who earned his nickname because of his incompetence, killed the Sergeant at the conclusion of his initiation. He subsequently turned the weapon upon himself; Hartmann had instructed him, "Killing is winning."³⁴ This set the stage for the second chapter as the graduates found themselves embroiled in the melee of the Tet Offensive. The worst aspects of their training emerged during the ensuing confusion. An example of this surfaced as they proceeded to be airlifted to the front lines. As the helicopter flew over a rice paddy, a marine waist gunner began to fire at the villagers. When asked about his ability to shoot at the women and children, he replies, laughing, that, "it's easy, I don't have to lead them as much."³⁵

In his shared perspective of the 80s, Kubrick blamed the inhumanity of the soldiers on the "system." Boot camp taught them to refer to the Vietnamese as ungrateful "zipperheads" and "poor dumb bastards." In a statement against U.S. policy, he implied the war strategy led to the ineffectiveness of the American troops. In his biased perspective against previous treatments of the war, he used Private J.T.

"Joker" Davis to communicate his sentiments. In his sarcastic imitation of John Wayne, Joker remarked, "I wanted to see exotic Vietnam, the jewel of Southeast Asia. I wanted to meet stimulating and interesting people of an ancient culture . . . and kill them!"³⁶

The release of *Hamburger Hill* in 1987 depicted a fairly accurate portrayal of the battle for Ap Bia Mountain in the A Shau Valley.³⁷ The Ninth Marine Regiment and the 101st Airborne Division combined forces in the offensive known as Operation Apache Snow. The battle auspiciously began with the intense bombing of the summit. However, the resulting destruction of the vegetation combined with the ensuing rain resulted in extremely difficult conditions. After twelve attempts, and the death of fifty-six Americans troops as well as 630 North Vietnamese, the U.S. was finally victorious in the battle that become known as "Hamburger Hill."³⁸

In its biased approach to the exoneration of the veterans, the film began by displaying the credits against the backdrop of the Vietnam memorial. In the typical fashion of 1980s motion pictures, the production wasted little time defending the victimization of the participants through its graphic depiction of racial tension, horrific battles, and extensive casualties.³⁹ To further emphasize his antiwar sentiment, screenwriter Jim Carbatos included many metaphorical references to the hopelessness of war. The hill represented its futility because, as was the nature of the various engagements, winning had little significance. The most memorable allusion, during the final battle scene, reflected the frustration of Sergeant Frantz. As he neared the summit, and final victory, Frantz vainly

³³ Sheila Benson, *Full Metal Jacket*, by Stanley Kubrick, *Los Angeles Times* (26 June 1987): sec. Calender, 1.

³⁴ *Full Metal Jacket*.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Olson and Roberts, *Where the Domino Fell*, 217.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Hamburger Hill*.

clawed at the ground as he slid down the hill in a sea of mud.⁴⁰

Carbatsos' film approached the subject without the use of overt patriotism. Appropriate to the time of production, he blamed the U.S. government for its lack of vision. An example of this appeared in a reference to Senator Edward "Ted" Kennedy when someone discovered that he had said they "can't take that hill."⁴¹ The writer, however, reiterated his feelings in the metaphorical denunciation of U.S. policy in the exclamation, "We're stuck in Ancho Valley and there's no place to go but back up that goddamn hill!"⁴²

The Walking Dead, released in 1995, represented an African-American perspective of the Vietnam experience. Produced twenty years after the war, it had the advantage of increased insight into the event. As Louis B. Parks stated in his review, "A portrayal of blacks has been an oversight, especially because of the large number who had served in Vietnam."⁴³ The film also took advantage of the increased perspective regarding civil rights as it pertained to the treatment of blacks in the 1960s.

The subject of this cinematic effort dealt with the assignment of a historically fictitious 25th Infantry to rescue fellow marines from a prisoner of war camp known as the "Suicide Slum." As the movie progressed, it became evident that this predominantly black infantry unit had been sacrificed as a decoy for the success of this mission. Within this context, various issues regarding the involvement of blacks became evident as they struggled with an obligation to the marines versus loyalty to their race.⁴⁴

The writer portrayed the whites as hostile and unstable. An example of this

presented Corporal Pippins whose "ease with killing", as reviewer Emanuel Levy stated, "bordered on dementia."⁴⁵ His escape into a Marine recruiting office in the aftermath of a bungled drug deal, led to his military enrollment. He proceeded to lose touch with reality. The platoon began to view him as a liability and referred to him as a "crazy-assed white boy."⁴⁶ The brutal murder of a Vietnamese woman, by plunging a red-hot bayonet through her eye, led to Pippins' execution by the commanding officer.⁴⁷

The black participants had various reasons for their participation in this event. However, these reasons revealed the common denominator of discrimination against blacks within American society. The film included several flashbacks to illustrate this. For instance, Private First Class Cole Evans joined the Marines because of being denied an apartment rental.⁴⁸ Wartime service accelerated his rank to noncommissioned officer status, enabling him to obtain housing. The film's title elucidated inherent racist attitudes. While the "walking dead" referenced the vulnerability of the point man on patrol, this term, with respect to the black soldiers, also referred to their continual requirement to perform the most dangerous assignments.⁴⁹

This film reflected the renewed sense of patriotism evident in WWII period productions. It began with a dedication to all men who fought and died in Vietnam. The movie, in an attempt to reestablish American heroism, also portrayed the enemy as being somewhat less than competent. The Viet Cong tended to expose themselves as easy targets and they also displayed a remarkable inability to shoot accurately. It was unique, however, in its depiction of the heroes

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Louis B. Parks, Review of *The Walking Dead*, by James Whitmore II, *Houston Chronicle* (24 February 1995): sec. Weekend Review, 1.

⁴⁴ *The Walking Dead*.

⁴⁵ Emanuel Levy, Review of *The Walking Dead*, by James Whitmore II, *Daily Variety* (27 February 1995): sec. Review, 1.

⁴⁶ *The Walking Dead*.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

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because only the blacks were defined in this manner. The motion picture represented the writer's bias in its depiction of the white personnel as prejudiced, domineering, or insane. To the 25th Infantry, the enemy represented not only the North Vietnamese Army, but included the white military establishment.⁵⁰

Critical examination of these movies exemplifies Hollywood's ability to impact the nature by which an historical event is perceived by the viewing public. With the Vietnam genre films, this can be seen by the approach to each film as it pertains to the various interpretations of their respective creative influences. Various factors such as a personal experiences, social issues, and patriotism can result in a distorted or self-serving depiction of historical identity. It is also necessary to critique the validity of these visual histories within the context of the period in which they were conceived.

The Green Berets represented a period in which Americans, still influenced by victory in WWII, viewed the U.S. military as heroic. The movie was an obvious response against the protest movements of the 1960s. The films of the 1980s, however, took advantage of an increased perspective of the protest movements as these values became incorporated into personal agendas. Although American citizens generally viewed the troops with disrespect, the cinematic view of the military as immoral generally supported their victimization. As these films illustrated, this view surfaced through the presentation of such themes as racism, failure of leadership, personal conflicts, as well as the confusion and terror of guerilla combat.

The responsibility of Hollywood, with respect to its portrayal of accurate historical events, is debatable. However, as more people rely on this visual form, it is obvious that Hollywood's sense of drama should not take priority over its obligation to accuracy. It is also imperative that viewers develop a

broader base of historical knowledge. Within American society, while films will always be an integral part of the information highway, the importance of access to a diversity of historical interpretation remains. Because of this, the demand for history in the form of the written word should remain inherent to America's search.



Dave Lofdahl entered California State University, Fullerton two years ago as an adult re-entry student and an undergraduate in the History program. Dave experienced anxiety due to the obvious age gap between the predominantly younger student body and himself, but he found these expectations to be false

founded and is grateful to his fellow history students for accepting him as a contemporary. Dave would also like to thank Dr. Samuel Kupper, Dr. Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, Dr. Gordon Bakken, and Dr. Toraj Daryae. He credits them for making the study of history extremely interesting, relevant, thought provoking, and sometimes humorous; and also for providing much appreciated positive reinforcement.

Dave is currently pursuing his lifelong dream of obtaining a college diploma and his goal toward a credential in secondary education. He would like to commend the aforementioned professors for being such exemplary role models, which he will so adamantly endeavor to emulate as a teacher. He also wants to thank his wife Gail for being so patient and supportive during this period of financial and emotional uncertainty.

Dave considers it an honor to be accepted for the Welebaethan and to fulfill his eventual role as an educator. He is confident the checkered nature of his academic past will enable him to challenge the gifted student and encourage those who are struggling. In addition, he hopes "to instill upon my future students the value of education as a means to control one's own destiny . . . for the capability of selecting a lifelong vocation in which you possess knowledge and passion is an integral component of personal fulfillment."

⁵⁰ Ibid.

“Raised Right Foot”

Katherine Martinez

Symbolic representation has been used throughout time, irrespective of race, class, and culture. It remains a powerful source of identification and unity. Author Katherine Martinez argues that, although the symbols and their respective meanings have changed over time, their underlying function has not. She examines how ancient Eastern cultures used symbolism in their cylinder seals to express ideas, some of which are still used today, and how symbolism can influence a culture's traditions and customs.

The use of gestures and symbolic representation in the Ancient Near East was essential in the portrayal of veneration for deities and submission to kings. Indeed, symbols are vital in our comprehension of such human functions as science, language, religion and history and are an intrinsic component of the human consciousness.¹ In ancient Near Eastern times, scenes of reverence and presentation employed the use of varied symbolic gestures to express relationships; the raised hand indicated reverence to deities in the Achaemenian and Sasanian eras;² the bent forefinger, employed initially as a gesture of worship used by kings in the second millennium B.C.E, evolved as a gesture of submission to the kings by their subjects, and still later became the symbol of benediction in Christian iconography.³ These gestures, and others like them, would have been significant to the individual as well as acknowledged by the community⁴ and were utilized in scenes engraved on cylinder seals, rock reliefs and coins. This paper examines a gesture found predominantly in cylinder seal presentation scenes: the raised right foot.

According to Dominique Collon, cylinder seals first appeared in the Sumerian Early Dynastic period (3100-2390 B.C.E). They were used for administrative purposes such as accounting of goods, animal

husbandry and fishing, with designs of corresponding animals or items reflected in the seal.⁵ Eventually, the seals evolved into use by individuals for personal belongings and began to reflect the personal preference of design by its owner. The cylinder seals were rolled onto balls of clay, which were then placed over storeroom door latches; in this way, one could discern if someone other than the owner had entered the room.⁶ The seals were also used for a variety of other reasons: to identify the owners of vessels being filled at the granary, for sealing stored or traded items such as boxes, jars, or baskets, and also for decoration or as a trademark on pottery prior to its firing.⁷ The seals not only identified property, but were also used as amulets to protect one against a variety of misfortune, such as black magic, miscarriage or sickness. As such, seals were often placed in graves with deceased owners.⁸ The peoples of the ancient Near East believed objects had a live quality which applied to stone as well, and stones were viewed as lucky or unlucky. The seal received its magical powers based upon the type of stone from which it was cut such as lapis lazuli, rock crystal, hematite, etc. and the blessing of the deities engraved in the scenes on the stone.⁹ For example, a seal made from lapis lazuli indicated its owner would have power. A seal made from rock crystal would bestow large profits upon its owner.¹⁰ Seals were sometimes traded or resold and eventually made their way into parts of Central Asia where some have been

¹ Raymond, Firth, *Symbols Public and Private* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 57.

² Jamsheed K. Choksy, "Gesture in Ancient Iran and Central Asia: The Raised Hand" *Iranica Varia: papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater* (Leiden: E.J. Brill 1990a); Frye, Richard N.

"Gestures of Deference to Royalty in Ancient Iran" *Iranica Antiqua* Vol. IX (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972).

³ Jamsheed K. Choksy "Gesture in Ancient Iran and Central Asia II: Proskynesis and the Bent Forefinger" *Bulletin of the Asia Institute in honor of Richard Nelson Frye: Aspects of Iranian Culture* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990b), 205; Schiller, Gertrud *Iconography of Christian Art Vol. I* (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1971), 6; W.W. Malandra, "Avestan Zanu Drajah: An Obscene Gesture." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 22 (1980).

⁴ Firth, 403

⁵ Dominique Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 113, 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷ D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals* (London: Batchworth Press, no date), 13.

⁸ Wolfram von Sodon, *The Ancient Orient: An Introduction to the Study of the Ancient Near East* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1994), 202.

⁹ Collon, 119.

¹⁰ Wiseman, 14.

Right Foot

found in modern-day Afghanistan. In fact, it is in the Badakhshan district of Afghanistan that lapis lazuli mines existed and the precious stone was traded to other areas from here.¹¹ The cylinder seals also played an important part in seeking prosperity for kings and their subjects in the annual New Year celebration. Assyrian and Babylonian kings petitioned the gods each New Year for such prosperity for themselves and their people utilizing large, royal and divine seals in their main temples.¹²

Thus, symbolic gestures were not only used to convey emotions of worship, reverence and submission, they were also utilized to identify status among individuals depicted in various presentation scenes. The raised right foot is such a gesture denoting the status of the individual whose foot is raised onto a stool, cushion, a pile of rocks or other apparatus. The raised right foot always belongs to major deities such as *Nergal*, god of the underworld, or *Utu*, the Sumerian sun god, both of whom were illustrated in presentation scenes. Such scenes depicted a worshipper presented to the deity by a protective, suppliant lower god who acted on the worshipper's behalf.¹³

The presentation scene was first introduced during the Akkadian period (ca. 2200 B.C.E) with enthroned deities, and continued to be prevalent through the period of Ur III (2168-2050 B.C.E) where it was used primarily in administration.¹⁴ The scene evolved later to the presentation scene with standing deities through the Old Babylonian Period (1950-1651 B.C.E).¹⁵ These standing scenes were accompanied by personal name inscriptions, which pro-claimed the owner of the seal.

Presentation scenes were popular for invoking the protection of the gods, and the deities portrayed on cylinder seals varied according to personal worship. The owner of the seal is represented in this scene as the worshipper and often depicted with an offering such as a kid or other small animal. The presenter of the worshipper was always a guardian or tutelary god such as the beneficent protective female deity *Lama*, usually depicted as suppliant, with hands raised toward the major deity.¹⁶ Deities were always portrayed with their special emblems:



An early Babylonian engraving depicting the right foot of a deity raised on to a stool. Andre Malraux ed., *The Arts of Mankind: Nineveh and Babylon*, 156.

saw, crook, crescent, etc., with the right foot raised and resting on an object such as a stool or pedestal. From the Early Dynastic Period to the Old Babylonian Period, the presentation scene was a primary one in which major deities were depicted with a raised foot. Other scenes, such as warrior or contest themes, also show a major deity with a raised foot, but the foot in these instances rests upon the symbolic beast of that same deity.

In choosing a major deity to honor on a cylinder seal, the owner had to consider the divine powers of each deity, thereby ensuring the seal owner's property would be well protected.¹⁷ A popular deity was the Sumerian sun god *Utu*: god of truth, justice

¹¹ Ibid., 14.

¹² Wiseman, 13.

¹³ von Sodon, 176.

¹⁴ Collon, 113.

¹⁵ Jeremy Black and Anthony Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 22.

¹⁶ Ibid., 115.

¹⁷ von Sodon, 176-7.

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and “protector of right”, whose emblem was the pruning saw.¹⁸ The saw in the god’s right hand is clearly visible. His right foot is raised upon a small pile of rocks as he receives the suppliant goddess, who introduces the worshipper bearing the offering. This type of cylinder seal scene eventually spread and prevailed throughout Mesopotamia’s various regions.¹⁹

Utu again appears in an Old Babylonian seal, his right foot upon a pedestal, saw in hand, with the tutelary god presenting the worshipper who, this time, is a woman. The inscription to the right of the scene is the name of the seal owner. The pedestal upon which the right foot is resting in these standing presentation scenes replaces the throne upon which the deity was seated in prior enthroned scenes. One depicts the moon god *Nanna Suen* seated upon his throne while receiving a petitioner, accompanied by the suppliant guardian deity with upraised hands, who is presenting the petitioner to the god. The god’s emblem- the crescent moon- is present twice in the scene: to the upper left of the god, and in his right hand.

The throne upon which he is seated is placed on a platform. A similar scene: the guardian deity presents the petitioner to the god seated on an elevated throne. The seal owner’s name appears to the far right of the scene. The throne and pedestal are symbols of status for deities being petitioned by the seal owner for continual protection from evil.

When seated, the deity is on a cushioned throne which itself is typically raised onto a platform and, when standing, the deity rests his right foot on a pedestal, cushion, pile of rocks- which also represents the throne; both items represent the high status of the individual using them.

In Mesopotamia the right side was associated with good and the left with bad or evil; thus the deity raised his right foot onto the small throne to display his status and to be easily recognized.²⁰ The symbols are effective in differentiating the major deity from the other individuals in the scene; not only is the deity present with his emblem, he is elevated in some way in order to stand out from the other figures in the scene. In this way the deity becomes the symbolic focus of the composition, easily recognizable to anyone reading the seal impression.²¹ The owner of the seal would find it in his best interest to please the deity by honoring him in this way; gods were vain and higher status would lead to more power and further access to resources, which, in turn, would guarantee protection for the petitioner.²²

While the study of gestures in cylinder seals has been primarily limited to proskynesis and other hand gestures, one remote reference to foot placement utilizes



Example of the symbolic gesture of a raised foot depicted in a warrior theme.
Seton Lloyd, *The Art of the Ancient Near East*, 140.

²⁰ Black and Green, 153-4.

²¹ Richard Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art: The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage* (New Haven: Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences, 1963), 198.

²² Angela Della Volpe, “On Evidence of ranked status in Indo-European: PIE *wik-pot-i.” *Word*, 44 (1993), personal communication, (2000).

¹⁸ Black and Green, 184-5.

¹⁹ Collon, 45.

the literary evidence in the Semite tradition. According to Gruber, a foot resting upon a footstool was a posture of joy and was completed by a laughing, seated individual.²³ This, Gruber asserts, is in direct opposition with the Semitic posture of mourning: "getting off of one's chair (and thus removing the foot from the footstool) and sitting either on the footstool or on the ground."²⁴ Gruber's assertion is vague in differentiating these subjects as either gods or mortals. It is difficult to imagine any reverent being seated on the ground while in mourning; indeed this action would not even befit any king. Analysis of the text does not reveal any real consensus, however, because no mention is made of the physical and physiological effects of happiness in the "joyful person," one is left to assume Gruber is discussing the posture of joy among earthly men and not gods.²⁵ One small reference in Gruber is made in regard to these joyful postures as "induced by the activity of a deity upon a mortal."²⁶ This posture of joy is not described as a standing position, but as a seated experience; the joyful one was seated with his foot upon the footstool at the same time. Gruber's conclusion regarding this posture is ill defined and his claim is based solely on literature with no physical evidence to support it. However, it is apparent he is discussing postures of mourning and joy among ancient Semitic mortals, unlike our present study of the raised foot gesture of deities.

Among cylinder seal scenes, there are none in which the reverent deity has placed his foot on a footstool while seated. The deity is either seated on a cushioned throne

in the presentation scene, or is standing with his foot placed on a footstool or other object. These two separate postures are indicative of the great importance of the figure enthroned or raising his foot: petitioned deities were typically the most powerful of the Sumerian and Babylonian gods who ruled over natural order and the cosmos.²⁷

A person seeking protection from ills would use great care in choosing a benefactor; therefore it would be reasonable that the scene of a cylinder would reflect this.²⁸ The seal conveyed important information regarding the owner and his patron deity; the symbolic gestures had to relay this information to anyone who looked upon the seal, making the symbols easily recognizable.

Based on Semitic literature, Gruber may argue that the posture of joy among the Semites entails putting the foot on one's footstool. The physical evidence of cylinder seals among the Babylonians and Sumerians indicates this gesture was reserved specifically for honored deities. It is entirely possible that the raised foot gesture under discussion evolved to use by mortal men in the flourishing times of Ugarit, the origin of Gruber's studied literature. This would place the Ugaritic mortal use from ca. 1450-1195 B.C.E, at least 200 years after the Old Babylonian Period. However, Gruber makes no mention of dates in his study. One must assume then, that the raised foot gesture in the cylinder seals is much more conservative and indicative of its original meaning. Other than gods, no individuals present in cylinder seal scenes are observed in either the enthroned or raised foot position. Indeed, no individuals other than the venerable gods themselves deserved such a high symbol of status available for all to see in the imprint of the cylinder seal.

²³ Mayer I. Gruber "Aspects of Nonverbal Communications in the Ancient Near East" *Studia Pohl: Dissertationes Scientifcae De Rebus Orientas Antiqui* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 573.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 556.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 554-5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 610.

²⁷ von Sodon, 175-7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 179.

In this study, we have examined the gesture of the raised right foot in the ancient Near Eastern iconography of cylinder seals. This physical evidence enables us to inspect the symbolism firsthand in order to determine its meaning. These seals were an important feature in keeping accounts, protecting one's property, and warding off evil and sickness. The gesture featured, the right foot of a major deity raised onto a pedestal, would have been easily recognized and acknowledged by all members of the community as a symbol of high status. The resting of the right foot onto a footstool or other apparatus was also symbolic of the throne on which a deity would be seated in other scenes. The footstool and throne both distinguished the deity from others portrayed in the seal scenes in order to bestow the status a deity required in return for protection from malice and sickness. These cylinder seals were used well into the Old Babylonian Period, throughout the areas of Mesopotamia, and later into parts of Central Asia. They were coveted for the stones from which they were made. The seals offer a glimpse into the world of the people in the ancient Near East, their concerns in everyday life, and much of what was controlled by deities and their worship.²⁹

Katherine Martinez is a Linguistics graduate student, with a degree emphasis in historical linguistics. She enjoys ancient history and particularly the study of different cultures. Most of her studies focus on the Tocharians and their Indo-European ancestors. After graduation in May she plans to pursue a second M.A. in History, and eventually a Ph.D. in Ancient History or Indo-European studies.

An avid traveler, Katherine has been to Europe many times. Visiting Germany during Karneval is one of her favorite pastimes. She speaks German and French, and is currently looking for a Latin class. Katherine's love of antiquity extends to her personal life as well. She is an enthusiast of antiques, including vintage cars--she owns a violet 1967 Volkswagen Bug--and antique linens.

Katherine is the recipient of the California Pre-Doctoral Scholarship (2000-2001), and the Graduate Equity Fellowship (1999-2000). She is involved extensively in many professional, academic, and extracurricular societies: The American Historical Association, The Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States, Phi Alpha Theta national honor society, The Society for Creative Anachronism, and the Succulent Society of America.

²⁹ Sources consulted for seal figures: Briggs Buchanan, "The Prehistoric Stamp Seal" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87 (1967), 265-279; Briggs Buchanan *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); Briggs Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seal in the Ashmolean Museum Vol. 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966); Briggs Buchanan *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seal in the Ashmolean Museum Vol. 2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Hogarth, D.G *Hittite Seals with Particular Reference to the Ashmolean Collection* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920).

“Prostitution and Political Change in Eighteenth-Century Paris”

Michelle Mormul

Nearly every society throughout time has experienced the emergence and evolution of prostitution into a key enterprise and social institution. Recognized for its intrinsic functional and disruptive dynamics that are as ancient and as constant as societal attempts at control, it is a universal cultural practice that has been the focus of numerous studies. In this analysis, author Michelle Mormul examines how both the political shifts and fluctuating public opinion of eighteenth-century France altered the social role of the Paris prostitute. In response to the changing approaches of a state and a public that sought to suppress, rehabilitate, or outright control their profession, the Paris prostitutes, in time honored tradition, simply adapted.

Prostitution

The lives and social roles of Parisian prostitutes changed considerably with the shifting political environments and public concerns of eighteenth-century France. At the beginning of the century, in the final years of Louis XIV's reign, the ranks of prostitutes were stratified, with high profile courtesans living the good life, kept by wealthy men, while their lower class counterparts scraped by in a semi-autonomous life on the street or in a brothel. By mid-century, increasing government efforts to exert control over society resulted in the creation of the *police des mœurs* (morals police). This new bureaucratic system affected courtesans' relations with the men who kept them as much as it changed the relationship between prostitutes and the state. During this period courtesans, madams, and even common streetwalkers were pressed into service as police spies. At the end of the century popular attitudes towards prostitutes were also in flux due to the spread of French Revolutionary ideas, particularly egalitarianism, and the perceived threat of syphilis. This caused the social hierarchy of prostitution to crumble; the aristocratic courtesan plummeted into the urban depths. Throughout the eighteenth century the state's control over prostitutes' lives evolved from one of sanctioning their trade, to one that focused on maintaining their health for the good of the nation. Before considering the changing lives and social roles of Parisian prostitutes in the eighteenth century, it is first important to get a sense of the prostitutes' world before that time.

Prostitution was always present, yet it was largely ignored unless a scandal drew the theme of harlotry to the foreground. Neither rehabilitation nor harsh punishments were options prior to the 18th century. Instead, the state attempted to control the sex industry by ostracizing prostitutes through banishment, confinement, and the

imposition of a prescribed dress code. Until the mid-sixteenth century Parisian prostitutes had to wear distinctive clothing and were sectioned off into the *Huleu*, a small section of the *Cour des Miracles*. Then in 1565 they were all officially banished from the city of Paris with twenty-four hours notice. Even though this command was revived in 1614, it did not stop the spread of prostitution throughout the city and made the profession more available to novices.¹

The first indication that the state hoped to rehabilitate prostitutes came in 1684 when Louis XIV enacted measures to ensure the moral health of the country. He began by instructing his police lieutenant to draw up a list of all Parisian mothers who sold their daughters into prostitution, and ordered that they be arrested. Louis believed that if his government could intervene, before the daughters were defiled, the state could prevent the expansion of trade. In a further display of commitment to rehabilitation, the crown funded the first shelter for the care of prostitutes, *Bon Pasteur* (Good Shepard). This shelter eventually expanded its operation to include three additional houses in Paris and, later, others in many of the major cities.²

During this time the police had two classifications to describe prostitutes. The first was the incorrigible prostitutes who were perceived as so diseased and hardened that the police inspectors believed them beyond reform. The second classification consisted of the few who wanted to make amends and escape the life of harlotry. Louis' police were concerned with amateurs who enticed men away from their wives and families, not with the hardened girl of the *Huleu*.³

¹ Philip Riley, "Policing the Sin in Louis XIV's Paris," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 75, No. 4 (1976): 521.

² *Ibid.*, 521-2.

³ *Ibid.*

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Prostitutes of the eighteenth century had to live in a world where harsh punishments and possible arrests were a daily threat to their trade. At no time before the nineteenth century was prostitution legal, and the general punishment for the trade throughout the eighteenth century was one that

renewed ancient codes. For instance, a judge might sentence a prostitute to be promenaded on a donkey through all the sections and crossroads of Paris, wearing a hat of straw with a notice around her neck reading "feminine corruptor of the young." She might then be beaten, stripped, and brand-

ed with a *fleur de lis* on her right shoulder. Afterwards, she would be transported to the galleys or to the *hôpital-général* (general hospital) of *Salpêtrière* for reform.⁴ At the *Salpêtrière*, which was a former powder depot converted for *femmes publiques* (public women), felons, and petty criminals, the condemned was made to wear a coarse, shapeless tunic and heavy clogs. She was given a thin blanket and made to sleep with other inmates five across on a narrow iron bed in a humid room with no ventilation and low ceilings. These inhabitants were forced to attend daily mass, participate twice a day in fifteen-minute prayer sessions, and make formal confessions three times a day. Misbehavior was dealt with by a decrease of

the daily bread ration, whippings and beatings, or the heavy iron collar.⁵

Prostitution had always been difficult for the state to control because it was outside of the conventional means of making a living. The relative absence of official regulation gave the women a self-sufficient

means of gathering the resources needed to live in the big city. Katherine Norberg's study shows that young girls generally entered the profession at the behest of a friend who had already been selling herself for extra cash. Similar to the rebellious teenager who defies her parents' wishes and goes to live on her own, a wild daughter might gain

independence in this manner. The two girls would work together throughout their careers, sharing expenses or a particular street corner.⁶ The courtesan who was kept by a wealthy man could also make extra cash. He would generally provide for her household needs, yet she would rarely be given any ready cash. When she was not needed to service her gentleman, a courtesan could add to her income by working for a



Convicted higher and lower class prostitutes sentenced to hard labor for their crimes beat hemp in prison alongside madams and gamblers. A scene from Hogarth's "A Harlot's Progress" Plate 4. Ronald Paulsen, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*.

⁴ R. Decante, *La Lute Contre Prostitution*, (Paris: V. Girard & E. Brière, 1909) 63, 68.

⁵ Riley, 521. Susan P. Connor, "The Pox in Eighteenth Century France," In *The Secret Maladie: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*, ed. Linda E. Merians (Lexington, K. Y.: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 20.

⁶ Katherine Norberg, "Prostitutes," in *A History of Women in the West*, Volume III, Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes. Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, eds. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993), 473.

night at a chic house of prostitution or getting paid to have dinner with another wealthy man.⁷ Although prostitutes were able to realize a measure of financial independence and a degree of autonomy, they were not free from state control that had long relied on harsh punishment in its attempt to eliminate this illegal practice. The subsequent analysis follows the formation of the *police des mœurs* and how they effectively enacted their control over the prostitutes of Paris in the later half of the eighteenth century.

Constabularies Monitor The City

The police force in Paris was the first of its kind in the world. Under Louis XIV, who rarely visited Paris after 1682, Nicolas-Gabriel La Reynie, the first lieutenant general of police, wrote voluminous reports for the king of all that was going on in the capital. The office of lieutenant general was thereafter sold to Marc-René Voyer de Paulmy D'Argenson, a devout Catholic who took on the role of safeguarding morality standards with vigor. Under D'Argenson's leadership the police not only patrolled the populous, but they also assumed responsibility for the protection of family interests, public welfare, and the morals of the city in general. Thus the term morals police was used to describe what the police were monitoring.⁸

To monitor the morals of the populous police enlisted the aid of spies. It was a practice that began at the start of the eighteenth century and one that peaked in the 1730s when it became the primary method for the crown to control the citizens.⁹ Then in 1747, during the reign of Louis XV, the police were reorganized to broaden control over prostitution in conjunction with constraining the morals of

the city. Clients along with other prostitutes were included in the reports.¹⁰ The police sought out prostitutes and *revendeuses* (women who sold secondhand clothes on the streets) to help them keep an eye on what was going on in the streets and, in some cases, paid for the information. An estimated sum of one million livres a year was paid to three thousand police spies, not all of them prostitutes, who informed to the police on all manner of affairs.¹¹

The principle agents for police surveillance from 1747 to 1789 were the *femmes de debauché* (debauched women).¹² The Paris Police had created an elaborate system of spies and bureaucratized brothels and by the 1750s were receiving reports from at least seven houses in the city.¹³ Madams were required to write reports of the *espions de filles* (girl spies) and their patrons, and were further expected to hand over these correspondences on a weekly, daily, and in some instances, on an hourly basis.¹⁴

Police inspectors compiled the evidence and utilized these reports for judgment and blackmail purposes against the prostitutes and their clients.¹⁵ It was an acknowledged fact that prostitutes reported their clients to the police, yet the practice continued.¹⁶ When police obtained information on the finances and social alliances of men within

¹⁰ Cheek, 193. It is rumored that Louis XV and his lewd mistress wanted to have all the sordid details from these reports read aloud at their promiscuous court.

¹¹ Alan Williams, *The Police of Paris 1718-1789*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 109. He feels that the sum of one million livres over-rated, yet Pamela Cheek quoted this same amount of money fifteen years later in her work, just for the lurid details from the brothels, not including the other spies.

¹² Erica-Marie Benabou, *La Prostitution et La Police des Mœurs au XVIIIe Siècle*, (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1987), 106.

¹³ Williams, 230-31.

¹⁴ Erica-Marie Benabou, 105, 106.

¹⁵ Cheek, 209.

¹⁶ Cheek, 204-5.

⁷ Norberg, "Prostitutes," 469.

⁸ Riley, 512.

⁹ Pamela Cheek, "Prostitutes of Political Institution," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 28, No. 2 (1994-95): 200.

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the court, they used this knowledge for blackmail purposes. One file from Demoiselle Coraline, dated June 1755, followed the *Compte de Marche* when he was at her apartment. This file stated that he sometimes stayed until two or three in the morning, or even the whole night. He paid fifty louis a month to keep her in wine and six hundred louis each month to "assure he had love."¹⁷ In February 1755, Coraline had also been seeing M. le *Compte de Valentinois*, who was the younger brother of the prince of Monaco. The files stated that he had left her apartment the previous Sunday at four in the afternoon; obviously he had stayed all night. This could cause a problem with the prince of Monaco, whom Coraline had been seeing since June 1648.¹⁸ This conflict of interest between powerful



A harlot distracts her benefactor while the true object of her affection slips out the door. Scene from Hogarth's "A Harlot's Progress" Plate 2. Ronald Paulsen, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*.

brothers is an example of how social alliances were recorded and stored for later use. Even though prostitutes were a liability to the men, keeping a woman in the manner of a courtesan remained a widespread practice. These continued associations between powerful men and the prostitutes who informed on them not only gave police the means for blackmail, but it granted them omnipresent control over both the men of the royal court and the prostitutes.

Police documented entire careers of individual women working in the business of sex and then utilized this information to control these women.¹⁹ One example from the journals of the inspectors of chief of police M. Sartine tells the story of a woman, Julie Cairns, who was forced into a marriage after her parents died. Her husband treated her badly; he eventually stripped her nude and threw her out. She ran away to Paris, had the name of a man to contact, and became his servant in 1754. He found her to be lazy and introduced her to the life of a *femme publique* (public woman). From there she was kept by Montel, a gendarme of the guard, for three hundred livres in rent and clothes. By 1755, she had moved up in the world, was called an "opera dancer," and was kept by a prince for fifty louis a month.²⁰ This recorded information was potentially damaging to both the prince and Cairns. For the prince, his position at court could be jeopardized if it was revealed that he was keeping a mistress with such a sordid background. For Cairns, any disclosure meant the possibility of being forced to return to her abusive husband should the police decide to use the information against her.

Direct control of select prostitutes by individual inspectors was one of the major changes in prostitute's lives under the *police des mœurs*. Previously, the business of streetwalkers and madams was autonomous;

¹⁷ Camille Piton, *Paris sous Louis XV; rapports des inspecteurs de police a roi, Cinquième sâerie*. (Paris: Mercure de France, 1914), 21.

¹⁸ Piton, 15-9. The report further notes that M. le *Compte de Valentinois* was twenty-eight years old and had married the only daughter of the Duc de Ruffec, Mlle. De Rouvroy-Saint-Simon.

¹⁹ Cheek, 200.

²⁰ Piton, 51, 55.

even though their industry was not legal, they were independent entrepreneurs who controlled their own labor.²¹ Before the police took over the management of the sex trade, the lowest class of the independent sex worker – a *marcheuse* (streetwalker) – would solicit clients on the boulevards of Paris. The next higher class, the *maquerelle* (madam), did not solicit on the streets, but utilized the institution of the bordello to ply her trade. Madams would also recruit young girls, rent out rooms, and protect her workers when clients refused to pay. In the same manner, the *souteneur* (pimp) dealt with difficult clients.²² After the initiation of police regulation, certain police inspectors treated prostitutes as property or wards, looking after them, naming them, and protecting them from harm.²³ Each officer had his own register that listed the places of prostitution he was personally responsible for.²⁴ Because prostitutes could be condemned by a simple accusation in the public sphere, the police could also protect them by disposing of the *lettres de cachet* to protect their dependents.²⁵ Generally, a *lettre de cachet* (warrant of arrest) handled the arrest request from the girl's father, spouse, or brother.²⁶ So familial did this relationship become that the police were

also arbiters of conflicts between mothers and daughters.²⁷ A madam could not admit a girl into her household without displaying her to the police inspector, who inquired about her virginity. The police were adamant that she not be a virgin when admitted to the house so that the enterprise of prostitution would not defile an innocent girl.²⁸

Since the ordinance of 1684, the lieutenant of police supposedly had absolute authority over prostitutes. However, a string of police officials in the eighteenth century found that the city's prostitutes were in a strong position to exact favors from the powerful men with whom they had slept. Aware of this measure of influence that these women had, police eventually struck a compromise with the prostitutes. They would grant immunity to streetwalkers who stayed off the streets and kept from soliciting in windows, and they would create the appearance that prostitution was under control.²⁹ Thus, the trade was tolerated in a few houses that simplified the task of surveillance and control. By 1753, the locations of brothels and the names of their owners and occupants were a matter of police record.³⁰

The police wanted the revenue from prostitution more than they wanted to punish the crime of harlotry. Madams, aware of this, would play on the tastes of the inspectors of police knowing that, in return,

²¹ Antoine Francois Prevost, *Manon Lescaut*, [1731] (Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, Inc., 1978). This kind of female independence bothered eighteenth-century moralists and influenced the public's perceptions of prostitution. The courtesan heroine prefers luxury and independence to the faithful love of her Chevalier des Grieux. In the ethics of the time, a woman could not decide her own fate, thus Prevost banished her to America as punishment. Norberg, "Prostitutes," 473.

²² Norberg, "Prostitutes," 468.

²³ Benabou, 105.

²⁴ Decante, 66.

²⁵ Benabou, 108.

²⁶ Riley, 520-1. Riley points out that in 1700, Louis XIV wrote to the secretary of police about his astonishment at learning an eighteen-year-old had been living openly with a prostitute for a year without intervention from the father. As a result of Louis' concern, the police inspector insisted that fathers who ignored such behavior were to be fined.

²⁷ Benabou, 111.

²⁸ Williams, 102. If the madam did not comply with this regulation, she risked imprisonment and public exposure.

²⁹ Norberg, "Prostitutes," 465. Streetwalkers were sentenced en masse each Friday for blocking the street and causing disorder on the boulevards.

³⁰ Williams, 101-2. Police once protected Madam Paris, a famous brothel owner who ran a house in the Rue Baneaux, when a parish priest complained about her trade. When the complaint reached the bishop of Paris, the police stepped up their protective efforts by inviting the bishop to visit what they claimed to be a well-ordered house. Vern and Bonnie Bullough, *Women and Prostitution: A Social History* (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1987), 169.

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they would be lavished with favors. Still, there were inspectors who took advantage of their position. Inspector Berryer would frequent his ward as a patron to verify what was going on from the customer's point of view, without remitting payment. Other inspectors would fine any woman who was not accommodating to their wishes.³¹ When a police inspector needed money, he advertised his visit to a house. He would get one woman to make a complaint against another who had not been in trouble in the previous month to six weeks, and collect a fine from them. Those who did not have the money to pay the fine were imprisoned.³² Inspectors not only earned as much as three thousand livres a year from their abuse of discretionary power, but they effectively altered the individuality that prostitutes had enjoyed before the foundation of the *police des mœurs*. Instead of the prostitutes monitoring themselves when they had quarrels, the first commissioner was notified and the guard was transported in, making arrests and imprisoning the women whether they were guilty or not. The whole house was now



Prostitutes seduced unsuspecting criminals, priests, and diplomats into revealing information, and then reported their findings to police. Courtesy of Dr. Nancy Fitch. Private Collection.

responsible for the noise that the women made, whether or not it was during pleasure. Additionally, they faced arrest if neighbors complained in the quarter.³³ In reality, the police became their pimps by controlling the prostitutes' lives as they did.

The police believed that prostitutes were of great use in the hunting of murderers and thieves, in controlling foreign diplomats, and in gaining knowledge about deviant priests. Prostitutes aided the police by managing to tempt men running from the law into giving up their anonymity. Such fugitives might be new to the area, without female companionship, and drunk and anxious to impress their new consorts. Under such conditions, they would tell more than was wise. Further, the money they spent on the prostitutes could sometimes be tracked back to the scene of a crime.³⁴ The

unsuspecting men would stumble into the monitored establishment and, after being satiated with wine, coerced into revealing their secrets.³⁵ For example, a new papal nuncio assigned to France, Monseigneur Blanchforte, impregnated a prostitute who was employed at the bordello of Madam Baudoin. He had been bringing her to his place twice a week while he was in Paris. The crown used this information to extort favors from the pope to benefit the French over other countries.³⁶ Mercier's *Le Tableau*

³¹ Bullough, 172. Police Inspector M. de Sartine, in 1759, felt that everything should be prohibited, so that everything could be permitted, at a price.

³² Decante, 66-8. Women unable to pay the fine would be dealt with in the same manner as the unruly streetwalkers – sent away in a covered carriage to the end of the Escalier du Châtelet and herded into a large room for trial and sentencing. Denied legal representation and forced to kneel while their sentences were handed down, the women protested by crying, removing their cloaks, or indecently uncovering themselves. In some cases parents or lovers were able to raise money for their release.

³³ Decante, 66.

³⁴ Williams, 230-1.

³⁵ Benabou, 114-5.

³⁶ Williams, 231.

de Paris speaks of the police shadowing priests who liked to watch prostitutes' sex acts through holes in the wall provided by madams.³⁷ This information was used by the crown to get a priest in trouble with his order, further evidence of the state's attempt to control morals within the society.

The state expanded their control of society with the ordinance of 1780 that limited the movements of prostitutes and restricted their access to clothing and other accouterments. This new authority forbade prostitutes from entering cabarets, taverns, or beer establishments. Owners who ignored the presence of prostitutes in their establishments could be fined one hundred livres if discovered. To discourage prostitutes from displaying themselves in windows, they were prohibited from buying toiletries and renting clothing. Vendors who sold them these goods could be fined three hundred livres and could have their goods confiscated for the *hôpital-général*. This ordinance also pertained to the dresses, cloaks, and other accessories seized from prostitutes.³⁸ Everything possible was done to force the prostitutes of the later eighteenth century into the new regimes forms of management. The crown attempted to exert greater control over the citizens of Paris and bureaucratize the lives of prostitutes with the creation of the *police des mœurs*. However, the oncoming tide of French revolutionary thought wiped out the system of police controlled brothels.

Political Shifts Of The Revolution

The French Revolution was a critical point in the lives of all the people of France, yet prostitution can be singled out and defined through these shifts. When the Bastille was stormed journalists confiscated the reports from the police des mœurs that were stored inside and then utilized them as

propaganda against the old regime. The reports were put on display for the people of Paris to see in order to show the vices of the old leadership against which the people were fighting.³⁹ In 1791, the citizens were outraged when Pierre Manuel published secret documents revealing the Parisian police condoned and participated in the processes of prostitution.⁴⁰ The French Revolution also prohibited the sale of public offices, which broke down the control the police inspectors and the *police des mœurs* held over the profession of prostitution and exposed the ring of spies they had created.⁴¹

The National Assembly instituted a new set of municipal regulations for the country as a whole in July 1791. It ended all existing laws relating to the repression of prostitution and put nothing in their place. It made procuring punishable (such as streetwalkers and those who displayed themselves in windows) but did not say anything about the existence of brothels and prostitution.⁴² At this point, prostitutes were no longer spies for the police but were once again liberated moneymakers. They were no longer the subjects of surveillance. Prostitution avoided any special regimentation up to the creation of the prefect of police in 1800.⁴³

French revolutionary ideas changed popular attitudes towards prostitution. Prior to 1789, the greatest anxiety about a prostitute was that she could injure a man

³⁹ Cheek, 207.

⁴⁰ Katherine Norberg, "From Courtesan to Prostitute: Mercenary Sex and Venereal Disease 1730-1802," in *The Secret Maladie: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*, ed. Linda E. Merians. (Lexington, K. Y.: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 43.

⁴¹ Donald Joseph Harvey, "French Revolution," *Microsoft Encarta 96 Encyclopedia*, 1993-1995.

⁴² Colin Jones, "Prostitution and the Ruling Class in Eighteenth Century Montpellier," *History Workshop* No. 6 (1978): 22. Article 10 from 22 July 1791 failed to regulate or control the commercialization of sex. John F. Decker, *Prostitution: Regulation and Control* (Littleton, Colorado: Fred B. Rothman & Co., 1979), 485.

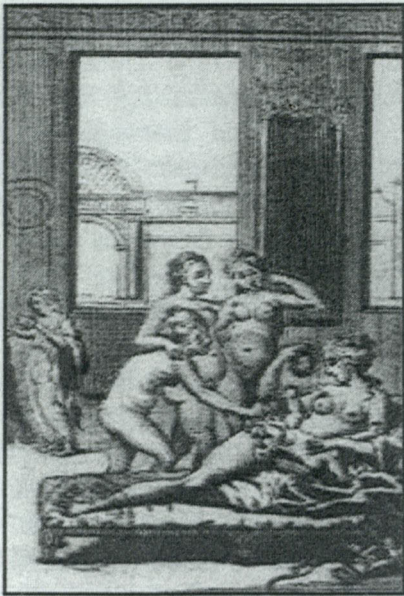
⁴³ Decante, 69.

³⁷ Benabou, 123.

³⁸ Benabou, 65.

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spiritually as well as break up his family. After the revolution, prostitutes were perceived as a threat to a man's body as well



An eighteenth-century drawing portrays a group of prostitutes corrupting the innocent child with their immoral attentions. Lynn Hunt, ed., *The Invention of Pornography*, 234.

as to his finances. At the end of the century the perception was that the threat of syphilis was much greater.⁴⁴ The seductive aristocratic woman, such as a courtesan or even a queen, represented to the populace a political corruption and decay within the state. Since the courtesan was 'the' public woman, she represented any woman who presumed to act in the public sphere. The industry of prostitution was used as a scapegoat for the role of public women. The queen or democrat fighting for liberty in the republic risked being branded a prostitute in the new order.⁴⁵ Late eighteenth-century journalism blamed courtesans as the true source of much of the disorder that troubled

the populous and their morals. These writers argued that the excesses of the courtesans should be done away with, just as the queen and her extravagances had been eliminated.⁴⁶ Courtesans were no longer able to sway a man of the court through access to his bed, since the whole life at court was abolished.

Social changes brought on by the political revolution affected prostitution as well. When Robespierre tried to remake France in 1793 as a republic of virtue, one of his measures was against hoarding.⁴⁷ Society targeted courtesans for selfishly amassing great wealth. Before the revolution, courtesans loved to flaunt their fortune to all of Paris in the gardens of the Palais-Royale. They were dressed conspicuously with outrageous hairdos, gigantic plumed hats, gold earrings, and necklaces studded with diamonds.⁴⁸ Mercier also described the courtesans flaunting their new found wealth.⁴⁹ Such exhibitions did not continue after the new political powers came into play. Before the revolution, a courtesan's wealthy lover would provide her with clothes, an apartment in the fashionable Saint Germain quarter, and furniture. She would not see much cash, yet these items were worth two to five hundred livres a month, an incredible amount to anyone in the working class of the eighteenth century.⁵⁰ This kind of display was not seen after the revolution.

Society's definition of a prostitute was subtly different after the political shift.

⁴⁶ Lynn Hunt, "Pornography and the French Revolution" in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity 1500-1800* (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 307.

⁴⁷ Harvey, "French Revolution."

⁴⁸ Robert Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 247.

⁴⁹ Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Le Tableau de Paris. [1781-1788]* (Paris: Librairie Francois Maspero, 1982), 243.

⁵⁰ Norberg, "Prostitutes," 469.

⁴⁴ Williams, 193.

⁴⁵ Lynn Hunt, intro. *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity 1500-1800* (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 10.

Diderot's *Encyclopédie* from 1751 begins its definition with shameful and decadent descriptions of mercenary sex, yet spends a great deal of time romanticizing the charms



Veneral diseases threatened prostitutes, the men they serviced, and the general health of society. In this print, a stricken prostitute shivers under a blanket while doctors discuss how to treat her. Scene from Hogarth's "A Harlot's Progress" Plate 5. Ronald Paulsen, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*.

of prostitutes and comparing prostitutes of his day with those honored during the Greek and Roman era. He even equates them to the coquettish Venus.⁵¹ The *Encyclopédie Méthodique* of 1791 still includes representations of prostitutes as disorderly, indecent, and detrimental to public welfare and morals. Decidedly different is its identification of prostitution with the corruption of the old regime. The 1791 encyclopedia points to the bad acquaintances, imitation of love, and poor habits that had been identified with

⁵¹ Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers: dix volumes in-folio dont deux de planches en taille-douce, proposés par souscription / recueilli des meilleurs auteurs et particulièrement des dictionnaires anglois de Chambers, D'Harris, de Dyche, &c. Par une société de gens de lettres; mis en ordre et publié par M. Diderot; & quant à la partie mathématique, par M. d'Alembert* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1950), 400-1.

courtesans.⁵² This new feeling of concern for the public welfare, represented in print, reflects the changing attitudes towards prostitutes.

Prostitutes embraced the new ideas of the revolution that promoted equal access to goods and services that were only available to the elite before the revolution. Prostitutes lent their opinions and feelings to this new society. Prostitutes went along with the ideas of the revolution that promised sex was going to be available to everyone. In one of the many pamphlets circulating in 1790 there was a poem that stated a prostitute promised lower prices for patriots, charging eighteen sous instead of twenty-four to these special customers. This prostitute perceived her body as part of the national domain and reduced her price for the good of the people.⁵³ There was a revolutionary theme that prostitutes bought into. This prostitute perceived her body as part of the national domain and believed it should be used for the good of the people. When she reduced her fee to make sex available to everyone, she demonstrated her support for the revolutionary theme of equal access.

Common attitudes and perceptions changed how prostitutes were treated. Defenders within the government of the new order conjectured that prostitution and syphilis were on the rise. The revolutionary government focused on measures aimed at social control in its attempt to diminish social diseases.⁵⁴ They believed that the population was being affected negatively and the French race had to be restored to its glory. Police sweeps were instituted throughout the area where prostitution was known to exist in order to monitor the

⁵² M. Naigeon, *Encyclopédie Méthodique* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1791-[93]).

⁵³ Hunt, "Pornography and the French Revolution," 327.

⁵⁴ Norberg, "From Courtesan to Prostitute: Mercenary Sex and Venereal Disease 1730-1802," 45.

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disease. The prostitutes were visited for diagnosis and treatment. The surveillance switched from documenting the prostitutes' livelihood, as in the *police des mœurs*, to documenting the interiors of their bodies.⁵⁵ By the end of the century the new Paris police hired two physicians who examined and then inscribed the names of prostitutes in special registers. Two years later, the police established a dispensary in the *Croix-des-Petites-Champs* where the infected could be examined and receive medical help.⁵⁶

Within the first half of the eighteenth century the crime of prostitution was perceived as a threat to the women of the society. William Hogarth's satirical graphic work, *The Harlot's Progress* from 1732, is an artistic historical narrative from England that portrays the ills of the modern city and the dangers faced by professional women. He saw the prostitute as an innocent girl affected adversely by the evils of society. In Hogarth's world, prostitutes dupe and steal to make their way in the world, carry the threat of disease, and are eventually imprisoned for the troubles they create. This plot is similar to Prevost's *Manon Lescaut*, which has a prostitute as the lead character who is punished by society for her disgraceful behavior.⁵⁷ Amazingly enough, none of the men in *The Harlot's Progress* are portrayed as having syphilis; the disease only threatens the women. It was not until the end of the century that French society perceived the prostitute and the syphilis she carried as threatening to men.

Society's perceptions during this period, whether based on fact or myth, influenced changes within the new government, which impacted the lives of the prostitutes. During most of the eighteenth century, prostitutes

died of advanced syphilis before the age of thirty.⁵⁸ In the later half of the century syphilis was controlled through the use of new treatments introduced by the assembly.⁵⁹ At the end of the century political changes occurred because of popular perceptions of prostitutes. In the middle of the century changes occurred because of the crown wanting control over its people.

Epilogue

Both the *police des mœurs* and the French Revolution changed of the roles of French prostitutes. The establishment of the *police des mœurs* in Paris created a world of dependence for the semi-independent sex workers of the city. At the same time, the police themselves relied on the madams and streetwalkers for information. When the police documented the careers of prostitutes and exploited their espionage capabilities, the regime utilized this knowledge to control men within the court and to influence foreign relations. This in turn affected prostitutes' relationships with the men who kept them. While the men viewed prostitutes as an asset because of the pleasure they provided, they also recognized the inherent liability in such a relationship. Should police choose to use this information in a blackmail scheme, a man's position in court and any political clout he enjoyed was put at risk. Prostitutes, like the men they pleased, lived with advantages and disadvantages. A woman who became a favorite of an inspector could be free to continue her trade and receive fringe benefits. However, a prostitute unwilling to participate in the

⁵⁵ Connor, 29-30.

⁵⁶ Decante, 44.

⁵⁷ William Hogarth. *Hogarth; The Complete Engravings*. eds. Joseph Burke and Colin Caldwell. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1960. Prevost, 100-58.

⁵⁸ Norberg, "From Courtesan to Prostitute: Mercenary Sex and Venereal Disease 1730-1802," 50.

⁵⁹ Connor, 29. Because of the governmental influence on the prostitutes' lives, the admissions to the hospice des vénériens between 1792 and 1810 doubled, and the death rate declined significantly.

system of police control risked imprisonment.

When the *police des mœurs* abandoned the practice of locking up prostitutes in workhouses and profited financially as they assumed the role of pimp, they created a system that was self-beneficial, increasing their power within the community. At the same time prostitutes were stripped of their autonomy.

Examining how a society deals with prostitution not only reveals the broader themes within its culture, but it also offers insight into the morals and ethics operating within that culture. When Louis XIV enacted statutes to create a police force within the city of Paris, he not only altered the lives of prostitutes, he also founded one of the earliest paid police forces. The bureaucratically organized police created a precedent for controlling both public and private morality.

The French Revolution changed the public's perception of prostitutes from that of police informant to diseased corruptor. Changes made by the National Assembly affected municipal regulations, forcing a new regimentation of prostitution. Society's perception played a direct part in forming these new regulations, which curtailed the courtesans' habits of display and consumption. These new parameters, which led to the acceptance of prostitution as a necessary evil by the end of the century, also laid the foundation for what was to become the nineteenth century state-controlled brothel.



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“The Anglo-American *Rapprochement*: Elite Interactions and Diplomatic Realities”

Dino Buenviaje

The history of the Anglo-American rapprochement is one that has been of particular interest to diplomatic historians, political scientists, and other researchers. By the end of the nineteenth century the United States and the British Empire began to move beyond past grievances and looked forward to a new century of cooperation. At the same time, individuals on both ends of the Atlantic also worked towards Anglo-American partnership. While personal interactions by British and American elites like Theodore Roosevelt and Cecil Spring Rice supported an Anglo-American rapprochement, they did not play a direct hand in altering foreign policy. Analysis of the: personal correspondences of Theodore Roosevelt and Cecil Spring Rice, archival sources such as British Foreign Office documents on North America, and secondary sources, will show that the rapprochement was based upon the realization that Britain's global leadership was challenged by changes in European diplomacy, notably, the rise of a unified Germany.

Welebaethan

Tension marked relations between the United States and Great Britain throughout most of the nineteenth century due to historical reasons dating from the American Revolution and the War of 1812. The British government's high-handedness with the thirteen colonies caused the American Revolution, resulting in the independence of the United States. The War of 1812 was a by-product of the Napoleonic Wars, where the Royal Navy impressed American sailors in its struggle against France. Americans in following decades did not easily forget these slights, especially every Fourth of July. Throughout the nineteenth century, the United States and Great Britain often engaged in border disputes in the long frontier between America and Canada. Anglo-American relations reached its lowest point during the American Civil War when it seemed Britain might recognize the legitimacy of the Confederacy; it did not appear as though the relationship between both countries would improve.

Since the end of the 1800s, the United States and the British Empire made gestures toward mutual cooperation. The relationship that marked Anglo-American diplomacy early in the nineteenth century changed completely at its conclusion. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Britain held global supremacy while the United States was a fledgling republic founded upon hostility to British political institutions. At the end of the century, Britain faced new challengers to its global leadership, such as Germany and the continental alliance

systems that strategically isolated Britain. The United States, meanwhile, grew into a major power that could potentially change the international system. After 1898 American leadership, through acquisition of colonial possessions, began to appreciate

British responsibilities in maintaining the international system.

Since the twilight of the nineteenth century, important figures on both sides of the Atlantic corresponded with each other to stress the importance of cooperation between the two major English-speaking nations. One prime example of interaction between elites in the late nineteenth century can be found in the correspondence between Theodore Roosevelt and Cecil Spring Rice. During the 1880s and 1890s, prior to Roosevelt's Presidency, he served as police commissioner of New York City and governor to the assistant secretary of the United States Navy. At the same time such personal interactions took place, the United States and Great



British diplomat Cecil Spring Rice (right), seen here with Lord Northcliffe, strongly supported the *rapprochement*. Stephen Gwynn, *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice*, A Record, 1.

Britain began to work towards a *rapprochement*, or reconciliation. Did these interactions directly affect the outcome of British foreign policy during the late nineteenth century?

The analysis of Theodore Roosevelt's correspondence with Cecil Spring Rice, a British diplomat who served in Germany, Japan, and Persia, as well as ambassador to the United States, shows that the unofficial cooperation served as a reflection of the wider movement towards closer relations between Washington, D.C. and London. The interactions between the elites of both countries grew, in part, from the realization of its decision-makers of the changing

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diplomacy on the European continent as well as the rise of the United States as a potential actor in the international system resulted in a change in policy. Thus, the correspondences between Theodore Roosevelt and Cecil Spring Rice serve as an example of the interactions between British and American elites, both of whom were concerned with the state of the world in the late nineteenth century. Since Germany, Japan, and the United States presented themselves as contenders to Britain's supremacy, British leaders grew increasingly aware of their country's isolation and hoped an Anglo-American partnership in international affairs would continue to tilt the balance of power in Britain's favor.

Since the Second World War, the "special relationship," namely, the intensely close friendship between the United States and Britain has been a subject of interest to diplomatic historians, political scientists, and other researchers. These scholars have focused their inquiries on two especially significant questions: 1) How did the governments of the United States and Great Britain view each other? 2) At what point did the governments of both countries begin cooperating- and why?

In answering these questions, diplomatic historians such as Bradford Perkins and John Moser employed a traditional narrative approach, drawing on archival materials to illuminate the nature of the relationship between the two great English-speaking nations. Perkins' *Great Rapprochement* traces the beginning of the "special relationship" to the Venezuelan Crisis in 1895. He argues that the settlement of the Hay Paunceforte Treaty of 1901 and the Alaska Boundary Dispute in 1903 cleared two significant obstacles towards the warming of relations between the two countries. Perkins further contends "increasing social interactions between American and British elites, and the democratizing of British political institutions

softened American attitudes towards Britain."¹ While Perkins focuses on the social interactions between Americans and Englishmen, some historians of Anglo-American relations highlight "anglophobia" as a barrier towards any reconciliation between Britain and the United States. John Moser's work, *Twisting the Lion's Tail*:

highlights the traditional American antagonisms felt towards Britain for several generations and how American politicians have used anglophobia as a means to get elected and to push forward any policy initiatives.²

During the last thirty years, some researchers have turned away from the traditional narrative approach. Social and oral historians consider the narrative approach to be elitist, while economic and other historians who use mathematical and statistical techniques to study historical data find it inadequate for their research. This political science approach looks at historical events using institutions and power relations in a more systematic way with the purpose of making predictions while applying historical phenomena.

In his work *Succeeding John Bull: America in Britain's Place 1900-1975*, D. Cameron Watt complains that the narrative approach emphasizes details, giving short shrift to theoretical concepts. In opposition to this narrative tradition, which he and other historians have criticized as having nationalistic tendencies, Watt uses "international history," defined as exploring the history of relations between states, to advance his research in Anglo-American relations. Watt "explores the foreign policy-making bodies in Washington, D.C. and

¹ Bradford Perkins *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914*, (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 9.

² John Moser, *Twisting the Lion's Tail: American Anglophobia between the World Wars*, (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 2.

London to explain the dynamics of twentieth century Anglo-American relations."³ In my research I have tried to apply Watt's approach in trying to understand the transition of global predominance from Great Britain to the United States.

Of special interest to historians employing the political science approach in the historiographic study of the Anglo-American *rapprochement* is the topic of the British decline in relation to American hegemony after the Second World War. In his work *Transition of Power: Britain's Loss of Global Pre-Eminence to the United States*, Brian McKercher draws on theoretical models of power accumulation to attempt to understand the process that culminated in Britain's decline in world leadership to the United States.⁴ McKercher refutes previous theories of "economic determinism" in explaining British decline, pointing instead to the inadequacies of British leadership in its attempts to adapt to the changing twentieth century international systems. This subject is of particular interest to historians who see the United States in a position similar to that of Britain at the end of the nineteenth century and applies specifically to my research because I believe that Britain's reaction to its eventual decline is uncommon in history, if not totally unique. The fact Britain "declined gracefully," seeking a successor to perpetuate its interests rather than falling in a "blaze of glory," is truly remarkable.

This paper employs traditional approaches in analyzing the events leading to the Anglo-American *rapprochement*. I focus not only on the official and diplomatic events that led to the development of the *rapprochement*, but also on the individuals

who made it their goal to bring it to fruition. An important set of primary sources for this study is the correspondence between Theodore Roosevelt and Cecil Spring Rice.⁵ Other useful documents included articles from the British publication, *The Economist*, and the North American documents of the British Foreign Office. These documents are helpful in giving a first hand account of the diplomatic situation between the countries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An analysis of these letters provides an insight into not only the relations maintained between Theodore Roosevelt and his friends, but also a perspective on their philosophical and worldviews. David Burton's *Theodore Roosevelt and His English Correspondents* helped me understand the motivations that would move Britain and the United States towards mutual cooperation.

Though this paper is largely a narrative using archival and secondary sources, I have also tried to be open to some of the political science approaches to interpretations of history. Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* explores with great insight the advantages and disadvantages of Britain's position as the dominant global power at the beginning of the twentieth century, and in tracing its relative decline in comparison to that of Germany and the United States. Lionel Gerber's, *The Rise of Anglo-American Friendship: A Study in World Politics 1898-1906*, provides a thorough account of the developments leading to the warming of relations between both Britain and the United States. Thus, while this paper does not attempt to become a complete account of turn-of-the

³ D.Cameron Watt *Succeeding John Bull: America in Britain's Place 1900-75* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1.

⁴ Brian McKercher, *Transition of Power: Britain's Loss of Global Pre-Eminence to the United States* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1-3.

⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Elting E. Morison, Ed. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957); Cecil Spring Rice, *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, Stephen Gwynn, ed., (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1929; reprint, 1972).

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century Anglo-American relations, the *rapprochement* between the two major English-speaking nations is of great interest to me, and I do hope to expand upon it at a later date.

In 1900, Britain was a nation of superlatives. It possessed an expansive colonial empire that covered twelve million square miles of land and included a quarter of the world's population. As the largest navy in the world, the Royal Navy secured Britain's military and economic supremacy by protecting its extensive trading interests. The City of London headquartered banks, trading firms, and gold reserves, thus establishing Britain as a leader in global finance.⁶ Since the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain held the foreign policy of "splendid isolation" concerning continental affairs, intervening only when the international balance of power had to be maintained; thus the British shunned any formal alliances.⁷

In the late nineteenth century, Britain grew increasingly isolated as a consequence of the new diplomatic realities that were forming in Europe. After experiencing several decades of unquestioned leadership, the British faced foreign policy challenges from different areas of the globe. Britain faced Russia's encroachment towards India and its presence in China. In addition,

Britain faced colonial disputes with France in Asia and Africa. In 1894, France and Russia signed the *Entente Cordial*, which caused much alarm in London. On the Continent, Germany rose as the leading military power, home to the largest army in Europe. Upon unification, Chancellor Otto von Bismarck of Germany forged the Triple Alliance with Austria-Hungary and Italy.⁸ In 1890, Kaiser Wilhelm dismissed Bismarck as Chancellor and introduced a new foreign policy based on direct competition with Britain in the acquisition of colonies and the enlargement of Germany's navy.⁹



Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm pursued a more aggressive foreign policy with the British after his dismissal of Chancellor Bismarck. Virginia Cowles, *The Kaiser*, 272.

The overwhelming lead Britain enjoyed in industrial capacity and naval size steadily eroded in the closing years of the century. The spread of industrialization through

Europe and the United States provided one reason for its decline.¹⁰ One of the stark realities Britain faced was a united Germany, whose population and industrial capacity was growing steadily after 1870. For example, German coal production grew from under 90 million tons in 1890 to slightly less than 280 million tons in 1914; this was a negligible difference to Britain's 290 million plus tons.¹¹ In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Britain's industrial and commercial pre-eminence

⁶ Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (New York: Random House), 1987, 226.

⁷ Lionel Gelber, *The Rise of Anglo-American Friendship: A Study in World Politics 1898-1906* (Hamden: Archen Books, 1966), 5.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid, 6.

¹⁰ Kennedy, 226.

¹¹ Ibid, 210. In coal production, Germany produced 89 million tons in 1890 to 277 million tons in 1914 compared to Britain at 292 million tons.

shrank. In 1880, Britain commanded about 23 percent of world manufacturing and world trade. By 1913, it was only at 14 percent respectively. Between 1820 and 1840, annual productivity was 4 percent; this shrank to 3 percent between 1840 and 1870 and decreased even further to about 2 percent between 1875 and 1894. Thus, while Britain's traditional industries of coal, textiles, and ironware continued to increase production, Britain lagged behind in newer industries of the late nineteenth century such as steel, chemicals, machine tools, and electrical products.¹² These industrial statistics alarmed the British government because of their diplomatic ramifications. For example, if British industry fell behind the Germans in steel production, it meant that the Germans would be able to out produce the British in domestic as well as military goods such as battleships, thus threatening British imperial interests.

British leaders noticed the decline in their global influence. Prime Minister Lord Salisbury saw the need for Britain to end its traditional isolationist policy. In 1898, he addressed the House of Lords on the dire situation in British Foreign policy. Since the late nineteenth century, Britain had acquired extensive colonial holdings in Africa and Asia, raising the envy of various European powers- notably that of Germany. Salisbury argued that the acquisitive policy of the late nineteenth century left Britain in a vulnerable position: it might incite the hostility of other, leave Britain spread out too thinly, and place a burden upon its economic and military resources.¹³ From 1898 forward, various sectors of the British leadership called for an alliance between

Great Britain and the United States. Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain ardently supported closer by succinctly analyzing Britain's isolation, stating:

Since the Crimean War nearly 50 years ago, the policy of this country has been a policy of strict isolation. We have had no allies--I am afraid we have had no friends . . . As long as the other Great Powers of Europe were also working for their own hand were separately engaged, I think the policy [of isolationism] we have pursued . . . was undoubtedly right for this country . . . But now in recent years, a different complexion has been placed upon the matter . . . All the powerful states of Europe have made alliances, and as long as we keep outside these alliances, we are envied by all and suspected by all, we are liable to be confronted at any moment with a combination of Great Powers so powerful that not even the most extreme, the most hotheaded politician would be able to contemplate it without a certain sense of uneasiness.¹⁴

Among the growing voices clamoring for a *rapprochement*, Chamberlain vigorously supported a formal alliance between the United States and Great Britain. Due to the cultural similarities and similar worldviews of both countries, and realizing Britain's isolation, Chamberlain reached out to the United States believing it to be the best place to find an alliance.¹⁵ Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, Britain abandoned splendid isolation as it resolved

¹² Ibid, 228. Britain produced 22.9% of world manufacturing and 23% of world trade. By 1913, it was only at 13.6 and 14% respectively. Between 1820 and 1840, annual productivity was 4% which shrank to 3% between 1840 and 1870 and decreased even further to 1.5% between 1875 and 1894.

¹³ "Two Foreign Policies" *The Economist*, 12 February 1898, 231.

¹⁴ Joseph Chamberlain, "Speech by Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain at the Birmingham Town Hall Advocating Closer Ties with the United States, 13 May 1898", *Great Britain, Foreign Policy and Span of Empire 1689-1971*, Joel H. Wiener, ed. (New York: Chelsea, 1972), v1, 509.

¹⁵ Ibid, 509.

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its colonial disputes with its ancient enemy, France.

The British Press also underscored the need for a fundamental change in British foreign policy. *The Economist*, for example, often advanced the hope of a future alliance between Britain and the United States:

Here the ties are closer than any which bind us to France [referring to the Entente Cordial in 1895]. They are ties of race, of language, of origin. If the thought of a war between England and France seems horrible, much more the thought of a war between England and America be horrible . . . Here again, the way to put such a thing wholly beyond the bounds of possibility is not to lose sight of the fact that our interests and those of the United States may hereafter be very different . . . The building of new warships for the United States is accepted as almost a compensation for similar action on the part of Germany . . .¹⁶

The Economist understood the importance of closer cooperation between both the United States and Great Britain, while keeping in sight the reality that the United States represented a challenge to Britain's world leadership. However, while the British government saw the rise of the United States as a reminder of Britain's eroding supremacy, the rise of the United States was still preferable to Germany's bid for world leadership.¹⁷

The unification of Germany, from "a cluster of insignificant states under insignificant princelings," to a major industrial power altered the European balance of power.¹⁸ Through a series of calculated wars culminating in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 Prussian Chancellor

Otto von Bismarck united the various German states into a single entity in about a decade. He strengthened the Prussian army by providing it with a reliable logistical system, a steady supply of troops through mass conscription, an extensive railway system, and an educated public. These components provided the necessary ingredients for waging modern warfare. In twenty short years, European diplomats would have to reassess the ramifications of a united Germany.¹⁹

After unification, Germany experienced high levels of economic, military, and commercial growth. In 1890, the German population totaled 49 million to Britain's 27 million. In 1913, Germany's population jumped to 67 million compared to Britain's 45 million, making it second to Russia.²⁰ In foreign trade, German exports tripled between 1890 and 1913. Germany led Europe in new technologies such as electrical industries, optics, and chemicals. Firms such as Siemens and AEG employed 142,000 people between them, dominating the European electrical industry. Chemical firms such as Bayer and Hoechst produced 90 percent of the world's industrial dyes.²¹ These domestic successes led the policy-makers to look beyond Germany's borders to expand their country's greatness.

Successes in the German domestic economy encouraged a more aggressive foreign policy. In 1890 Kaiser Wilhelm II dismissed Bismarck and his cautious policy of not threatening the major European powers with Germany's existence. Despite the phenomenal growth of the German economy in the 1890s, many Germans, including the Kaiser, chafed at what they saw as Britain's global preponderance. During the 1890's many within the German government and the ruling classes, particularly Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz and

¹⁶ "Foreign Relations" *The Economist*, 14 March 1903, 461.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 461.

¹⁸ Kennedy, 210.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 187.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 199.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 210-11.

Kaiser Wilhelm II, called for colonial expansion; they believed that Germany deserved to be Britain's equal, and that it should strive to obtain a greater share in colonial holdings.²² After 1898, the German Navy rose from the sixth largest in the world to second, eclipsed only by the British Royal Navy.²³ In 1895, Kaiser Wilhelm II, highly irritated with Britain's meddling in its conflicts with the Boers in South Africa, sent a telegram to one of the Boer leaders congratulating him for rebuffing a raid led by British settlers. At this time, Germany interfered in what was considered Britain's sphere of influence and raised the threat of German military intervention.²⁴ Such a blunder by the Kaiser resulted in alienating the British, who thus decided to look elsewhere for a partnership.²⁵

Like Germany in the late nineteenth century, the United States drew much attention among the Great Powers. Unlike Germany, encircled with potentially hostile neighbors, the United States developed its full economic potential practically unmolested. The United States had many advantages from which to draw: rich agricultural land, vast raw material, modern technology (e.g., railways, steam engines, mining equipment), geographic isolation, absence of foreign enemies, and a flow of foreign and domestic investment capital.²⁶ Between 1865 and 1898, the United States devoted its energies to internal economic development. During the thirty-three years between the end of the Civil War and the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, productivity in agriculture and industry jumped to astronomical levels. Wheat increased 256 percent, corn increased 222

percent, and sugar increased 460 percent. Coal production increased 800 percent, while the production of crude petroleum rose from 3 million barrels to 55 million barrels. The millions of immigrants who joined the labor force particularly aided American economic growth.²⁷ The United States truly had an economy of scale. As leaders in technology, American firms such as Singer, Du Pont, Bell, and Standard Oil enjoyed a gigantic domestic market.²⁸ American foreign trade proved to be more competitive than either Britain or Germany, as America's exports increased sevenfold between 1860 and 1914.²⁹ This was not the whole picture, however.

The economic power of the United States did not equal its military strength. In 1900, the United States had only 96,000 military and naval personnel, compared to Germany's 524,000 and Britain's 624,000. In warship tonnage, the United States ranked only fifth behind France and Russia.³⁰ American foreign policy held to the tradition of isolationism, thus steering away from any formal alliance. Its geographic isolation had rendered alliances unnecessary for most of its history, yet isolation had allowed the United States to achieve dominance in the Western Hemisphere.³¹ During the first decade of the 1900s, the emergence of the United States as a power became an issue with which other nations had to contend. American economic dynamism, its status as a powerful newcomer, and the willingness of people committed toward a partnership on both sides of the Atlantic caused the British to consider the United States as a viable partner.

The calls of Chamberlain and others for *rapprochement* across the Atlantic asked British policy makers to put aside more than

²² Joachim Remak, *The Origins of World War I*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston: 1967), 79.

²³ Kennedy, 212-213.

²⁴ Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 184.

²⁵ Ibid, 185.

²⁶ Kennedy, 242.

²⁷ Ibid, 243.

²⁸ Ibid, 243-44.

²⁹ Ibid, 245.

³⁰ Ibid, 203.

³¹ Ibid, 248.

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a century of hostility towards the United States. For most of the nineteenth century, British diplomats and leaders did not take the United States seriously as a country with which to do business. Disproportions between America's military power, industrial capabilities, and traditional avoidance of "entangling alliances," led the British to conclude that the United States had neither the means nor the desire to go beyond the Western Hemisphere.³²

A turning point in Anglo-American relations occurred in 1895, during the Venezuela Boundary Crisis. There had been a long-standing dispute between Britain and Venezuela over the exact boundary separating Venezuela and British Guyana. Before 1895, the United States did not show any interest in intervening in the dispute.³³ However, on 20 July 1895, Secretary of State Richard Olney delivered a statement to the British government arguing that the United States had the right to intervene in the boundary dispute, citing the Monroe Doctrine as a justification.³⁴ Tensions rose between both countries bringing up the possibility of war. In the end, Britain conceded to American demands that it submit to arbitration and the legitimacy of the Monroe Doctrine. Britain agreed to be conciliatory to the United States because it had to deal with more pressing concerns concerning Germany and South Africa.³⁵ While the settlement of the Venezuela Boundary Dispute showed that the possibility of war between the United States and Great Britain would be a major catastrophe, it set a precedent of using the arbitration process as a means to resolve future disagreements between the two countries.³⁶

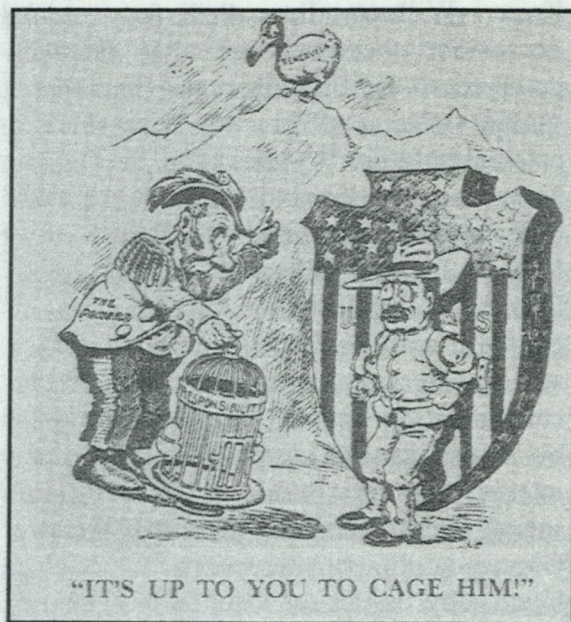
³² J.A.S. Grenville, *Lord Salisbury and Foreign Policy: The Close of the Nineteenth Century* (London: University of London, 1964), 55.

³³ *Ibid.*, 57.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 66.

³⁶ Gelber, 4.



Roosevelt threatens intervention to prevent the European powers from seizing any more territory in the Western Hemisphere. Stefan Lorant, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, 400.

In the aftermath of the Venezuela Boundary Dispute, there came to be a consensus between both English-speaking countries that a war between the United States and the British Empire would be akin to a civil war. Britain had much to profit from gaining American good will. Historians often regard the Spanish-American War as the watershed event in Anglo-American relations. The significance of the Spanish-American War lies in the fact that Britain was the only major European power that supported the United States in its cause against Spanish misrule in Cuba. *The Economist* vociferously supported the prospect of an Anglo-American alliance.³⁷ Additionally, British support thwarted Kaiser Wilhelm II's attempts to forge a continental alliance against the United States on behalf of Spain, thus ensuring a Spanish defeat while gaining American goodwill.

³⁷ "The Possible Anglo-American Alliance," *The Economist*, 12 May 1898, 794-795.

during Britain's struggles against the Boers in 1899.³⁸

What was at stake in the conflict between America and Spain went far beyond Cuba, for in the wake of Spanish defeat it also included the fate of the Philippines. The Philippines had the potential of providing naval and coaling stations in the Pacific as well as a stepping-stone towards markets in China and the rest of Asia. Rather than allow Germany to gain control of the Philippines, Britain permitted the United States to gain access in order to gain a neighbor with whom it shared similar politically strategic and economic prerogatives of free and open markets. Britain's sea routes to Asia would continue to be protected, and the British would have gained a new partner in defending the interests of the Empire.³⁹

Any *rapprochement*, let alone a partnership between the United States and Great Britain, had to take place not on some distant oriental shore, but in the Western Hemisphere itself. The two final obstacles to be resolved at the end of the nineteenth century were the Alaska Boundary Dispute, and the controversy surrounding the future of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty regarding the conditions for a future canal across the Central American isthmus. Long a source of controversy in diplomatic relations between the two countries, these two issues provided a constant headache to diplomats on both sides of the Atlantic throughout the nineteenth century, and there seemed to be little prospect of resolution. After the blossoming of friendship in 1898 during the Spanish-American War, both sides took the opportunity to make final a settlement over their only remaining disagreements in the Western Hemisphere.⁴⁰

Long before work on the Panama Canal started, the leaders of the United States and Great Britain already envisioned the construction of a canal linking both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans through Central America. In 1850, both countries signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which stipulated that both Great Britain and the United States would hold equal custody of any future canal, and neither Britain nor the United States could build any fortifications. The rights of commerce and navigation would be shared equally. In case of war between both countries, the canal would be neutral territory.⁴¹ The Spanish-American War in 1898 illustrated the importance of such a canal. Upon the beginning of hostilities against Spain, the United States government dispatched the battleship *Oregon* to Cuba. Since there was no canal, the only way to Cuba was to go around the Cape Horn at the tip of South America. The beginning of a *rapprochement* between the two countries opened the opportunity for the United States to alter the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.⁴²

The British had grave reservations about making any modifications on the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The most important reason was that Britain had extensive interests in the Caribbean, including various islands in the West Indies, and British Honduras; these interests historically predated the existence of the United States itself. A canal through Central America linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans would be of immense benefit to British trade and foreign policy. The prospect of a canal through Central America necessitated that the British would at least be a partner under the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.⁴³ In a memorandum, Foreign Secretary Lord Landsdowne voiced his

³⁸ Grenville, 217.

³⁹ Gelber, 31.

⁴⁰ Charles S. Campbell, Jr., *Anglo-American Understanding, 1898-1903*, (Baltimore: Johns

Hopkins, 1957; reprint Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 56.

⁴¹ Gelber, 40.

⁴² Gelber, 39-40.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 41.

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government's objections to a modification of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty:

The Clayton-Bulwer Convention . . . could not be abrogated or modified save with the consent of both parties to the contract. No attempt had, however, been made to ascertain the views of Her late Majesty's Government . . . The reservation of the United States of the right to take any measures which it might find necessary to secure by its own forces . . . appeared to His Majesty's Government to involve a distinct departure from the principle of neutralization which until then had found acceptance with both Governments . . . Great Britain alone would be absolutely precluded from resorting to any such action or from taking measures to secure her interests in and near the canal. For these reasons, His Majesty's Government preferred, as matters stood, to retain unmodified the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention.⁴⁴

Rather than being modified The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was simply allowed to expire, and on 18 November 1901, the United States and Great Britain signed the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, stipulating that the United States had the exclusive right to construct and manage an inter-oceanic canal. While the canal would be open to all nations, the United States had the sole right to defend it.⁴⁵ The concession to the United States on the canal was a realization of the rising power of the United States. With

Britain's problems on the other side of the globe, it was in 10 Downing Street's best interest to leave matters regarding the Western Hemisphere in the hands of the United States; thus, through the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, American hegemony in the region was tacitly accepted.⁴⁶

The Alaska Boundary Dispute stemmed from the ambiguities of the boundary between southern Alaska and western Canada. In 1825, the Russians (the former occupiers of Alaska) and the British signed a treaty delineating the border between Alaska and Canada over a series of mountains and indentations along the northwestern coast of North America. When the United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867, it also inherited the same vagaries of the Anglo-Russian Treaty. What exacerbated the disagreement between Canada and the United States was the discovery of gold in the Klondike region in 1896. The difficulty lay over the definition of what constituted the coastline. Both the United States and Britain had different interpretations of the Anglo-Russian Treaty. The American interpretation would have blocked Canada's access to the Pacific.⁴⁷

Canada represented a sensitive point in Anglo-American relations dating to the American Revolution and the War of 1812 when the United States made two attempts to conquer Canada. Throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, annexation of Canada remained a favorite rallying point in American politics.⁴⁸ Any disagreement between the United States and Canada became a dilemma between the former and Great Britain. Even though Canada was a self-governing dominion of the British Empire, Britain handled its foreign affairs. Britain faced the prospect of negotiating between two policies with two vested interests, foreign policy and the Empire.

⁴⁴ "Memorandum of Lord Landsdowne" 3 August 1901, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print* eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt, Part I, *From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the First World War*, Series C, *North America, 1837-1914*, vol. 11, *Expansion and Rapprochement, 1899-1905* (n.p.: University Publications of America, 1987), 187.

⁴⁵ Gelber, 101.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 41.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 38-39.

⁴⁸ Perkins, 161.

These two policies, at times, did not coincide.⁴⁹

The Alaska boundary dispute provided such an example. Not only did the problem of defining the boundary between the United States and a dominion of the British Empire arise, it also became a foreign policy issue because it was connected to the controversy surrounding the fate of the Clayton-Bulwer, in which Great Britain and Canada hoped to share any future canal projects with the United States.⁵⁰ A Colonial Office message to the Foreign Office states:

Mr. Chamberlain [Colonial Secretary] is strongly of the opinion that until the United States' Government are prepared to agree to a reasonable arrangement for settling the Alaska Boundary question, Her Majesty's Government should defer proceeding with the discussion of the proposed modification of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.⁵¹

To settle the boundary dispute, the governments of the United States and Great Britain agreed to resolve through negotiations these issues outstanding between the United States and Canada. Twelve High Commissioners evenly divided between the Americans, British, and Canadians would handle the negotiations.⁵² Problems, however, quickly arose concerning the outcome of the negotiations. The British hoped that there would be an arbitration patterned after that of the

Venezuela Boundary Dispute, except that in this case the United States would make some significant concessions. It appeared that the United States would have to concede on some significant points, but decided not to do so in deference to protests from the western states.⁵³ In a letter to Lord Salisbury, Lord Herschell, former Lord Chancellor, and one of the negotiators, expressed his concerns about the progress of the negotiations:

A crisis in our negotiations seems imminent. We were apparently approaching an agreement on the Alaska boundary dispute, but in consequence, as we believe, have the pressure, which has been exercised by interests affected on the Pacific Coast, the proposals of our American colleagues . . . have become such as to involve a practical surrender of all our claim in that locality . . . If it is impossible to agree on arbitration, my present impression is that we shall have to break off the negotiations, much as I should regret such a course. I shall be obliged if your Lordship will favor me with instructions at the earliest possible moment as to what should be done in the present situation?⁵⁴

In 1903, both countries agreed to an arbitration consisting of six jurists equally divided amongst the Americans, the British, and the Canadians. Representing the British and Canadians were Lord Chief Justice Alverstone, Quebec Lieutenant-Governor Sir Louis A. Jette', and A.B. Aylesworth, a

⁴⁹ Gelber, 37.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 43.

⁵¹ "H. Bertram Cox to the Foreign Office" 17 April 1899, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print* eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt, Part I, *From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the First World War, Series C, North America, 1837-1914*, vol. 11, *Expansion and Rapprochement, 1899-1905* (n.p.: University Publications of America, 1987), 38.

⁵² Ibid, 38.

⁵³ Ibid, 45.

⁵⁴ "Lord Herschell to the Marquess of Salisbury," 12 February 1899, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print* eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt, Part I, *From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the First World War, Series C, North America, 1837-1914*, vol. 11, *Expansion and Rapprochement, 1899-1905* (n.p.: University Publications of America, 1987), 17-18.

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prominent attorney. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator George Turner, and Secretary of War Elihu Root represented the United States.⁵⁵ Despite the goal of impartiality professed by the tribunal, the American jurists had already made their decision publicly, and thus a true lack of bias became impossible.⁵⁶ A member of the Colonial Office expressed his complaint about this matter:

. . . It is clearly laid down that the Tribunal is to consist of six impartial Jurists of repute. Two of the gentlemen named on behalf of the United States have, as pointed out by the Canadian Government, publicly and emphatically declared their views on the question which they are expected to consider judicially and impartially while the third is a member of the Government that is one of the parties in the case, and is therefore called upon to be a Judge in his own case . . . If the nominations made by the found itself in a delicate situation United States Government, therefore, are persisted in . . . it should be seriously considered whether in the circumstances, His Majesty's Government should proceed with the ratification treaty.⁵⁷

The Governor-General of Canada was more to the point:

My Ministers, respectfully, but strongly, represent that Mr. [Elihu] Root, as a member of the United

States' Government directly concerned, is therefore one of the disputants in the case, and further, that Senators Lodge and Turner cannot be accepted as of the class of impartial jurists provided for in the Treaty, as both have already emphatically declared themselves against the Canadian side of the case. My Ministers would regard the proposed appointments as a violation of an important Article of the Treaty.⁵⁸

It simultaneously faced defending imperial interests in Canada and cultivating its newfound friendship with the United States. Britain did not wish to see Canada's interests compromised, but it was not willing to quarrel with the United States over some stretch of coastline. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the British government realized its resources were stretched to the limit, a realization that was confirmed when the Committee of Imperial Defense declared that Canada could not be defended against an American attack. The reassignment of naval units to the North Sea to counter the German navy further impeded Canada's defenses. As a result Britain often encouraged Canada to make concessions in its disputes with the United States.⁵⁹

In a response to the previously mentioned messages, the Foreign Office replied with its introduction expressing sympathy to the Canadian cause while emphatically reiterating Britain's official position with the United States, terms which

⁵⁵ Campbell, 320-321.

⁵⁶ Gelber, 144-45.

⁵⁷ "W.F. Ommanney to the Foreign Office", 20 February 1903, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print* eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt, Part I, *From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the First World War*, Series C, *North America, 1837-1914*, vol. 11, *Expansion and Rapprochement, 1899-1905* (n.p.: University Publications of America, 1987), 289-290.

⁵⁸ "Governor-General the Earl of Minto to the Earl of Onslow", 20 February 1903, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print* eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt, Part I, *From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the First World War*, Series C, *North America, 1837-1914*, vol. 11, *Expansion and Rapprochement, 1899-1905* (n.p.: University Publications of America, 1987), 290.

⁵⁹ Perkins, 162.

it considered being above even violations of the terms of the arbitration:

His Majesty's Government were as much surprised as the Dominion Government at the selection of Mr. Elihu Root, and of Senators Lodge and Turner to be the American members of the Tribunal, and cannot but feel with the Canadian Government, that their appointment fails to fulfill in their complete sense the conditions laid down in Article I of the Convention.⁶⁰

As the message progresses, it becomes clear that the British government expected Canada to conform to the British foreign policy of *rapprochement* with the United States, "... the situation is full of difficulty, and His Majesty's Government earnestly desire to have the concurrence of the Canadian Government in dealing with it. It should, in their opinion, be borne in mind that the three gentlemen selected, all of them occupy conspicuous positions in the public life of the United States. A refusal to accept them as members of the Tribunal would unquestionably be resented by the United States' Government and by the American public generally..." It would be easy to raise a discussion upon the fitness of the three American Representatives, but success in an argument of this nature would not only be barren of practical results, but would improbably have the effect of showing the seeds of lasting ill-will between the two countries.⁶¹

The message concludes:

⁶⁰ "F.H. Villiers to the Colonial Office", 25 February 1903, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print* eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt, Part I, *From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the First World War*, Series C, *North America, 1837-1914*, vol. 11, *Expansion and Rapprochement, 1899-1905* (n.p.: University Publications of America, 1987), 290-291.

⁶¹ Ibid.

... it would seem desirable that Lord Minto should urge his Ministers to weigh these considerations carefully. In the event of their sharing the opinion above expressed, His Majesty's Government hope that they will favour them with an expression of their views as to the manner in which the British side of the Tribunal might most advantageously be composed.⁶²

The arbitration was settled on 20 October 1903. Highly favoring the United States, the tribunal awarded the United States an unbroken coastal strip and two islands at the entrance of the Portland Canal, conceding to Canada two insignificant islands. The award caused much resentment and bitterness among Canadians who viewed the British and Canadian jurists as little more than traitors.⁶³ The Canadian government used the settlement to bolster its argument that Britain often sacrificed Canadian interests to ensure friendship with the United States, while getting nothing in return.⁶⁴ The Governor-General expressed the public mood in the aftermath of the award:

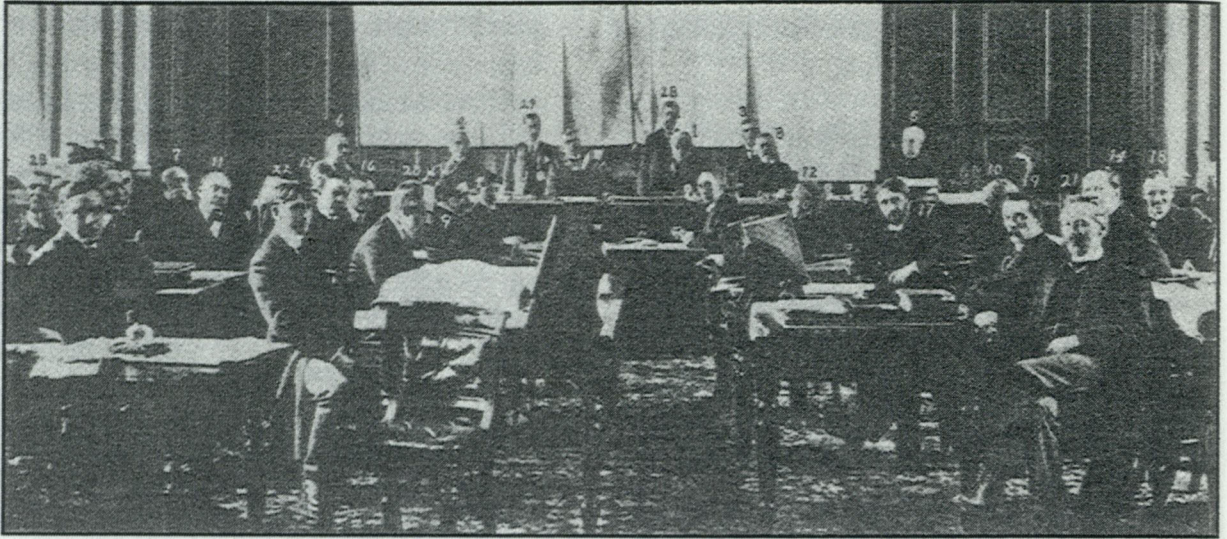
It is impossible to overrate the deep meaning of the expression of feeling the Alaska Award has aroused throughout the dominion. It would be an entire mistake to imagine that the impression produced is transient, or that time may obliterate the sore feeling so unfortunately created, for the supposed injury now done to Canada will undoubtedly be added to other supposed injuries inflicted upon her for the sake of United States' friendship, unless some attempt is made to remove the effect of the

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Campbell, 340-342.

⁶⁴ Perkins, 171-72.

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The Alaska Tribunal: An impartial arbitration council, made up of British and Americans, charged with settling the Alaskan border dispute. The six commissionerers are seated at the head table. Stefan Lorant, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, 394.

misleading assertion which have been so freely circulated.⁶⁵

Despite the immediate feelings of betrayal on the part of the Canadians, the settlement of the Alaska Boundary Dispute was a milestone in Anglo-American Relations, for it resolved the last outstanding dispute between the United States and Great Britain in the Western Hemisphere. The settlement cemented the friendship between the two major English-speaking countries.⁶⁶ As Great Britain resigned to American hegemony in the Americas, the Western Hemisphere was the only corner in the world that posed no troubles for Britain as it grappled with troubles in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The friendship engendered between Britain and the United States by the

settlement of the Alaskan Boundary Dispute paved the way for future American involvement on Britain's side over a decade later in the First World War.⁶⁷ This friendship that had been hoped for in the official levels in London and Washington had been thriving on the individual level on both sides of the Atlantic.

Throughout his life, Theodore Roosevelt kept extensive correspondences with family, friends, and important people in government, throughout every capacity in public office from commissioner of the New York Police to President of the United States. During the late nineteenth century, Roosevelt corresponded with various sectors of the British leadership. Among those with whom he shared ideas were diplomat Cecil Spring Rice, politician Arthur Hamilton Lee, *Spectator* editor St. Loe Strachey, and scholars James Bryce and George Otto Trevelyan. Through these letters, Roosevelt came to know these men as friends, but they were not just ordinary friends. These men represented the most influential people in British society. In their correspondences,

⁶⁵ "Governor-General the Earl of Minto to Mr. Chamberlain", 18 November 1903, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print* eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt, Part I, *From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the First World War*, Series C, *North America, 1837-1914*, vol. 11, *Expansion and Rapprochement, 1899-1905* (n.p.: University Publications of America, 1987), 327.

⁶⁶ Campbell, 344-45.

⁶⁷ Gelber, 166.

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Roosevelt and his English friends wrote on matters of common concern, especially the need for Anglo-American cooperation.⁶⁸

The concept of Anglo-Saxonism provided an overarching theme in the letters between Roosevelt and his English friends. This idea based itself on the belief that the United States and Great Britain shared many similarities in language, culture, and political institutions. Naturally, working with one another served both countries' best interests. In the reasoning of Anglo-Saxonism, the world belonged to both the British and the Americans. Through continued cooperation the balance tilted in their favor. Anglo-Saxonism also meant that due to cultural and political developments in the histories of Britain and the United States, supporters of Anglo-Saxonism saw their countries as being superior to other cultures, justifying any use of force with the goal of spreading civilization to "backward" cultures. These philosophies neatly complemented the United States which, as a rising power, was looking for a role in the world.⁶⁹

Even though Roosevelt went farther than many of his contemporaries to cultivate friendships across the Atlantic, it is important to note that there were those within the British leadership who did not always warm to him and his policies. Many of these people, including the prime minister, did not trust the bellicose nationalism of Roosevelt's foreign policy in light of the controversies surrounding the Alaska Boundary Dispute and the Panama Canal. The professionals in the Foreign Office did not always support the prospect of an Anglo-American concert, but rather looked upon it as something burdensome but necessary. However, the effort made by

Roosevelt's English friends to make the official policy-makers aware of the advantages of American friendship to Britain's position contributed, in small part, to the *rapprochement*.⁷⁰

Of all the friendships Roosevelt cultivated through his correspondences, none was closer to him than Cecil Spring Rice. As a diplomat in the Foreign Office,



Known for wielding a "big stick" in foreign policy, President Theodore Roosevelt also agreed to more diplomatic means to settle disputes. Stefan Lorant, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, 396.

Spring Rice served as Ambassador to the United States and spent his career serving in various posts in Germany, Japan, and Persia. Roosevelt met Spring Rice on a transatlantic crossing to England. Rice came from the same class as Roosevelt, with the difference that Spring Rice's class in Britain doubled as the ruling class. He found Roosevelt to be fascinating, for he represented the archetypal "American," with all the cultivation of modern city life and the independence of the

⁶⁸ David Burton "Theodore Roosevelt and His English Correspondents: A Special Relationship of Friends", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, March 1973, v. 63, part 2, 5.

⁶⁹ Burton, 19

⁷⁰ Burton, 6.

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frontier. Spring Rice introduced Roosevelt to his circle in England where he made a sensation.⁷¹ They became fast friends and wrote to each other on a frequent basis over thirty years. The letters between the two men reflected similarities in their personal views, which especially covered foreign policy.

Both Roosevelt and Spring Rice shared the same concerns regarding German expansion and the consequent shifts it created in balance of power. In a letter, Roosevelt notes the vulnerability of the United States in the face of a hypothetical invasion of Germany or some other hostile European power. While they both advocated mutual cooperation, they did not go so far as a formal alliance. However, they favored an informal relationship by which both countries could candidly communicate and work towards resolving common problems. The letter reads

... frankly, I [don't] know that I should be sorry to see a bit of a spar with Germany; the burning of New York and a few other coastal cities would be a good object lesson on the need of an adequate system of coast defenses; and I think it would have a good effect on our large [German] population to force them to an ostentatiously patriotic display of anger against Germany ...⁷²

In another letter, Roosevelt writes to Spring Rice over German intrigues in the Caribbean and South America. Like many of his contemporaries, Roosevelt believed in the social Darwinism of his time, the struggles between nations and the biological imperative for a people to survive in a planet

of limited resources. He was never too shy to offer his advice on foreign policy matters. In his hypothetical world, Roosevelt argued that if the United States and Great Britain were to join in a partnership, the way to end the German threat would be to crush Germany completely:

If I were a German, I should want the German race to expand . . . I should be delighted to upset the English in South Africa and to defy the Americans and their Monroe Doctrine in South America. As an Englishman, I should seize the first opportunity to crush the German Navy and the German merchant marine out of existence . . . As an American should advocate . . . keeping our Navy at a pitch that will enable us to interfere promptly if Germany ventures to touch a foot of American soil . . . if Germany intended to extend her empire here, would have to whip us first.⁷³

At his diplomatic post in Berlin, Spring Rice saw first hand the events that transpired in the German government. He complemented Roosevelt's enthusiasm for foreign adventure with his calm explanation of the facts as he saw them. During his tenure at Berlin, he observed closely the Kaiser's ambitions for world leadership at the risk of straining relations with Britain. Spring Rice's access to information about the current diplomatic situation in Europe, together with Roosevelt's willingness was helpful in providing an informed and valid argument for the Anglo-American *rapprochement*.⁷⁴

⁷¹ H. W. Brands, *T.R., the Last Romantic* (New York: BasicBooks, 1997), 203.

⁷² Theodore Roosevelt to Cecil Spring Rice, 14 April 1889, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Elting E. Morison, ed. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957), v1, 156-57.

⁷³ Theodore Roosevelt to Cecil Spring Rice, 13 August 1897, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Elting E. Morison, ed. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957), v1, 645.

⁷⁴ Stephen Gwynn, ed., *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, Stephen Gwynn, ed., (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1929; reprint, 1972), 179.

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In a letter to Roosevelt, Spring Rice informed him of the current mood in Germany surrounding the situation in Cuba. Germany, out of monarchical principle supported Spain, but still would not go to war because of commercial interests:

I have been very much interested in watching the view taken here about Cuba. As far as I can judge, the feeling in official circles is much as follows . . . there is the sympathy with monarchical Spain and with the Queen Regent. Another and a stronger factor is the Sugar interest here . . . The sugar growers who are mainly in north Germany are a very influential body because they belong to the old Prussian nobility which has for years been the mainstay of the throne. But with all these strong factors on the side of Spain, I should think it quite out of the question that Germany would move in favor of Spain although she would be too delighted if someone else would do it. The prevailing move underlying German policy is peace and commercial progress . . . As for a European coalition; I suppose it would at a stroke settle all your domestic troubles and unite everyone in the same cause. But I don't think there is much chance. Everyone would like to see some one else to bell the cat. I'm afraid you will have been disappointed in this respect.⁷⁵

The letters written between Roosevelt and Spring Rice ranged from personal events to the future of civilization. To Spring Rice, Russia loomed as a threat to Anglo-Saxon civilization. Such sentiments stemmed from the Anglo-Saxonism of the time. Because the Russians were of "Slavic" and not of

"Anglo-Saxon" heritage, they were looked upon with distrust and suspicion. Not only did ethnic differences cause distress to Spring Rice, but also the differences in historical developments between Russia and the English-speaking countries. While Britain and the United States developed representative governments and constitutional law, Russia developed into an autocracy. Those circumstances, coupled with the fact that the Russian empire expanded its influence in the late nineteenth century, frightened those on both ends of the Atlantic.⁷⁶ In a letter to Roosevelt, Spring Rice gave an appraisal of the Russians:

What do you think of Russia? The Russians here amuse me and frighten me . . . They like and despise our civilization and firmly believe it will all be theirs in time. They watch the fruits of civilization growing, intending when they are ripe, to come and take them . . . They don't care for the inventions of our race except as a means to use. They will develop their own form of government, literature, and art. They despise all of us [British and Americans], but none perhaps so much as the Americans . . . They acknowledge that they are barbarous, but you [Americans] are barbarians with a past and nothing else, while they are barbarians with a future. Do you believe that the Russians are the hope of an effete world? Anyhow, *they* do.⁷⁷

As a diplomat assigned to posts all over the world, Cecil Spring Rice had unique insights on the internal conditions of the

⁷⁵ Cecil Spring Rice to Theodore Roosevelt, 13 November 1897, *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, Stephen Gwynn, ed., (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1929; reprint, 1972), 232-233.

⁷⁶ Theodore Roosevelt to Cecil Spring Rice, 13 August 1897, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Elting E. Morison, ed. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957), v1, 646.

⁷⁷ Cecil Spring Rice to Theodore Roosevelt, 1 August 1897, *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, Stephen Gwynn, ed., (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1929; reprint, 1972), 232.

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countries where he was posted. Spring Rice, in his letters informed Roosevelt of the domestic politics that took place and of the people he met, whether it be in Berlin or Constantinople. Such descriptions indeed piqued Roosevelt's interests, as well as informed him. In his letters, Spring Rice also wrote of what he believed to be the historical forces that could affect the future of Anglo-Saxon civilization:⁷⁸

I wonder what you would think of the European situation. It looks like the gathering of great forces for a struggle, not in the immediate . . . but in the far future. We all seem to be struggling for the honor of kissing the Czar's feet. Germany is as servile as France . . . I shouldn't wonder if England would be as servile as Germany . . . Other European powers are not self-sufficient . . . But Russia is self-sufficient. She is growing and has food to grow. Owing to Alsace and Lorraine, Europe is hopelessly divided, and it looks as if commercial and colonial jealousies would divide England and Germany in a similar manner . . . If America disintegrates . . . the future of the world is not improbably in the hands of the Slavs.⁷⁹

Despite the feelings of friendship felt between Roosevelt and Spring Rice and their belief in the necessity of Anglo-American cooperation, they were both keenly aware that their respective countries still had national interests to pursue. However, unlike the rivalries between Britain and Germany, the national interests pursued by the United States and Britain did not necessarily divide the two countries. Rather, through partnership, both countries

were assured that whatever disagreements arose could always be resolved through open communication.⁸⁰

Today the diplomatic relations between the United States and Great Britain are such that neither Americans nor Britons give it much, if any, thought. One hundred years ago, one could not be so confident. The leaders of the United States and Great Britain laid the foundations for the "special relationship" by to moving beyond ancient grievances and looking forward to a new era of friendship and cooperation. In 1900, both countries had to clear away over a century of conflict, tension, and disagreements. Why did both countries decide to cooperate at the end of the nineteenth century? The world, by 1900, drastically differed from 1800. The military and economic global supremacy that Britain enjoyed in 1800 had eroded by 1900. Britain could no longer afford to stand aloof from the affairs of Europe. A newly unified Germany enviously coveted Britain's far-flung empire and powerful navy, and sought to be its equal. The "nation of shopkeepers" found itself competing against newcomers that were able to take advantage of new technology at a faster pace. At the same time, however, another newcomer was entering the international stage.

Since the 1900's the United States established itself as a new Great Power. Blessed with a seemingly limitless amount of natural resources, capital, and a steady labor force, the United States caught the world's notice as an industrial giant that could alter the diplomatic landscape. With the blossoming of friendship in the wake of the Spanish-American War, the leaders of the British Empire and the United States took the opportunity to set aside final outstanding disputes and begin anew. On the individual level were influential people such as Theodore Roosevelt and Cecil Spring Rice from both sides of the Atlantic

⁷⁸ Burton, 7.

⁷⁹ Cecil Spring Rice to Theodore Roosevelt, 14 September 1896, *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, Stephen Gwynn, ed., (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1929; reprint, 1972), 210-11.

⁸⁰ Burton, 8.

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who believed that mutual cooperation was in the best interests of both countries. While their personal correspondences did not, in and of themselves, fundamentally alter official foreign policy, they were nonetheless reflective of the official efforts towards cooperation. As a result of these efforts, the United States and Great Britain established a solid foundation from which they could face the challenges of the twentieth century.



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“Mobile Slaughterhouses: The Story of the *Einsatzgruppen* in Russia”

Doug Gibb

Adolph Hitler's methodical extermination of European Jews during World War II marked a level of human destruction that remains unequaled in history. His vision of a Third Reich free of Jews was central to his Nazi program that required acceptance and cooperation from the German people if it were to be realized. Throughout the genocidal rampage of this period, no single group matched the success of the mobile killing squads known as the Einsatzgruppen. Author Doug Gibb examines this relatively small group of trained murderers who were responsible for more than ten percent of the six million lives lost to the Holocaust. In this analysis, he argues the men of the Einsatzgruppen reveal the inherent flaws in Nazi ideology.

²¹ Burton, 7.

²² Cecil Spring Rice to Theodore Roosevelt, 14 September 1906, *The Letters and Friendships of Cecil Spring Rice*, Stephen Gwynn, ed., (Trenton, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1928 reprint, 1972), 210-11.

²³ Burton, 8.

The German invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 not only launched the most savage and costly battle of World War II, but it marked the first stage in Hitler's Final Solution which called for the total extermination of European Jews. Although both armies regularly committed atrocities, the actions of one particular group known as the *Einsatzgruppen* can be isolated from the general violence of the Russian campaign. As specially trained murderers, these killing squads took little more than two years to slaughter approximately 1.4 million innocent men, women, and children - most of whom were Jews. An examination of this group's unique role in the war against the Jews will explain the Nazi's objective and mentality, and expose major contradictions within their belief system.

In order to understand the tasks entrusted to the *Einsatzgruppen* and the manner in which they were implemented, it is first necessary to explain the evolution of the Nazi policy toward the Jews. When Hitler assumed leadership of Germany, a removal policy was eventually developed and designed to encourage Jews to immigrate to other European countries. However, with the invasion of Poland in 1939 adding millions of Jews to German occupied territory, emigration was no longer feasible.¹ Until a new policy could be established to deal with this problem, Polish Jews were forced to live in ghettos where disease and starvation contributed to an



Prior to the Nazi extermination policy, Jews were confined to ghettos where disease and starvation contributed to an unnatural attrition rate.

Courtesy of Rafael Scharf. Louis Weber, *The Holocaust Chronicle*, 234.

unnatural attrition rate.² With expulsion becoming the priority, serious consideration was given to the Madagascar Plan, which called for shipping the Jews to an island off the coast of Africa where they would live in isolation on a reservation. Unfortunately, both the great distance involved and the strength of the British Navy made this impractical. The plan was abandoned and new alternatives were again explored until a directive issued by Hitler on 18 December 1940 solved the problem. His plan to invade the Soviet Union was to be combined with the extermination of the Jews.

Central to Hitler's ideology was a dual objective that called for the restoration of German pride and the establishment of a glorious Third Reich free of Jews. To accomplish his, Jews became the victims of a propaganda campaign that blamed them for Germany's problems and targeted them as conspirators intent on world domination. When the *Einsatzgruppen* were unleashed into Russian territory, their purpose was to kill the enemy that blocked Hitler's vision. However, the men of the *Einsatzgruppen* are a testament to a major flaw in Nazi ideology, whether they realized it at the time or not. As they worked to eradicate the enemy that sought world domination, they were representing a man who wanted the very same thing - world domination. Many

¹ Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe* (New York: Harper Perennial 1993) 15.

² Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 15. The purpose for this was uncertain, at least in the beginning. No evidence exists that Hitler saw the ghettoization of Jews as a step in the process of wholesale extermination.

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Germans would perish in this fateful battle, as would millions of Jews who were the main targets of the *Einsatzgruppen*.³

The word *Einsatzgruppen* carries a connotation that is as evil as it is vague. The root, "*einsatz*" is one with several meanings, but "special duty group" and/or "striking force" come closest to conveying the term as it was used by the Nazis.⁴ Although the *Einsatzgruppen* were essentially mobile killing squads during the Russian campaign, they were not originally conceived to function as such. Reinhard Heydrich, Heinrich Himmler's second in command in the *Schultzstaffel* (SS) and the head of the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD), developed them as paramilitary attack units for the political police and the security intelligence departments. They were first used during the *Anschluss* with Austria as units assigned to capture people opposed to the Nazis.⁵ As part of the planned invasion of Czechoslovakia, they followed military units into the country and assumed the security tasks once an area had been controlled.⁶ Although the *Einsatzgruppen* were not given the order to carry out wholesale murder during the Polish campaign, it was clear that their role was changing as atrocities became more commonplace.⁷ There were six *Einsatzgruppen* attached to the army during this time that were composed of men from the *Sicherheitspolizei* (SIPO)(Security Police), *Gestapo* (Political Police), and the SD. They

passionately performed their duty by rounding up Jews, Aristocrats, priests, and members of the professional class.⁸ Most of those who were captured were doomed.

Army commanders, uneasy with the groups' methods and equally uncomfortable with their attachment to the army's sphere of influence, opposed the actions of Heydrich and Himmler's units. On 19 September 1941, Heydrich met with the *Wehrmacht* Quartermaster, Eduard Wagner, to discuss the *Einsatzgruppen* and their areas of responsibility. Heydrich made it clear that, while *Einsatzgruppen* commanders operated under army headquarters, they received their orders directly from him. The most the army could expect was advance notice of when and where *Einsatzgruppen* operations were to take place. Though Heydrich got the better of the army here, the event showed the SS leadership that they needed to convince the army leadership of the importance of this type of operation. They would heed that lesson prior to the start of the campaign in Russia.

In early 1941, Heydrich and Himmler met with Adolf Eichmann, an administrator in the Reich Security Main Office, (RSHA), to discuss the best way to achieve the total annihilation of the Jews. Eichmann, the Nazi's efficiency expert in the deportation and transportation of Jews to ghettos and camps, felt the idea of transporting Russian Jews to killing centers was inefficient and wasteful. Spending money on gasoline, locomotive power, and food and shelter, just to kill them, made this an expensive proposition. He devised a simpler plan - take the executioners to the Jews.⁹ Eichmann wanted a fast moving force that could keep pace with the advancing armies and shoot

³ Ibid., 253

⁴ Lucy S. Davidowicz, *The War Against the Jews 1933-1945* (New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1975; Bantam Books, 1986), 114.

⁵ Ibid., 114.

⁶ Abraham & Hershel Edelheit, *History of the Holocaust: A Handbook and Dictionary* (Boulder Colorado: Westview Press, 1994) 224.

⁷ Yale F. Edeiken, *An Introduction to the Einsatzgruppen*, (database on-line) The Holocaust History Program, accessed 9 November 2000, available from www.holocaust-history.org.

⁸ Rupert Butler, *An Illustrated History of the Gestapo* (Osceola, Wisconsin: MBI Publishing, 1993), 12,99.

⁹ Michael Musmanno, *Eichmann's Kommandos* (London: Peter Davies, 1962), 40.



During the Polish campaign SS death squads routinely rounded up Jews and shot them. Christopher Ailsby, *Waffen-SS: Hitler's Black Guard at War*, 167. (Albeit blurred in the original, this is a rare photo of an actual execution).

the Jews as they encountered them.¹⁰ This was the germination of the *Einsatzgruppen* who would follow the armies into Russia. Although the idea was based on the use of previous *Einsatzgruppen*, these were entirely new formations with a much more comprehensive goal of murder.

Even before the groups were set up, instructions were issued to help determine the relationship that would exist between the *Wehrmacht* and the SS units during Operation Barbarossa. It was important to avoid the problems encountered in the Polish campaign. Field Marshal Keitel, head of the German High Command, issued a directive on 23 March 1941, which stated,

In the area of operations the Reichfuhrer-SS will be entrusted on behalf of the Fuhrer, with special task for the preparation of the political administration tasks entailed by the final struggle that will have to be carried out between two opposing political systems. Within the frame-

work of these tasks, the Reichfuhrer-SS will act independently and on his own responsibility.¹¹

On 26 March 1941, Heydrich met with General Wagner to further delineate the responsibilities between the *Einsatzgruppen* and the army. It was decided that, in carrying out their special orders, the *Einsatzgruppen* would receive their orders directly from the SS leadership. Aside from that, they acted under the command of the military. The army would provide them with the means to move around and subsist - food, living spaces, gas, ammunition, and the ability to communicate - and the SS would direct their killing operations.¹² This arrangement only pertained to front-line areas, for once an area was secured, the

¹¹ Yidzhak Arad, Shmeul Krakowski, & Shuel Spector, trans. Stella Schossberger, *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), iii.

¹² Thomas H. Flaherty, ed., *The Apparatus of Death: The Third Reich* (Alexandria, VA: Time Life Books, 1991), 69.

¹⁰ Ibid., 41.

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army's control only included tactical questions, and the SD and security police became preeminent. As author Gerald Reitlinger summarized up the situation, "Heydrich's commandos could commit every crime known to God or man, so long as they were a mile or two from the firing line."¹³ The army, unwilling to have it on record that it had any part in the murder of unarmed civilians, tried to hide the agreement. It was all right to feed, provide shelter, and arm the *Einsatzgruppen* but not to admit knowledge of their actions.¹⁴ Although the army technically was not involved in the mass-murder, it will be demonstrated later that it was far more than an innocent bystander.

In selecting the officers and leaders for the tactical command of the killing squads, it would seem logical that Heydrich would seek out criminals or sadists. After all, men with violent backgrounds might view this murder assignment as appealing, rather than appalling, and would perform their duty conscience free. While undoubtedly there were those in the squads who fit this criteria, it was not from this group that Heydrich found his leaders. Instead, he chose refined, cultured, and educated men who eventually demonstrated that intelligence and ethics were not sufficient deterrents to mass murder.

The plan was for four *Einsatzgruppen* to follow the advancing armies into the Soviet Union, and to command them Heydrich chose Otto Ohlendorf, Arthur Nebe, Otto Rasch, and Walter Stahlecker. Of these four original commanders, all had degrees from universities. They were intellectuals, with the most remarkable of them, Ohlendorf holding degrees from three universities and a doctorate in jurisprudence.¹⁵ Along with

Hjalmar Schacht, the Reich's economic wizard, Ohlendorf would score the highest on the intelligence test given to the Nazi war criminals at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg.¹⁶ One of the replacement commanders, Ernst Bilberstein, was actually a Protestant minister.¹⁷ Among the subordinate officers, a good many were lawyers, one was a medical doctor, and there was even an opera singer.¹⁸ "The general education level of these men was undoubtedly higher than that of any other military branch of the German army."¹⁹

So why would these men, some of the brightest young professionals in Germany, who had shown no signs of sociopathic tendencies, choose an assignment like this? It has been argued that two of the commanders, Ohlendorf and Nebe, were given the leadership of *Einsatzgruppe* squads as forms of punishment. Ohlendorf, in his testimony at Nuremberg, claimed Himmler gave him the assignment in retaliation for his complaints about the mass murder of Jews in Poland.²⁰ A quote attributed to Himmler, in which he calls Ohlendorf "an unbearable Prussian, without humor, defeatist, and anti-militarist, and a professional debunker", seems to support Ohlendorf's claim.²¹ However, this connection should be viewed with serious suspicion and then dismissed. Even if Himmler despised Ohlendorf, it does not explain Ohlendorf's active participation in the murder of over 90,000 innocents, and his failure to protect the Jews. This contradiction between his behavior and his words at trial must be attributed to one motive - self-preservation. Likewise, the assertion

¹³ Gerald Reitlinger, *The SS: Alibi of a Nation 1922-1945* (New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1957; Da Capo Press, 1957), 177.

¹⁴ Musmanno, 42.

¹⁵ Arab, viii.

¹⁶ Musmanno, 94.

¹⁷ Arab, viii.

¹⁸ Flaherty, 70.

¹⁹ George St. George, *The Road to Baby Yar* (London: Neville Spearman, 1967), 146.

²⁰ Joseph E. Persico, *Nuremberg: Infamy on Trial* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 200.

²¹ Robert Wistrich, *Who's Who in Nazi Germany* (London: Bonanza Books, 1982), 226.

that Nebe had fallen into disfavor with Herman Goering and was forced to head a unit to preserve his position as head of the KRIPO (criminal police), implies he was reluctant to participate.²² This is a difficult, if not impossible, position to accept because two defendants at Nuremberg accused Nebe of inflating the number of Jews his unit killed "in order to improve his position in Berlin."²³ Both Nebe and Ohlendorf seem to imply that their sole motivation was the requirement that they follow orders. For others, however, the decision to join the *Einsatzgruppen* came from a strongly practical and cowardly motive. Recognizing that it was potentially life threatening to take charge of a combat unit on the front lines, there were those who chose the near guarantee of personal safety that came with shooting unarmed civilians.²⁴

Due to the harsh nature of their assignment, the *Einsatzgruppen* contained a greater proportion of officers to enlisted men than in other outfits of similar size. Although size varied from group to group, the typical unit had approximately 600 to 1000 men, with many of those serving as support staff.²⁵ An average group might consist of 350 members of the Waffen-SS, 100 people from the *Gestapo*, 50 from the KRIPO, 35 from the SD, 130 members of the Order Police (ORPO), and 150 drivers and mechanics. Each unit also had its own executive that included interpreters, teletypists, radio operators, and clerks.²⁶ The command structure of the groups was as follows: an *Einsatzgruppe*, the equivalent of an army

battalion, was broken down into smaller units called *Einsatzkommandos* or



Members of an SS death squad operating in Poland salute RSHA head Reinhard Heydrich. Christopher Ailsby, *Waffen-SS: Hitler's Black Guard at War*, 25.

Sonderkommandos, which were further broken down into platoon sized groups known as *Teilkommandos*.²⁷ Unlike the officers, many of the enlisted men picked for the *Einsatzgruppen* were chosen because they had proven themselves to be vicious and sadistic in carrying out their previous duties.²⁸ In every case, the men who joined were already dedicated to the Nazi ideology; nevertheless, they still needed special training.

Because of the difficult nature of their duty, the troops of the *Einsatzgruppen* were given intense indoctrination to ensure that they would perform with the necessary toughness and energy. In May 1941, the 3,000-man force began a three-week training program in Pretsch and Duben in Saxony.²⁹ Bruno Streckenbach, Heydrich's deputy and the man who headed the Staff Office of the RSHA, ran the program. This indoctrination included countless lectures on the subhuman enemy in order to get the men and officers

²² Reitlinger, 182.

²³ Headland, Ronald, *Messages of Murder: A Study of the Reports of the Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the Security Service, 1941-1943*, (New Jersey: Associated University, 1992) 171.

²⁴ Musmanno, 232.

²⁵ Yale F. Edeiken, *An Introduction to the Einsatzgruppen* (database on-line). The Holocaust History Program, accessed 9 November 200: available from www.holocaust-history.org; Internet,

p.4

²⁶ Butler, 103.

²⁷ Musmanno, 43.

²⁸ Flaherty, 70.

²⁹ Davidowicz, 125.

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mentally prepared. It also contained exercises known as "games of hide-and-seek" which were designed to teach them the tactics required to do the job.³⁰

On 13 May 1941, Hitler issued a directive giving the German troops carte blanche to execute enemy civilians and to take "collective measures" against entire communities when individual culprits could not be found.³¹ This document promised no recriminations for troops using brutality against civilian populations and, together with Keitel's directive of 23 March, was the basic justification for what the *Einsatzgruppen* would do. With the day of the invasion growing nearer, Himmler addressed the *Einsatzgruppen* units and assured the men that they would not be held personally responsible for carrying out Hitler's orders. He stated, "The responsibility was his, alone, and the *Fuhrer's*."³²

On 22 June 1941, when Germany launched Operation Barbarossa, the four *Einsatzgruppen* units followed the army units into the Soviet Union. Each *Einsatzgruppe* was assigned to operate in the same area of the Army Group to which they were attached. *Einsatzgruppe A*, under Stahlecker was assigned to Army Group North and operated in the Baltic countries of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, as well as in the Leningrad area. Arthur Nebe was tabbed with leading *Einsatzgruppe B* behind Army Group Centre in White Russia and the region to the east toward Moscow. The Ukraine, with the exception of the southern portion, was in the realm of Army Group South and Rasch's *Einsatzgruppe C*. Finally, Ohlendorf was given command of *Einsatzgruppe D*, operating with the Eleventh Army in the Southern Ukraine.³³

To carry out their murderous



In Ternopol, Ukraine, a group of German soldiers surround murdered Jews who were killed with the assistance of the local population.

Courtesy Dokumentationsarchiv Des Osterreichische. Louis Weber, *The Holocaust Chronicle*, 249.

operations, the *Einsatzgruppen* encountered resistance only from the terrain and distance over which they had to travel. The 3,000-man force had to cover thousands of miles across the broad front and deal with the task of murdering a population that far outnumbered them. Having the latest in automotive technology, as well as the most current road maps benefited them.³⁴ Most importantly, local nationalists and anti-Semites willing to be accomplices in the killings aided the *Einsatzgruppen*. Upon arrival in the Baltic territories that had been annexed by the Soviets in 1939, the Nazis used the inherent anti-Semitic feelings and the hatred of the Soviets by the locals to induce pogroms. In Kaunas, Lithuania, Klimatis; a local bandit, and his men killed 3,800 Jews between June 25 and 26, just three days after the German invasion.³⁵ By 11 July 1941, *Einsatzgruppe A* issued Operational Situation Report No. 19, which reported that 7,800 Jews had already been killed in Kaunas as a result of pogroms and the assistance of Lithuanian commandos.³⁶ By September

³⁰ Reitlinger, 135.

³¹ Davidowicz, 123.

³² Edeiken, 3.

³³ Davidowicz, 125.

³⁴ Musmanno, 52.

³⁵ St. George, 78.

³⁶ Arad, 17.

1941, Einsatzkommando 3 had murdered 46,692 people, most of them Jews, in Kaunas with the assistance of the indigenous population.³⁷ The situation was similar in the Lithuanian City of Kovno where Stahlecker reported that 1,500 Jews were executed on the nights of June 25 and 26. By 8 August 1941, Lithuanian partisans had killed 6,000 Jews.³⁸

In the Ukraine, locals took part in the killings from the beginning as well. In many areas, the Ukrainians had welcomed the Germans as liberators, but they soon discovered that the Nazis had no intentions of granting them independence. In Lwow, Eastern Galicia, Otto Rasch, commanding *Einsatzgruppe C*, persuaded them to take out their frustration on the Jews. Pogroms continued through July claiming thousands of victims.³⁹ However, the initial frenzy wore off, and the Germans quit relying on pogroms. Instead, they relied on organized actions, using the *Einsatzgruppen* and the local militias organized in the form of auxiliary police.⁴⁰ This tactic was used everywhere the *Einsatzgruppen* operated and was the main reason the murder squads were able to amass such large body counts.

Although the Germans had expected and, in fact, relied upon the cooperation of local anti-Semites, to the amazement of the *Einsatzgruppen* leaders the army acted on its own in helping the death squads. At times, *Wehrmacht* units took an active roll in the executions.⁴¹ A report from *Einsatzkommando 4b* reported that the "army formations surprisingly welcome hostilities against Jews."⁴² For all Germans, SS personnel, and regular army troops, Russia was seen as a no-man's land. The commanding officer of the Sixth Army, Field

Marshal Walther Von Reichenau, issued an order on 10 October 1941, which stated that "the soldiers must fully understand the need for severe and just atonement of the Jewish subhumans."⁴³ The proud German officer corps, who would later hide behind the excuse that they were simply military men who had to follow orders, never lodged a protest to Hitler or refused to carry out any order by Hitler to commit atrocities against a helpless, unarmed population.⁴⁴ As George St. George stated in his book, *The Road to Babyi Yar*, "It was in the steppes of Russia that the German generals succeeded in burying forever the myth of honor being a part of the military profession."⁴⁵

The tactics employed by the various *Einsatzgruppen* were anything but honorable, and despite the vast areas separating the four groups, they were very similar.⁴⁶ The system they employed needed trickery, efficiency, and brutality, but most importantly, it required the element of surprise. For that reason, at the beginning of the invasion the *Einsatzgruppen* operated immediately behind the front.⁴⁷ Due to the rapid pace of the invasion and the surprise it caused, the Jews were basically rendered helpless. Because many Russian Jews had actually revered Germany as a cradle of enlightened thought and culture and as a society more advanced than their own, they looked forward to the German army's arrival.⁴⁸ The Nazis would use this misguided belief to their advantage.

Adolf Eichmann described at his trial in Jerusalem in 1961 the plan of action used by the *Einsatzgruppen* once they entered a town. The group or commando leader would summon the prominent Jews of the region and inform them they were to be

³⁷ Hilberg, 98.

³⁸ Yahil, 280-1.

³⁹ Ibid., 261.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 275.

⁴¹ Ibid., 256.

⁴² St. George, 83.

⁴³ Yahil, 257.

⁴⁴ St. George, 83.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 83.

⁴⁶ Davidowicz, 127.

⁴⁷ Flaherty, 68.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 72.

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moved to safer areas away from the dangers of the war. This must have seemed rather odd that the Nazis would have cared so much about the Jews that they would resettle them and not the rest of the population. Nevertheless, it worked, and the group of Jewish leaders, known as the Jewish Council of Elders, would provide the Germans with lists of Jews in the area. The council would then be ordered to inform the Jews to gather at a specific location with all of their belongings.⁴⁹ Before dawn, the men of the *Einsatzkommando* with the aid of their local helpers or the *Wehrmacht*, would surround the area.⁵⁰ One group at a time would be transported to a remote location where a gravesite - usually an anti-tank ditch, a bomb crater, or a trench dug by the Jews themselves - was prepared. The guards were instructed to be nice and reassuring during the process to prevent panic among the soon-to-be murdered victims.⁵¹

At this point in the operation the differences in the groups became apparent. In all cases the victims were ordered to strip their clothes off, one final degradation to insure that the Jews would not resist, and in all cases rifle or automatic weapon fire killed the Jews. Still, some of the Nazi commanders tried to make the assassinations as easy and humane as possible, usually for the executioner's benefit. Otto Ohlendorf ordered that several men should always shoot at a victim to avoid the personal responsibility of killing a person. His reasoning for this, as he explained at Nuremberg, was that it was "psychologically an immense burden to bear" for the executioner.⁵² He desired his group's executions to be carried out in as military a manner as possible, but not all group leaders cared about that. A special term,

Genickschussspezialisten, or "neck shooting specialist" was developed for the *Einsatzgruppen* troops who would use pistols to



An *Einsatzgruppe* "neck shooting specialist" takes aim at a Latvian Jew while one of his comrades observes the event with a smile on his face. Courtesy State Archives of the Russian Federation. Louis Weber, *The Holocaust Chronicle*, 252. (Albeit blurred in the original, this is a rare photo of an actual execution).

shoot their victims in the nape of the neck, and many officers preferred this method due to its "humaneness."⁵³ Another method, known as the "sardine method," was also developed. Here, the Jews were forced to lie down in a trench, alternating head to toe, whereby an *Einsatzgruppen* soldier would calmly walk by and spray the trench with a machine gun. Some leaders, in vain attempts to justify their murderous actions, would claim the shootings were in retaliation for the murder of Germans by partisans with the ratio being one hundred Jews killed for every German.⁵⁴ After the day's events were finished, blood flowing from the victims' bodies would cause the earth to bubble at the gravesites for days afterward.

The activities of the *Einsatzgruppen* reached its zenith on 29 and 30 September 1941, at a ravine known as Babi Yar in the Russian City of Kiev. Nowhere did Jewish

⁴⁹ Musmanno, 40-4.

⁵⁰ Edelheit, 59.

⁵¹ Flaherty, 73.

⁵² Wistrich, 226.

⁵³ Edelheit, 241.

⁵⁴ Yahil, 256.

blood flow so freely into the earth as it did here. The massacre here was allegedly in retaliation for attacks made by saboteurs who destroyed German headquarters, as well as much of the city's center.⁵⁵ A notice dated 20 September 1941, ordered all Jews to make their way to the Jewish cemetery for resettlement. Once they entered the cemetery they were stripped of their clothing and belongings, split into groups of ten, and then sent to a designated location one group at a time. As they walked toward their destination, the number of soldiers lining their path increased to the point that a five-foot wide corridor was created. With the soldiers on either side of them beating them as they passed, the Jews made their way to the ravine.⁵⁶ It was Paul Blobel's *Einsatzkommando* 4a and two Ukrainian militia units that carried out the executions at Babi Yar.⁵⁷ The groups of victims were brought one at a time to the edge of long ditches where they were forced to face the pits on their knees. Blobel divided his unit into thirty-man firing squads, which then took turns killing the groups of Jews in rapid succession. After about an hour of murderous mayhem, a new squad would be brought in to take over.⁵⁸ At the end of the day's operations, many of the victims were still alive which caused the mass of people in the trenches to roll and stir. Some of the executioners jumped into the pits with flashlights to shoot at any movement they encountered.⁵⁹ Other *Einsatzgruppen* units had equally remarkable days. For instance in Riga, Latvia on 30 November 1941, Hans Pruettzman, with only twelve men, killed 10,600 Jews. Also notable is the murder of 10,201 Jews by *Einsatzgruppe* B in Minsk on 28 and 29 July 1941.⁶⁰ However, the

33,771 Jews murdered at Babi Yar on those two September days remain the epitome of the *Einsatzgruppen's* evil achievements. Paul Blobel was actually awarded the Iron Cross for this action.⁶¹



The Nazi's amassed a fortune of confiscated Jewish belongings, including this collection of grand pianos sitting in a warehouse. Yad Vashem Photo Archives.

Babi Yar exemplifies one of the confusing ironies of *Einsatzgruppen* behavior and Nazi mentality. The Nazis had always labeled the Jews as a greedy, money-hungry subhuman race of thieves. Yet, during every *Einsatzgruppen* massacre, and also in the death camps later on, the Germans always made sure to steal what they could from their victims. Despite their pure hatred of the Jews, a people they likened to diseased vermin, the Nazis thought nothing of keeping time with a dead Jew's watch, writing with a dead Jew's pen, or wearing a dead Jew's clothing. Few Jewish articles escaped the attention of the Nazis who even went so far as to smash Jews in the mouth to dislodge and steal their gold teeth before killing them.⁶² This is curious behavior for men of the so-called "master race", and it is yet another example of the blatant contradictions within the Nazi ideology. Their claim to superiority rested in the basic belief that they were a stronger, smarter, and morally better race. The Jews, on the other hand, occupied the lowest level

⁵⁵ Ibid., 252.

⁵⁶ Flaherty, 78.

⁵⁷ St. Geroge, 14.

⁵⁸ Musmanno, 150.

⁵⁹ Flaherty, 81.

⁶⁰ St. George, 15.

⁶¹ Edeiken, 13.

⁶² Musmanno, 72.

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in the human hierarchy and were fundamental opposites. As such, they were seen as the source of all evil, the rightful enemy of the German people. Nevertheless, by virtue of their ruthless greed, the Nazis unwittingly had become the enemy they so despised and the true representatives of subhuman evil.

Despite the remarkably successful murder operations, such as Babi Yar, the *Einsatzgruppen* encountered many difficulties in executing their tasks. In many cases, it was difficult for the squads to even find Jews to kill. The Russian authorities quickly realized the danger the Jews faced if caught by the Nazis and so, in many population centers, the Jews were evacuated first. Shaken and disappointed at finding no Jews, the killers would often times take out their frustrations on people in hospitals and orphanages.⁶³ Even when the local Jews could be easily rounded up, killing them presented the *Einsatzgruppen*, and the Nazi leadership with a dilemma. It did not take long for the civil and army functionaries to deduce that exterminating the Jews could hinder production of vital goods.⁶⁴ In many areas, the Jews made up a large percentage of skilled, trade workers, and, without trained replacements, their deaths would create severe economic consequences. When this occurred, a conflict would almost certainly break out between the SS, which was eager to achieve their murderous goals, and the army, which was anxious to ensure that critical armament shortages did not occur.⁶⁵ Ohlendorf was actually upbraided by Himmler when he halted shootings for a period of days so Jewish farmers could harvest their crops before being killed. The crops went un-harvested after Himmler ordered the executions were to be resumed immediately, which led to food shortages

within the Reich.⁶⁶ Killing the Jews had become such a paramount goal for the Nazis that the welfare of German soldiers at the front and the civilians at home very often became a secondary concern.

Probably the biggest difficulty faced by the *Einsatzgruppen* was the immense psychological burden that came with shooting person after person at close range. At times, new members would stand shaking in front of their victims, unable to aim properly. All the ideological propaganda in the world did not prepare some of the men for the gruesome reality of their tasks.⁶⁷ In the beginning, only Jewish men were to be shot, but it soon became clear to the Nazis that women and children would have to be dealt with as well. This brought with it even more psychological stress.⁶⁸ The Germans had sought to make the operations as systematic and emotionless as possible. They were able to achieve the systematic part, but were unable to make murder an emotionless act. This fact led to extreme brutality by the men of the *Einsatzgruppen*. After having witnessed innumerable roundups and executions, being dowsed by the blood of thousands of innocent people, the job became routine and acts of savagery were used to provide the excitement that murder had once provided.⁶⁹

In the fall of 1941, Himmler visited Nebe in Minsk to investigate the methods of the *Einsatzgruppen*. Since he was asking his men to do it, he felt he needed to experience it at least once. One hundred Jewish men were taken to a gravesite, forced to jump in, and were then shot from above. Himmler did not react well to this demonstration. SS General Karl Wolff, who was present at the execution, stated that "while he was looking in, Himmler got a splash of brains on his

⁶³ St. George, 74.

⁶⁴ Yahil, 286.

⁶⁵ Davidowicz, 143.

⁶⁶ Musmanno, 83.

⁶⁷ Hilberg, 57.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 17.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 54.

coat. He went very green and pale. He wasn't actually sick, but he was heaving, and he turned around and swayed."⁷⁰ Another SS officer, Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, told Himmler the men were so damaged that they were "finished for the rest of their lives and would become either neurotics or savages."⁷¹ After the shootings, Himmler assured the men that he knew it was a horrible business, but that they were doing their duty. However, in private, he told Nebe to develop less traumatic methods of mass extermination.⁷²

To comply with this request, some of the groups were given gas vans with which to experiment. It was decided that these new devices were to be used exclusively on the women and children whose executions seemed to cause the Germans the greatest amount of distress. The gas vans were basically a hermetically sealed room, attached to the back of a vehicle, which had hoses running from the exhaust pipes back into the compartment. They could hold up to sixty people, and it usually took about fifteen minutes before all inside were dead.⁷³ As was the standard practice, the victims were told they were being resettled so they would willingly enter the vans. Once they entered the cargo area, the driver started the engines and pressed the accelerator, which forced deadly carbon monoxide gas into the compartment. The vehicles were driven to a typical *Einsatzgruppen* gravesite outside of the town where the dead women and children were thrown into the ditch with the men who had been killed earlier by gunfire.⁷⁴

Although this method saved the Germans from having to see their victims die face to face, it had many downsides. The drivers were not supposed to fully depress the accelerators because it caused the victims

to suffocate instead of slowly going to sleep before dying. However, to bring about the quickest death possible, the drivers would do just that.⁷⁵ As a result, a contorted mass of bodies would greet the Nazis when they opened the doors. This sight was so gruesome that most of the killers actually preferred the shootings.⁷⁶ To further complicate matters, when the *Einsatzgruppen* members went to remove the corpses, some of the gas remained in the compartment and on the victims' bodies, which caused the men to complain of headaches.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the gas vans proved to be an inefficient method for killing because they were too small to handle the number of Jews that needed to be exterminated.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the gas vans signaled the transition to killing by means of gas chambers in the camps.⁷⁹ This transition was effectively finalized at the Wannsee Conference on 20 January 1942.

In July 1941, Herman Goering ordered Heydrich to begin planning for the ultimate solution to the Jewish question in Europe.⁸⁰ By the time the Wannsee Conference took place, the men of the *Einsatzgruppen* had been operating for six months. When Heydrich displayed a map with each European country and its corresponding Jewish population, one country, Estonia, could already be declared *Judenrein*, or Jew-free.⁸¹ At the end of the conference, with all the administrative and technical problems solved, the Final Solution now entered its second stage- extermination by gas in the death camps. The *Einsatzgruppen* would still see to their own tasks, but the vast majority of resources were directed at transporting and executing the Jews in the camps.⁸²

⁷⁰ Flaherty, 75.

⁷¹ Yahil, 259.

⁷² Wistrich, 217.

⁷³ Yahil, 259.

⁷⁴ Musmanno, 101.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 102.

⁷⁶ Yahil, 254.

⁷⁷ Musmanno, 103.

⁷⁸ Flaherty, 77.

⁷⁹ Yahil, 260.

⁸⁰ Edelheit, 60.

⁸¹ Musmanno, 50.

⁸² Davidowicz, 134.

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Nazi soldiers look on as a member of *Einsatzgruppen D* prepares to execute a Ukrainian Jew kneeling on the edge of a pit littered with corpses. Library of Congress. Louis Weber, *The Holocaust Chronicle*, 268.

The *Einsatzgruppen* would indeed be phased out, but their evil deeds will never be forgotten. The Germans were fanatical about record keeping and, fortunately, the efficiency of the *Einsatzgruppen* operations was well documented. The *Einsatzgruppen* would send their reports by radio, and then follow these with written reports signed by the unit commander or one of his deputies. The two reports were verification of the veracity of the other in order to make it difficult to exaggerate the death tolls.⁸³ Still, at Nuremberg, there were those who insisted the figures they reported were exaggerated. Others stood by their numbers, proud to admit they believed it "unworthy to file a false report."⁸⁴

According to these reports, the *Einsatzgruppen* were able to kill more Jews during the first five weeks of the invasion of

Russia than the total number of Jews murdered during the entire previous eight years of Hitler's reign.⁸⁵ With the arrival of winter weather the first wave of killings came to an end. By that time, the *Einsatzgruppen* had murdered approximately 700,000 Jews, with about 400,000 killed in the Soviet Union and the rest killed in the Baltic and areas of Poland formerly under Soviet control.⁸⁶ Although Gypsies, communists, and partisans were killed, the majority of *Einsatzgruppen* victims were Jewish.⁸⁷ However, due to the frantic pace of operations, it cannot be doubted that many non-Jews were killed as well.⁸⁸ When it was questionable whether a person was a Jew, death was often the automatic consequence because there was no time to properly determine the status of each person. The *Einsatzgruppen* actions peaked in September 1941 and then steadily declined over the following two years.⁸⁹ Estimates vary, but it is generally accepted that the *Einsatzgruppen* were responsible for the deaths of close to 1.4 million innocent people.

On 15 September 1947 the United States Military Tribunals in Nuremberg opened the trial against twenty-two former *Einsatzgruppen* officers who had all been indicted on three charges: membership in German organizations that had been declared illegal, conventional war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Neither Nebe nor Stahlecker had survived the war, but the other two *Einsatzgruppen* commanders, Ohlendorf and Rasch, were among the defendants. Although none of the *Einsatzgruppen* men denied killings took place, there were those who attempted to reduce the enormity of their crime by insisting the

⁸³ Edieken, 12.

⁸⁴ Headland, 171.

⁸⁵ Flaherty, 74.

⁸⁶ Yahil, 256.

⁸⁷ Edeiken, 4.

⁸⁸ Musmanno 10.

⁸⁹ Yahil, 269.

numbers reported killed in the Operational Situation Reports were exaggerated.⁹⁰ Others simply attempted to excuse their actions by claiming the murders were part of anti-partisan activities carried out in conjunction with Wehrmacht troops. However, this was specifically refuted in testimony given by SS General von dem Bach-Zelewski, the man in charge of all anti-partisan warfare on the Eastern Front. Von dem Bach-Zelewski's statement that the *Einsatzgruppen* had absolutely no involvement in such operations is clearly supported by the ages and the sex of many of the victims. Presiding judge Michael Musmanno agreed "the annihilation of men, women, and children branded as 'inferior' had no bearing on military issues at all."⁹¹

The most prevalent excuse given by the Nazi defendants was that they were simply following orders and could not have refused to obey. However, no evidence brought out in the seven-month trial supported the contention that a refusal to carry out Hitler's liquidation order would result in major consequences. Von dem Bach-Zelewski confirmed for the court that the soldiers had a choice to participate in the carnage when he testified that:

One who is ordered to commit a patently barbarous deed and refuses to do so may undergo some inconvenience, but he still has the duty to suffer the inconvenience rather than inflict an injustice upon one utterly innocent of wrong-doing.⁹²

The trial of *Einsatzgruppen* members aided in exposing the Nazi objective and mentality, but it is in the actions and behavior of the *Einsatzgruppen* that the contradictions within the Nazi belief system are revealed and understood. Indoctrination into the Nazi

ideology led these men to identify Jews as possessing malevolent characteristics that would lead to disaster if they were not dealt with as a group. However, neither Hitler nor the men of the *Einsatzgruppen* seemed to have recognized that through their own actions and behaviors they were exhibiting the same negative traits they had applied to the Jews.

The Jews were seen as an enemy race of sub-humans that sought world domination. Yet, it was Hitler's Germany that conspired to, and attempted to, dominate the world. As a group, Jews were labeled as weak and cowardly people who even allowed themselves, as many critics have pointed out, to be led like "lambs to the slaughter." However, the men of the *Einsatzgruppen*, so thoroughly convinced their mission was justified, later claimed they had no choice but to follow their leader who expected them to murder unarmed civilians. Jews were perceived as parasites who lied, cheated, and stole to profit financially from unsuspecting innocents. In reality, Germans were the thieves who robbed millions of blameless and helpless people of their belongings. Perceived as physical and intellectual inferiors, Jews were a threat to the Aryan race Germany fought to preserve. Yet, Germans, and specifically the *Einsatzgruppen*, proved they were not intellectually or racially superior, only that they were more powerful than the group of people they most feared.

The trial of the 22 *Einsatzgruppen* men came to close on 10 April 1943 when the military tribunal handed down sentencing. Fourteen were condemned to death, while the rest received prison terms of varying lengths. It is fitting that the four who were eventually executed on 7 June 1951, did not meet their death by a military firing squad, but were instead hanged as criminals.⁹³ Despite the military awards they earned

⁹⁰ Headland, 166.

⁹¹ Edieken, 10.

⁹² Ibid., 10.

⁹³ Mendelsohn, 3. All defendants, with the exception of one, Gustav Nosske, filed clemency petitions to the military governor, General Lucius D. Clay. On

Einsatzgruppen

during the German war campaign, these decorated men were nothing more than mass murderers whose legacy is a permanent chapter in the story of a nation that drove the prejudices of a twisted ideology to an unparalleled height. Precisely because they represent how Hitler managed to create an evil that overrode reason, and because they demonstrated the contradictions within the Nazi ideology, the men of the *Einsatzgruppen* are worthy of continued investigation.



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an Honorable discharge and returned to school to complete his Bachelor of Arts degree at Chapman University. It was here that his interest in the Holocaust grew into a passion under the tutelage of Professor Marilyn Harran, Chair of the Rodgers Center for Holocaust Studies. After graduating with Honors in 1998, Doug accepted a position with Community Service Programs Inc., and spent the following two-and-a-half years working as a Youth Specialist counseling at-risk adolescents. When he entered the Master of Arts Program at California State University, Fullerton in 2000, he met professor Seymour Scheinberg, who inspired him to choose the Holocaust as the central focus of his graduate work.

Today, Doug works as a Restitution Specialist at the Central Justice Center in Santa Ana, CA, while completing his coursework and raising his two children. Upon completion of his Master's, he is planning to teach at the high school level, pursue a doctorate in history, or enroll in Law School.

My History Is Better Than Your History: The Sprited Debates Within Zionist Historiography.

By Allison Rubalcava.

Israeli history has long been examined through pro-Zionist and western eyes. Although continuous debate among Israeli, Jewish, and Arab scholars is a hallmark of Israeli historiography, the 1980s and 1990s saw a dramatic increase in revisionist histories inspired by newly available Israeli government archival material and primary sources in Arabic. Currently, the heated battle between the "old" historians and the "new" historians continues regardless of a widening acceptance in academic and political circles of the revisionist interpretations of the Zionist goals and the establishment of the State of Israel.

Traditional Israeli historiography generally encompasses a political interpretation of its history; it aims to validate the biblical and historical connection of the Jews to Palestine and assert the right of Jews to return to that homeland. This right to return to the homeland is strengthened by the continuous persecution the Jews have suffered in every community in which they have lived. Furthermore, the indigenous population lacked any cohesive national identity; moreover the Zionists improved an empty and arid land through western techniques of modernization enhancing the lives of all people living in the territory.

Terence Prittie's 1967 work entitled *Israel, Miracle in the Desert*, provides a perfect example of a traditional narrative of Israeli history.¹ The author begins the monograph by providing the date for Israeli independence in both the modern and the ancient Jewish dating system in which 15 May 1948 falls on the sixth day of Iyar in the year 5708. This is an example of the

continuity of the Jewish connection to Palestine and lays the traditional foundation for the rightful return of the Jews to the biblical homeland during modern times.

Prittie asserts that modern Israel is the culmination of the heroic efforts of the Zionists and can be attributed to a series of historical events the author cites as "miracles."² These events include the first wave of immigration during the late nineteenth century, the First Zionist Congress of 1897, the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the rebirth of the Hebrew language, United Nations (U.N.) approval of the announcement of the establishment of Israel, and last, the Israeli victory against the Arabs in 1948.



Zionist success with modern agricultural techniques transformed an arid Palestine into an agricultural oasis. Walid Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora: a Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948*, 133.

In regard to the indigenous Arab population, Prittie describes the flight of Palestinian Arabs from their homes as "the direct upshot of the 1948 war."³ Moreover, the Palestinian population is characterized as weak, lacking education, spirit, camaraderie, and most significantly, lacking any national identity of their own.⁴ This viewpoint has

¹ Terence Prittie, *Israel, Miracle in the Desert*, revised ed. (New York, N.Y.: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1968).

² *Ibid.*, 7.

³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴ Ralph de Toledano, "History, Israel, and the Myth of the 'Occupied Territories' also express this

prompted Arab and some western scholars to produce works asserting the existence of a Palestinian identity prior to the first waves of immigration into Palestine thus challenging the traditional Israeli viewpoint.⁵

The Zionists held a belief that the few indigenous Arabs would be absorbed into the surrounding Arab nations, thus leaving the land open for a Jewish colonization of Palestine. Central to the traditional interpretation of Zionist and Israeli history is the discrediting of both Arab and Palestinian national identity. This has produced a wide counter-wave of scholarship that has increased in quantity in recent years propounding Palestinian identity and Palestinian rights to self-determination. Postmodernist tendencies, stressing cultural pluralism and minority rights, have certainly influenced Israeli historiography and are frequently regarded as hostile to the classic concept of Israel as the State of the Jewish people.

In contrast, Efraim Karsh, Professor of Mediterranean Studies at the University of London and a well-known pro-Zionist historian, denies Arab national consciousness.⁶ He asserts that there was no politically unified Arab revolt, only Sharif Hussein's "personal bid for an Empire."⁷

argument" *Midstream*, (Jan. 1998): 2-4. The author lists seven anti-Zionist myths, positions held by revisionist and Palestinian historians, and systematically refutes each myth with a pro-Israeli viewpoint.

⁵ For discussion of Palestinian national identity see George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, (Lebanon: Librarie Du Liban, 1969); Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, (New York: Colombia University Press, 1997); and Muhammad Muslih, *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*, (New York: Colombia University Press, 1988).

⁶ Other historians adhering to the traditional interpretations of Israeli history include Itamar Rabinovich, Shabtai Teveth, and Elie Kedourie among others.

⁷ Efraim Karsh, "Myth in the Desert, or Not the Great Arab Revolt," *Middle Eastern Studies* 33, no.2 (April 1997): 267-312.

Karsh further suggests that the Arab revolt during the First World War, led by Lawrence of Arabia, has become an accepted myth of western historiography of the modern Middle East. In this article, Karsh relies heavily on British documents and the correspondence between Sir Henry McMahon and Sharif Hussein while neglecting Arab sources. Joel Carmichael argues through the use of literary criticism and analysis of popular media that the idea of a "Palestinian People" is an invention of psychological warfare produced by Israel's detractors. Carmichael disassembles this invention of a new people through an analysis of the term "Arab Refugees" in United Nations documents and the lack of the use of the term "Palestinian" prior to the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.⁸ David L. Hurwitz echoes the theory in a political interpretation of popular media that asserts the Palestinian people are a recent invention, also citing the lack of references to Palestinian refugees in U.N. documents which refer instead to "Arab refugees."⁹

Further discrediting Palestinian identity in a religious interpretation of the Jewish right to Palestine is William Nicholls, Professor of Religious Studies at the University of British Columbia. Nicholls argues that "history is identity," and the Middle East conflict is based upon historical ties to the land. Knowing this, Nicholls points out, the Palestinian Arabs were inspired to create a history binding them to the land, thus giving legitimacy to their claims to Palestine over the "authentic" religious and cultural claims of the Jews to the same territory.¹⁰

The plethora of work produced by scholars on Zionism is astounding; however,

⁸ Joel Carmichael, "The 'Palestinian People' — A lethal Fiction," *Midstream, A Monthly Jewish Review* (Feb. 1991): 6-8.

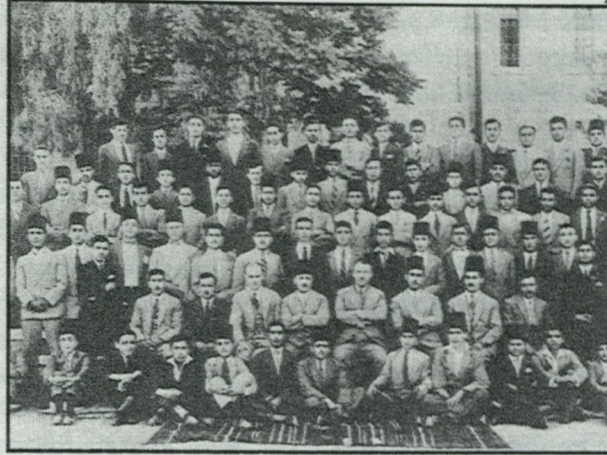
⁹ David L. Hurwitz, "Middle East Newspeak," *Midstream*, (Dec. 1997): 17-20.

¹⁰ William Nicholls, "Israel's Continuing Identity Crisis," *Midstream*, (Dec. 1997): 13-6.

three works in particular stand out as classic interpretations of the philosophical, religious, intellectual, and political history of the Zionist movement. Walter Laqueur, Howard M. Sacher, and Arthur Hertzberg have each produced comprehensive volumes on the history of Zionism. Although all three works have a predominately western viewpoint in their examination of Zionism as an outgrowth of nineteenth century European nationalism, they differ in methodology, structure, and form.

Walter Laqueur's *A History of Zionism* is a candid, non-polemical overview of Zionism written for both the scholar and the lay reader.¹¹ A central feature of this narrative is the periodization of the Zionist movement, which Laqueur asserts begins with the French Revolution and ends with the Israeli War of independence in 1948 at which point Israeli history begins. The primary goal of the work is to provide "a truthful account of the origins and development of one of the most embattled movements in recent history."¹² Analyses of the philosophy of Zionism or the philosophy of history are not undertaken in this volume.¹³ Methodologically, the author uses a chronological approach up to 1917, at which

point he suggests that the complexity of the Zionist movement makes a further chronological approach extremely difficult. Source material for this study includes Zionist documents published by various



Palestine's highest educational institution, The Arab College, placed an emphasis on both Islamic-Arabic heritage and the Western classical and liberal traditions. Walid Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948*, 50.

Zionist leaders in western Europe, archival material, and most interestingly, the author's own personal understanding gained from his time spent in Israel observing and talking with veterans of the Zionist movement. Rather than examine Zionism as a part of Israeli history, Laqueur studies religious and political Zionism within the European milieu. Zionism, he

contends, has its intellectual origins in the French Revolution and the subsequent wave of nationalistic movements that swept across Europe; politically, he argues, Zionism is associated with the "liberal-humanist tradition" characteristic of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ The volume concludes with the author's "thirteen theses on Zionism", which systematically list his most significant findings of the Zionist movement. Although this work is a western interpretation sympathetic toward Zionism, it is not uncritical. Laqueur acknowledges his biases, yet successfully provides the reader with a balanced narrative of the Zionist movement and the establishment of the State of Israel.

Similar to Laqueur, Howard M. Sacher has provided the reader with a political interpretation in narrative form of the history of Zionism beginning in nineteenth century

¹¹ Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism, From the French Revolution to the Establishment of the State of Israel* (New York: MJF Books, 1972).

¹² *Ibid.*, xv.

¹³ For an expanded philosophical interpretation of the implications of Zionist ideology for the Palestinian population see Yosef Gorney, *Zionism and the Arabs, 1882-1948: A Study of Ideology*.

¹⁴ Laqueur, 589.

France, but expands his study to include the State of Israel.¹⁵ First published in 1976, Sacher revised and expanded the current edition incorporating more recent events in Israel concluding with the 1995 assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The primary argument put forth by Sacher is that the Zionists sought a normalcy that could only be achieved by establishing a nation-state for the Jews.¹⁶ Attempts to gain normalcy of life through assimilation into European countries had failed as demonstrated by the Dreyfuss Affair in France and by continued pogroms and persecution in Eastern Europe. This political narrative evaluates the efforts and results of the Zionist quest for normalcy, a quest not yet achieved in light of the continuing struggles with the Arabs. A philosophical interpretation of the concept of 'normalcy' is found in the work of Michael Seltzer.¹⁷ In Sacher's interpretation, the Zionist movement continues to exist beyond the establishment of the State, a point that differs from Laqueur's periodization of Zionism.

Sacher's viewpoint is clearly western in orientation, and this second edition attempts to deal with the Palestinians and Arabs in a more even-handed manner; however a balanced treatment of Arab and Palestinian affairs is difficult to achieve when using almost exclusively European and Israeli sources. The lack of Arabic sources is clearly evident. The narrative is lucid and stimulating, but the lack of complete citations is problematic for the serious scholar. Ascriptions to various authors are made within the text; again, without complete citations it is difficult to verify the author's use of the sources. The extensive bibliography is organized topically and also

incorporates the work of several Middle Eastern academics providing students and scholars alike a rich source for research information. This monograph draws largely on primary sources as well as secondary materials and, due to its cumbersome size, finds its greatest value in use as a reference book.

Arthur Hertzberg traces the intellectual development of Zionism in his comprehensive compilation of primary source essays written by thirty-seven of Zionism's leading thinkers.¹⁸ The purpose of this volume is to provide the English reader with a presentation of the entire range of Zionist thought. Works of this nature have existed in Hebrew, French, and German, but until Hertzberg's monumental editing effort a comprehensive volume has not been available in English. *The Zionist Idea* was first published in 1959 as an account of Zionist ideologies arising before the establishment of the State of Israel.¹⁹ The current volume has an expanded introduction that methodically discusses the basic premise of each school of thought contained in Zionist ideology. Marxism, messianism, nationalism, secularism, and cultural interpretations of the Zionist idea are but a few of the theories discussed by Hertzberg in this philosophical interpretation of Zionist ideology. In the new afterword, Hertzberg reflects on the implications of Zionist ideology for the State of Israel and the Diaspora, particularly Israel's relationship with American Jewry.

The central question of *The Zionist Idea* is how to place Zionism in the larger frame of history in general. The author contends this to be a long debated and unsolved problem of Jewish historiography.²⁰ Clearly, Zionism arose within the environment of European nationalism; however, it is

¹⁵ Howard M. Sacher, *A History of Israel From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time* 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1996).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, preface.

¹⁷ Michael Seltzer, *Zionism Reconsidered: the Rejection of Jewish Normalcy* (New York: Macmillan, 1970).

¹⁸ Arthur Hertzberg, ed., *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 1997).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 621.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

frequently mentioned as nothing more than a sidebar, and is assumed to belong in the arena of Jewish studies by scholars and historians of nineteenth century Europe. Yet in the scheme of several thousand years of Jewish history, Zionist ideology is difficult to merge with the larger understanding of the Jewish past. Hertzberg asserts that Zionism is "maverick in the history of modern nationalism."²¹ The struggles for political sovereignty undertaken by European national movements were based first on an already occupied land or a common language. The Zionists had neither, yet were able to forge a national identity, acquire a land, rekindle a common language, and attain political sovereignty with the establishment of Israel in 1948.

Zionist ideology has always contained a component of socialism and early Zionist settlers sought to establish a utopian society manifested in the Kibbutz communities dotting the Israeli landscape. Abraham Duker examines the 'Jewish problem' in nineteenth century Europe from a Marxist perspective in his analysis of class consciousness and Zionist ideology.²²

Debate is never absent from the historical study of Zionism, Israel, and the Palestinians. Before, during, and after the establishment of the state of Israel scholars have quarreled over the historical facts surrounding Zionist motivations for and methods employed in the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The climate of relativism associated with the last several decades has been a catalyst for the re-examination of Israeli history.

The years surrounding Israel's fiftieth anniversary have seen the debate on Israeli

historiography continue with a renewed vigor and a pronounced line has developed separating the "traditional"—read pro-Zionist—historians and the "New Historians"—read anti-Zionist—historians. Through the use of new documentation and what they claim as a more objective mindset, the "new Historians" aim to shatter the Zionist myth exposing a history in which Zionists are not viewed as socialistic, liberal, democratic, or noble, nor are they righteous with God on their side. What is different about this debate today is the number of scholars advocating the new historiography and the widening acceptance in academic circles of the theories subscribed to by the new historians.

The work of revisionist historians Benny Morris, Avi Shlaim, Zeev Sternhell, Nur Masalha, and Keith Whitlam represent the political interpretation of Zionist and Israeli history scrutinizing new government documents and reevaluating the policies and practices of the Zionist and Israeli leadership. Alternatively, Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi and Akiva Orr examine cultural and social interpretations of Zionist ideology and Israeli policy in reflections on Zionist ideology, Jewish identity, and the implications for the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Two prominent and animated figures in the debate over political interpretation are Benny Morris, a historian examining the Palestinians refugee problem, and Efraim Karsh, a historian who calls Morris an enemy of Israel. Benny Morris's highly controversial book *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*, examines the causative force behind the flight of Palestinian Arabs in 1948.²³ The long held understanding of this event in Zionist historiography has been that the indigenous Arabs left of their own will, answering the call of Arab leaders to join in the fight against Israel with their eventual

²¹ Ibid.

²² Abraham Duker, *Nationalism and the Class Struggle: A Marxian Approach to the Jewish problem* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973). For a Marxist interpretation of the Labor movement refer to S. Levenberg, *The Jews and Palestine: A Study in Labour Zionism* (Westport Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 1976).

²³ Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

return to their villages. Morris, an Israeli scholar and research fellow at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has examined the mass exodus of Palestinians. He asserts to the contrary: that the Palestinian refugee problem was due to neither a spontaneous call to arms nor an organized master plan of the Zionist leadership to transfer the Arab population to neighboring Arab countries, but rather a result of the war itself.²⁴

Morris finds that the Arabs fled out of fear and danger inherent in a war zone, and that wartime strategy led the Haganah to secure militarily sensitive areas; it was these actions which resulted in the evacuation of entire Arab villages. The Zionist/Israeli leadership did not originally intend to expel the Arab population, a view championed by historian Nur Masalha. Morris does concede that the Zionists certainly capitalized on this seemingly positive outcome of the war and did not discourage the Palestinian exodus. The argument put forth by the author is organized into the five stages of Arab departure from villages, towns, and urban districts, and is analyzed to expose the actual reasons for the Arab flight from homes. Morris has drawn his evidence for this book from almost exclusively Israeli and Zionist sources, leading to one weakness of this interpretation: the lack of Arabic sources—due in part to lack of availability— but also to the author's lack of knowledge of the Arabic language.

Efraim Karsh presents a critique of current revisionist history in his *Fabricating Israeli History, The New Historians*.²⁵ This historiographical discussion is primarily a response to both Morris's theories on the refugee problem and Israeli historian Avi Shlaim's revisionist history *Collusion across the Jordan*.²⁶ Shlaim's thesis is that an



A Palestinian refugee camp at Nahr Al-Barid in Northern Lebanon, winter of 1948. Walid Khalidi, *Before the Diaspora: a Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876-1948*, 344.

agreement in 1947 between King Abdullah of Jordan and representatives of the Jewish Agency dividing Palestine between them laid the basis for continuing collusion during and after the war, an idea pioneered by Gabriel Cohen and Aharon Kleiman.

The intense nature of the conflict between traditional and revisionist interpretations of Zionist historiography is further expressed through several book reviews of Efraim Karsh's scathing attack on revisionist history. In the first review, "Pernicious Revisionism Exposed," Hyam Maccoby applauds Karsh's work for exposing the superficiality of the theses of Morris and Shlaim, as well as other prominent Israeli revisionist historians, by accusing them of selective use of documentary evidence and of misusing and misquoting that evidence in order to support a preconceived thesis.²⁷ Exploring the intent of revisionist historians, Maccoby asks, "What are the motives that impel some Israeli historians to align themselves with

²⁴ Ibid., 286.

²⁵ Efraim Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History: The "New Historians"* (London: Frank Cass and Company., 1997).

²⁶ Avi Shlaim, *Collusion across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of*

Palestine (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

²⁷ Hyam Maccoby, "Pernicious Revisionism Exposed," review of *Fabricating Israeli History*, by Efraim Karsh, *Midstream*, (April, 1998): 40-1.

Israel's enemies, twisting and distorting the evidence?" Maccoby's review appeared in *Midstream*, a periodical published by the Theodor Herzl Foundation, an organization subscribing to the traditional Zionist narrative of history.

In the second review by prominent revisionist historian, Benny Morris, Karsh's book is dismissed as poor workmanship. "What distinguishes good from bad historians" says Morris, "is the ability to sort out the (heartfelt) wheat from the (propagandistic) chaff." Morris also notes that the "massive documentation from Israeli and Western archives" became available in the 1980s, permitting scholars to objectively analyze these materials and thus produce these new histories.

Interestingly, whereas *Fabricating* claims the revisionists are too easily "bogged down" in minute details that obscure the essential facts, Morris's review essay argues that the book's author is himself guilty of "belaboring minor points while completely ignoring, and hiding the main pieces of evidence." Karsh's historical approach is further deprecated for "resembling those Holocaust denying historians who ignore all evidence and common sense in order to press an ideological point." Israeli historiography, Morris observes, will likely follow the Hegelian dialectic of thesis (old history), anti-thesis (revisionist history), and synthesis (a more balanced and objective history).²⁸

²⁸ For more examples of revisionism vs. traditionalism please see: Emil L. Fackenheim, "The Heroic Age of the Jewish People," *Midstream*, Feb. 1991, 30-31; Mark Marshall, "Rethinking the Palestine Question: the Apartheid Paradigm," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Autumn, 1995, 15-22; Clifford A. Wright, *Facts and Fables: The Arab-Israeli Conflict*, (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1989); and Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity, The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

Morris has argued that the flight of the majority of the Arab population in 1945 resulted from the exigencies of war and that no master plan existed to purge the Palestinian population from Israel. Nur Masalha refutes this argument in *Expulsion of the Palestinians* with the thesis that transfer of the indigenous population was central to the Zionist movement's colonizing project in Palestine.²⁹ Clearly, 1948 marked a critical year for Palestinian depopulation of Israel. Rather than base the flight of Arab residents on contingencies of war as Morris does, Masalha posits,

While it is true that military history is full of scorched earth tactics and expulsions to clear the theater of war, it is difficult—in light of the systematic nature of the 'clearing out' operations and the sheer magnitude of the exodus (not to mention the careful efforts to prevent the return of the refugees)—not to see a policy at work.³⁰

Masalha traces the development of the concept of "transfer" in a politically oriented review of Zionist writings incorporating a meticulous study of sources in Zionist archives, Israeli State archives, and the diaries and memoirs of both prominent and obscure Zionist leaders. The claim is made by Masalha that the concept of transfer has held a central position in thinking of Zionist leaders.³¹ This is not completely accurate, and is a controversial subject in Zionist thought as evidenced by several cultural and religious Zionists who recognized the inherent problem of establishing a State in a land already home to an indigenous people, and therefore argued against the

²⁹ Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948* (Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 180.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

establishment of a political nation-state.³² There has always been opposition to transfer policy in Zionist ideological thought. Masalha has no more evidence in his work than Morris, yet he has come to a decidedly different conclusion that exposes his anti-Zionist and pro-Palestinian bias that has colored this work. However, *Expulsion* has added an exciting and controversial dimension to Israeli historiography.

A cultural and psychological interpretation of the history of Zionism is provided by Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi's monograph *Original Sins*.³³ Beit-Hallahmi contends that Israel will not enjoy "normalcy" until the original sin of expulsion of the Palestinians is rectified, a parallel drawn from the ancient expulsion of the Jews from Palestine creating the two-thousand year Diaspora—the original sin committed against the Jews. He further asserts that every Zionist recognizes this "sin" of immoral treatment of the native population at some level and describes the Palestinian's as innocent victims of "settler colonialism."

A psychological examination of the relationship between Jews and Judaism, Zionism and the secular state provides the methodological framework for this reflection on the history of Zionism and how Israeli's deal with their own identity in relation to the tenets of Judaic faith, Zionist achievements, the increasing secular nature of Israel, and the continuing conflict with the Palestinians. Beit-Hallahmi states that there was nothing morally reprehensible in the Zionist goal of alleviating Jewish suffering through the realization of political sovereignty, however the problem with Zionism began when "it lands in Palestine" and has since sought to justify it



Orphans brought to Israel by Youth Aliyah.
I.F. Stone, *This is Israel*, 78.

"dispossession and victimization of a whole people."³⁴

Jews have been the victims for the majority of their existence and Beit-Hallahmi interprets how Jews have reacted to their new role of victor and espouses more than a half dozen justifications used by Jews to absolve their "sin." Included are discussions on out-right denial of any misdeed to an indigenous population, the inheritance claim that proposes the Jews are the actual descendants of ancient historical Jews thus legitimizing their claim to Palestine, the anti-Semitism defense in which the thousands of years of mistreatment of Jews provokes a sense of guilt, and what the author terms "the Holocaust Industry."³⁵ For those who empathized with the Palestinian plight, Beit-Hallahmi's analysis of Israeli psychology may be perceived as apologetic as there is no concrete evidence that the majority of Israeli's feel pangs of guilt regarding the dispossession of the Palestinians and do not recognize Beit-Hallahmi's idea of the "original sin."

Several themes also examined in *Original Sins* have become a central part of the debate in Zionist historiography. The fraudulent socialism of Israel's founders as well as the politicization of Israeli archeology, and the establishment of Israeli identity, are touched on by Beit-Hallahmi

³² See writings by Ahad Ha-Am an advocate of cultural Zionism, and Yitzhak Epstein.

³³ Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi *Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel* (New York: Olive Branch Press, 1993).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 166.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 166-90.

but are the primary focus of Zeev Sternhell, Keith Whitlam and Akiva Orr.

Keith Whitlam, a professor of Religious Studies at the University of Stirling, expands on the idea of the politicization of Israeli archeology in his study of Ancient Israel.³⁶ In *The Invention of Ancient Israel*, Whitlam asserts that the Zionists and their modern exploitation of biblical passages have been used to justify their establishment of a State in a land already occupied by the Palestinian Arab population. He also argues that the standard version of ancient Israeli history has been the work of political propagandists creating a myth to underpin both Christian and Zionist ideology while dispossessing Palestinians of their history.

Beit-Hallahmi asserts that Zionism and socialism are incompatible ideologies and that Zionist leaders used the rhetoric of socialism to inspire Jews to join a utopian endeavor in the homeland Palestine. Nationality and political sovereignty were of greater importance than class consciousness and the creation of an egalitarian society to Jews immigrating to Palestine.³⁷

None the less, nationalism and socialism are two major forces shaping Israeli identity. The founders of Israel claimed that they intended to create both a landed state for the Jewish people and a socialist society. Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State*, refutes the traditional historiography in a social and political analysis of the role of socialism and nationalism in Zionist ideology.³⁸ In his meticulous study of the Labor Party and the Jewish community in Palestine (the Yishuv) prior to 1948,

Sternhell argues that Zionism, represented by the Labor (Mapai) party from the 1920s through 1977, never believed in the ideas of socialism or wanted to create a socialist society. Rather it was the pro-labor Zionist leadership that strove for the supremacy of the State over civil society and political power over social action. The Mapai party sought to extend its own power base. Like Beit-Hallahmi, Sternhell points out that socialism served the leaders of the labor movement as a rhetorical resource for the legitimization of the national project of establishing a Jewish State.

Founding Myths is based almost entirely on primary sources in the form of archival material and the writings of Zionist leadership. Also worth noting is the author's introduction incorporating a lengthy discussion of the historian's duty to objectively analyze primary source material and a criticism of historians who are threatened by unconventional views and new scholarship that challenges the traditional historiography and notes that at one time the now "traditional" historiography was most likely a challenge to an even earlier tradition. Without new theories there can not be growth in the field of history.

The greatest success of Zionism is the achievement of a sovereign political state. As Israel becomes less "Jewish" and more secular, many Israelis and Diaspora Jews find themselves questioning their Jewish identity, the role of Zionism and their relationship to the Jewish State. In *Israel: Politics, Myths and Identity Crises*, Akiva Orr critically examines Zionist ideology and the right of nations to self-determination. A series of essays are organized in to three sections examining Jewish identity, the establishment of the State, and ethnicity in Israel. The essays unified by what the author terms an "anthropocentric critique of

³⁶ Keith Whitlam, *The Invention of Ancient Israel, the Silencing of Palestinian History* (London: Routledge, 1996).

³⁷ Ibid, 102-13.

³⁸ Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

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ethnocentric politics and ideology."³⁹ Orr asserts that Jewish identity based on Judaism has been replaced by political Zionism creating a conflict not only in defining Jewishness but also in defining Israel as a Jewish State. The author holds the opinion there can not be a secular definition of Jewishness as being Jewish means practicing the religion. For two thousand years, Jewish cultural identity was based on religious practices but attempts to adapt Jewish cultural identity to the modern world have been troublesome.⁴⁰ He further comments that religious Jews experience no identity crisis as they follow Judaic laws and traditions; they know they are Jewish and everyone else knows they are Jewish. In examining the question of what would make the secular 'Jewish' state specifically Jewish considering his position that Jewish ethnicity is based historically and culturally on religion the author finds that a cultural identity based on anti-Semitism, discrimination and persecution of Jews regardless of their level of religious conviction has provided enough of a collective identity to surpass religion as the primary identity.

The lengthy discussion on Jewish identity leads up to the author's primary point that there should be a separation between ethnicity and State, which in turn would lead to more peaceful relations with the Palestinians. Although Palestinians are citizens of Israel, they are not nationals of Israel and are not afforded the same rights as Israeli nationals.⁴¹

Since the beginning of the Zionist movement, scholars have debated Zionism and the methods employed by the Zionists to achieve their goals. Traditional historiography has been dominated by political, religious, and economic interpretations of Zionism and the ensuing Arab-Israeli

conflict while the cultural and social interpretations have only expanded in recent years with the development of the new historiography. Historical debate of Zionist/Israeli historiography has developed into a decidedly "us versus them" attitude as the new historians employ methods of cultural and social analysis in their re-examinations of Zionist and Israeli history producing controversial "revisionist" histories that challenge the orthodox interpretations. Clearly, postmodernist theory and relativism have fostered the ability for historians to examine historical events from a wide variety of perspectives; this is most important for minorities as historians can now validate their stories.

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³⁹ Akiva Orr, *Israel: Politics, Myths and Identity Crises*, (London: Pluto Press, 1994).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 147.

Islam: The West's Changing Perspective. By Jason Forgash.

In 1948 H. A. R. Gibb, the famed Harvard professor and orientalist, writes in the preface of his book, *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey*, that, "between one generation and the next, the bases of judgment necessarily suffer some change...in the spiritual and imaginative sense." He adds that, "No generation in our changing world sees the problems of life, society, or belief in terms of the thought or values of the previous generation."¹ The intent of Gibb's statement is to show that his book on Islam addresses the topic from a different perspective than his predecessor; Professor D. S. Margoliouth addressed it in 1911.

This bibliographic essay will examine Islam in the modern era from the perspective of Western scholars. Within the work, I will explicitly and systematically cite the changing viewpoint inherent in the writing of Western scholars who have published works over the course of the last fifty years. This undertaking will implicitly prove that Gibb is correct in his generational perspective on changing viewpoint. I will examine the work of six prominent authors on the subject, beginning with Gibb's own work first published in 1949, and ending with Samuel P. Huntington's best selling 1996 work, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*.²

Gibb's work, *Mohammedanism*, traces Islam from its origin in the seventh century through to the mid-twentieth century. Gibb bases his interpretation of Islam on the premise that the religion is autonomous; that must be seen only through itself. He adds that any judgments of Islam should be based on the ideals of the religion, not fallible human attempts to follow Islam's tenants. Although from today's perspective this

thesis would seem to be common knowledge, it was a radical departure from Gibb's predecessors. Until the mid-twentieth century, the vast majority of works on Islam were written by authors whose Christian missionary zeal painted Islam as inferior, or by Muslim apologists intent on defending the Islamic faith. Gibb takes a middle ground between these two extreme views and credits Islam with culturally stimulating the Arabs. This stimulus in turn allowed for the development of system and method in Arab intellectual life, leading to new sciences such as law, history, and philology. The credit he gives to the Arabs in the realm of science is a major step away from the Eurocentric writings of most late nineteenth and early twentieth century historians, who credit the European Renaissance with the majority of early modern intellectual developments.

Gibb applies his objective view on Islam to the specific subject of the Prophet Mohammed. He recognizes the tremendous number and range of differing viewpoints on The Prophet and states that many of these views have introduced subjective elements into the account of Mohammed's life. Gibb espouses the belief that it was Mohammed's personality more than His specific teachings that made Islam a viable and lasting religion. Although Gibb recognizes that, just as with any historical figure, perspectives on Mohammed's persona will change over the course of time; this does not mean Muslims have lost touch with the fact that Mohammed was a mere man.³

Writing during the mid-twentieth century, Gibb expressed the belief that Islam was going through a forced revival based on both internal and external factors. The internal pressures were initially stimulated by fundamentalist challenges stemming from two events: the development of the nineteenth century *Wahhabi* movement⁴ in

¹ H. A. R. Gibb, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), v.

² Samuel P. Huntington, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

³ Gibb, 16, 23.

⁴ A fundamentalist Islamic sect whose founder, Abd-al-Wahhab, took a stand against all conducts not

the Arabian Peninsula, and that movement's resulting intolerance of Berber, Turkish, and Persian *Sufis*, or ascetic and mystical Islamic sects. Externally, Islam came under pressure from Western Imperialism. This was psychologically unsettling for Muslims as it reinforced, "the derangement of their old social and economic structure and the intrusion of Western thought."⁵

Gibb states that Islamic scholars have responded to these internal and external challenges in two ways. The first group of scholars reverted to the fundamental principles of Islam, and has redefined them based on conventional wisdom. Gibb does not believe this occurs enough among Muslim scholars, resulting in a, "relaxation of the religious conscience." A second group's response has been to start with basic Western philosophical ideas, then integrate fundamental Islamic principles such as the strict interpretation of justice believed necessary for the maintenance of social order. Gibb criticizes this response because the reevaluations are not being done quickly enough to keep nationalism and scientific materialism from undermining Islam.⁶

In his conclusions, Gibb digresses into a typically hypocritical Western diatribe when he states, "It would be difficult to deny in the majority of *Ulama*⁷ a certain narrowness of outlook, an inability or even an

unwillingness to realize the demands of the new life around them and to face the grave issues with which Muslim society is confronted."⁸ He then encourages Muslim scholars to come together in creatively reinvigorating Islamic Law to fit the new and changing modes of contemporary



A Dervish of the Sufi order Mevlevi.
Shems Friedlander, *The Whirling Dervishes*, 114.

society. Gibb even contradicts his self-stated thesis in the initial titling of the book with his use of the term *Mohammedanism*, a term that demonstrates a Western arrogance equivalent to the missionary zeal he explicitly states should be absent in the work of Western Islamic scholars. Muslims consider the term sacrilegious because it connotes the worship of Mohammed instead of *Allah*, or God. Gibb rationalizes his use of the term early in chapter one based on the first pillar of the Muslim faith, the *shahada*. This is the summarized statement that, "There is but one God, Mohammed is the prophet

of God," derived from the *Qur'an*, or Muslim holy book.⁹ Gibb's argument is that the term *Mohammedanism* is justified since the Islamic faith is based on a religious heritage that culminates with the teachings of Mohammed, at which time the religion becomes unchangeable. Over three decades later, Bernard Lewis criticizes this use of terminology while indirectly validating Gibb's perspective.

It is unfortunate that Gibb becomes party to the very bias he states should be eliminated and thus proves that, although his

specifically sanctioned by the *Qur'an*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 113-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 128-9.

⁷ Doctors or scholars of Muslim law and religion.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁹ Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Meaning of The Holy Qur'an* (Beltsville, Maryland: Amana Publications, 1996), Surah 4, v. 136, 229.

views are different from earlier generations, he cannot escape the perceptions of his own generation. Regardless of the shortcomings in his work, Gibb's explicit thesis that Islam is an autonomous religion which must be viewed through its own tenets is a welcome departure from the Eurocentric writings of his generation and demonstrates the foresight of a man writing before his time. His belief that Islam should be judged based on its ideals and not on fallible human attempts to follow its doctrines is also a departure from the typical Western missionary zeal of his day.

A quarter of a century later, Marshall G. S. Hodgson takes a completely different perspective from Gibb in his expansive work, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*.¹⁰ I will focus on the third volume of Hodgson's work, which progresses to the modern era. From Hodgson's perspective, the history of Muslim lands must be viewed as simply one aspect or even a microcosm of the global historical process. Hodgson states that, in respect to the modern age, Islam experienced an initial temporary shock with the rapid progress of the West. However, Hodgson denies the Islamic world was caught sleeping and instead states that Muslims have been experiencing their own modern developments for two hundred years.¹¹ Furthermore, Hodgson suggests it may actually have been the extremely successful way in which Islam addressed the Agrarian Age that kept it from efficiently addressing the Modern Age.¹² Hodgson cites relatively few sources in this synthetic work, which he directs toward a scholarly audience.

While Gibb emphasized that religions must be studied within their own parameters, Hodgson does not consider

religion to be a decisive factor in human historical development since the Modern Technical Age began in 1789. While prior to this time Muslims maintained one large civilizational block, Hodgson states it has fragmented over the last two centuries and the only reality this vast swath of people stretching from the Atlantic to the Indonesian Archipelago now have in common is a shared Islamic heritage based on the first generation of the religion's founding, a premise that Samuel P. Huntington will emphatically refute two decades later. Hodgson says that, in reality, various Muslim ethnicities actually interact with various non-Muslim ethnic groups more often and on significantly more important levels than these Muslim groups interact amongst themselves, and that each Muslim sub-group has dealt differently with historical change in the modern era.¹³

Hodgson says part of that historical change has been the two general forms of government Muslims have enacted since the mid-twentieth century, one based on Muslim *Shari'ah*, or law, and one based Western ideas ranging from democracy to Marxism. Governments based on the *Shari'ah* have sought not only an effective form of governance, but also one morally superior to Western forms of rule. Hodgson remains true to his thesis while demonstrating a bias toward this first form of government when he states, "the most knowledgeable of the alert younger generation rejected a neo-Shari solution as impractical and also dangerously communalistic."¹⁴ He later speculates that,

In most areas neither a neo-Shari'ism nor a reform from within the old leading classes of Islamicate culture seemed likely to win out. Despite the failings of particular attempts at directed democracy, some such pattern seemed called for, and with it a steady

¹⁰ Marshall G. S. Hodgson, vol. 3, *The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 165-8

¹² *Ibid.*, 204.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 165-8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 394.

rejection of any major role for Islam in society.¹⁵

Hodgson then addresses the variety of reactions Muslims have expressed toward modernization over the last few centuries. He states that in the nineteenth century, Europe believed the Ottoman Empire would collapse. Hodgson says that instead, the Empire's Muslim rulers adopted just enough Western technology to improve their military, form an absolutist government, and gain strategic European political support, that precluded the collapse of the Empire for a hundred years. In the course of the twentieth century these technical changes in the bureaucracy and military were insufficient, leading to collapse and the formation of a modernized Westernized Turkey only after a secularizing of the government, the institutionalization of modern forms of education, and a great reduction in territory.¹⁶

Hodgson asserts the Ottoman's Turkish Muslim cousins in Central Asia and their co-religionists in Iran reacted in completely different fashions to Western hegemony. Muslims in Central Asia formed a modern mercantile economy that benefited from a growing Siberian trade in conjunction with laws against foreign Muslims trading on Russian territory. Russian citizenship allowed the Central Asian Turks to freely conduct business in western Russia, while their Islamic religion gave them ready markets in the southeastern reaches of the Russian Empire. Although this allowed the Turks to maintain their Islamic culture while rejecting secular education and means of communication, Central Asian Turks soon found that separating themselves from intellectual aspects of the modern age stifled their ability to maintain their vast trade networks. Conversely, Iranian Muslims harkened back to their ancient Persian heritage and combined this heritage

with intensive Westernization to foment a revolution. Hodgson concludes that Iran was the only Muslim state that initiated such a violent dynamic change in the image of eighteenth and nineteenth century European revolutions.¹⁷

It is apparent from these three examples that various Muslim sub-groups did confront change in the modern era in divergent fashion. Hodgson adds an in-sightful twist to his work when he addresses the means by which various Muslim sub-cultures adopted the Western language of their primary European trading partner. The trading partner of choice was generally the Muslim group's former colonial master. Hodgson states that whether French, English, Russian, Dutch, or Italian, these various Muslim ethnic groups often developed much closer ties to their former Imperial overlord than to Muslim neighbors within a close geographical proximity. The brilliant irony in Hodgson's digression is his conclusion that the particular prejudices of these former colonial powers have often dictated the form of resentment Muslim sub-groups express against them. For example, Hodgson says that French colonialism was generally receptive to foreign culture, but worked hard to resist local traditions. Meanwhile, the British conducted their colonial governments with almost the opposite extreme. Hodgson states that as a result some Muslim sub-groups have vehemently sought Western respect of their racial identity while others fight the perceived Western threat to their Islamic identity.¹⁸

Hodgson concludes that Muslims must work hard to maintain their Islamic identity, and proposes that,

It is possible that eventually Islam (like Christianity already in some circles) will prove to have its most creative thrust by way of the great 'secular' literature in which its

¹⁵ Ibid., 406.

¹⁶ Ibid., 214, 303.

¹⁷ Ibid., 221-2, 303-4.

¹⁸ Ibid., 362.



Turkomans at tea in Bukhara. Walter A. Fairservis, Jr., *Asia: Traditions and Treasures*, 226.

challenge has been embedded, and will move among its heirs like a secret leaven long after they have forgotten they were once Muslims.¹⁹

Nonetheless, from Hodgson's perspective, this Islamic identity does not factor decisively into the historical development of the modern era. Hodgson states that the history of Islam is just one aspect of the global historical process. He says that Muslims no longer share one great civilization, but interact on various levels with other religious and ethnic groups. Hodgson adds that should Muslims succeed in maintaining any cohesive identity, it will be a commonly shared religious heritage.²⁰

Merely two years after Islamic historians first began digesting the final volume in Hodgson's series, Edward W. Said published his award-winning book, *Orientalism*.²¹ Said's work is vast in scope and steps beyond the realm of Islam to

address the way the West truly views the remaining majority of humanity as a whole. Said concludes that the West comes to terms with non-Westerners based on perceptions derived over the course of centuries and consolidated during the age of colonialism. Said describes Europe's *Orient* as civilization south and east of Europe to the Pacific Ocean and asserts this is not a factual entity, but a concept that has been created over time through the systematic accumulation and elaboration of information derived through a variety of disciplines. Nonetheless, once this concept was formed it became a reality not only for Europeans but also for the multitude of non-Westerners that in the last several hundred years have been interacting with the West based on these same concepts and notions.

Said uses the Western experience in the Islamic world as the primary model for his thesis; it is within this model that I will compare Said's perspective on Islam with that of his two predecessors. Said states that the Islamic world is a second rate entity and that American methods of government, economics and even its culture guide similar

¹⁹ Ibid., 441.

²⁰ Ibid., 436-41.

²¹ Edward W. Said, (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

structures in the Muslim world. Additionally, he says the Muslim world contains poor educational institutions and organizations that are incapable of correcting the distorted Western perceptions of Muslims and their culture.²² Said is very forthright in stating that his Palestinian ethnicity and Near Eastern upbringing have affected his viewpoint on the topic, while bemoaning the pre-conceived contemporary stereotypes Westerners have of Muslims based on oil and the struggle against Israel. Said addresses these factors utilizing a large and extremely eclectic choice of both primary and secondary sources such as Antonio Gramsci's, *The Prison Notebooks*, and utilizes selections that range in focus from the historical to the philological while catering to both scholars and the general readership.

Said provides criticism of both Gibb and, in more recently reprinted editions, two of our authors to follow. I will reserve discussion of his views on the later authors until their works are discussed further along in the review. In all cases, Said states that these scholars have contributed to the vast body of factually incorrect work that make up the Western perception of Islam, and disagrees with Gibb's overall outlook on Islam when he says:

... but, the heart of Gibb's argument is that Islam, perhaps because it finally represents the Oriental's exclusive with the Unseen, has an ultimate precedence and domination over all life in the Islamic Orient... Islam for Gibb is a sort of superstructure imperiled both by politics and by dangerous Muslim attempts to tamper with its intellectual sovereignty.²³

In addition, Said states Gibb contradicts himself on the metaphysical aspects of Islam and, by treating the subject in a familiar fashion, he does not objectively disassociate

himself from the religion the way a Western scholar needs to.²⁴

Beyond a criticism of Gibb, Said states that the West's negative perceptions of the Islamic Orient are derived from centuries of facing the very real possibility that Muslims would overrun Europe, a fear that only subsided with the decline of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the seventeenth century. Said argues that it was this deep-rooted fear among ordinary Europeans that caused them to form a mental distance from the cultures of Islam. Said continues,

This cultural, temporal, and geographical distance was expressed in metaphors of depth, secrecy, and sexual promise: phrases like "the veils of an Eastern bride" or "the inscrutable Orient" passed into the common language.²⁵

Said says that in the nineteenth century this stereotyped perception, in conjunction with the realities of intense commercial and political interaction, created an atmosphere of extreme tension between the two civilizations and to this day no matter how modern an Arab may be in reality he cannot shake the Western image of him as belonging in the desert with his camel.²⁶

Like Hodgson, Said makes a comparison between the results of nineteenth century British and French perspectives on the Muslim world. For the British, the Muslim Near East was merely a transit route to India, their crown colonial jewel. Thus, the British thought of and dealt with Muslims from a position of power, legality, and administration. Conversely, the French approached the Near East with a sense of loss. Said states that this resulted from a lack of a permanent sovereign French presence in the Near East after centuries of involvement in the region from the twelfth

²² Ibid., 322-8.

²³ Ibid., 278-9

²⁴ Ibid., 278-84.

²⁵ Ibid., 222.

²⁶ Ibid., 27, 108, 284-93.

century Crusades to the nineteenth century Napoleonic incursions. In the twentieth century the continued influx of elaborate information about the Orient served to exacerbate the situation. Even eminent scholars such as professor Louis Massignon operated from a biased perspective while spending his life in defense of Islam. In his writings, Massignon consistently presented the West in its modern form while describing the Islamic Orient in an ancient manner.²⁷



Pilgrims to Mecca from Java djapara. Ed., S. M. Zwener, et al. *The Mohammedan World of Today: Being papers read at the first Missionary Conference on behalf of the Mohammedan World held at Cairo 4 - 9 April 1906.*, 238.

Said states that, as a method of analysis and as a structure of beliefs, Orientalism as a discipline is incapable of positive progression. Unfortunately, he does not believe the Islamic world has any educational institutions capable of challenging the Western bastions of education out of which the false Orientalist perspectives are derived, nor does the Islamic world maintain any notable organizations that can effectively study the West. Said concludes that, "the modern Orient, in short, participates in its own Orientalizing [sic]," and adds that this system will persist since

his purpose is to inform, not to propose a new system adequate to replace Orientalism.²⁸

Benedict Anderson's, *Imagined Communities*, has proven to be nearly as revolutionary to the study of nationalism as Said's book has been to the study of non-Western cultures.²⁹ While Said refutes the manner in which Western historians view the world, Anderson discounts the common historical perception that nationalism will soon depart from the world's political scene. Anderson instead offers a new interpretation of nationalism and attempts to prove that nationalism is, in fact, the most commonly accepted contemporary political reality.

While Anderson's work does not specifically address Islam, his book is included in our study due to nationalism's immense influence on the Muslim world since the nineteenth century. Anderson writes to a scholarly audience utilizing mainly secondary sources. He skillfully synthesizes these sources into a relatively short work, yet one packed with controversy.

Anderson states that nationalism is not a fact but an acquired reality based on cultural artifacts, and gives several examples of artifacts that contribute to the image of nationhood- including the use of the census to create racial and ethnic classifications, and the use of maps to delineate political territory. Anderson sets out to prove that, once these cultural artifacts were introduced at the end of the eighteenth century, they became a reality that could be applied within any geographical setting and any pre-existing ideology. Anderson concludes that nationalism is geographically finite, sovereign, and is imagined because most individuals within a nation never truly know the vast majority of their fellow countrymen, yet a nation's constituents perceive of themselves as a community.³⁰

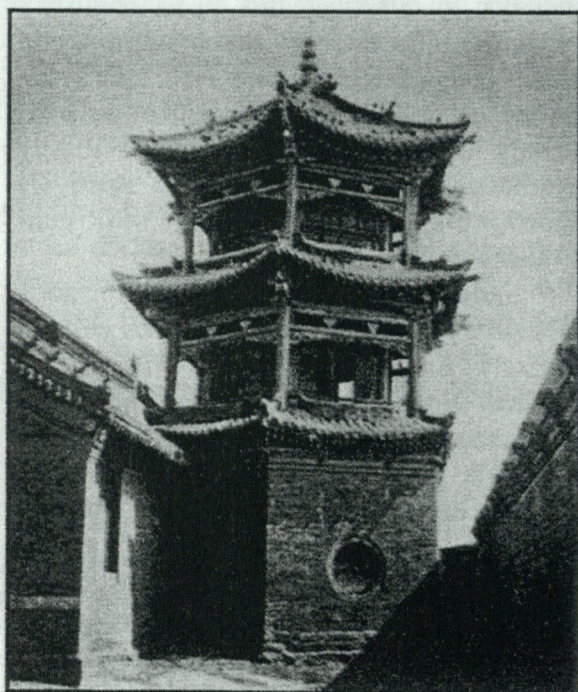
²⁸ Ibid., 323-6.

²⁹ Benedict Anderson, (New York: Verso, 1983).

³⁰ Ibid., 6, 163-78.

²⁷ Ibid., 270.

Anderson says the local languages are important for this development of community and kinship among a nation's people, and that they were key in the national liberation movements of the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. Anderson asserts that these movements did not always split along religious lines and utilizes the example of the Near East, where Christian Maronites and Copts were instrumental in the rebirth of Classical Arabic and Arab nationalism, to prove his point. Anderson agrees with Said's assessment that, "Language became less of a continuity between an outside power and the human speaker than an internal field created and accomplished by language users among themselves."³¹



Manchurian Mosque. Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China: A Neglected Problem*.

In another part of his work, Anderson makes an important distinction between nationalism and religion. He states that the later is based on a sacred text that is written with common signs and symbols, and

understood by large numbers of people who may not understand each other's language. Anderson says another more subtle but key difference between the two is that in all major religions there is an underlying confidence with who should be admitted to the group, while membership in contemporary nation states is plagued with doubt and civil strife. Nonetheless, Anderson adds that within religion, "we can detect the seeds of a territorialization of faiths which foreshadows the language of many nationalists."³² Anderson uses as his example the Ayatollah Khomeini's rhetoric when he projected onto the United States as a nation the title of, "The Great Satan."

Anderson closes by stating that, "all profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives."³³ Anderson states that unlike the biographies of humans that are written from birth chronologically to death, the biography of a nation must be written from its present form back to its furthest reasonable origins. Anderson says this writing process began in earnest in the nineteenth century, and from that time nationalism had an immense influence on the Muslim world. Simultaneously, Anderson addresses religion's role in geographically dividing various cultures; he makes it clear that a force such as Islam can be used to divide as well as it can be used to unite.³⁴

A decade after Anderson's controversial work was published, Bernard Lewis states in *Islam and the West*:

It was Islam that distinguished and united those who belonged to the group and marked them off from those outside the group, even if they lived in the same country and spoke the same language . . . It was not nation or country that, as in the West, formed

³¹ Said, 136.

³² Anderson, 17.

³³ Ibid., 204.

³⁴ Ibid., 204-6.

the historic basis of identity, but the religio-political community.³⁵

Lewis says when true secular nationalism did come to Muslim regions it arrived via the small, powerful Christian minorities. These groups encouraged secular nationalism because they could claim equality in a state based on culture and language, and not on religion. Lewis offers an interesting paradox when he states that the implementation of modern democracies has in many ways weakened the position of religious minority groups because for Muslims, as with any group, it is easier to show tolerance when operating from a position of strength.³⁶

Lewis continues his implicit agreement with Anderson's thesis with an insightful example of the exchange of supposedly ethnic Turks and Greeks after those countries concluded war in 1923. Most of the Turkish deportees from Greece to Turkey were not in fact ethnic Turks at all but were actually Greek Muslims, while the majority of Greek deportees from Turkey to Greece were not ethnically Greek but were in reality Turkish Christians.³⁷ Lewis later states that when nationalism is influential in Muslim countries it is usually a nationalism based on ethnicity rather than territoriality.

The overall premise of Lewis' work is that for the last fourteen centuries Christianity and Islam have shared a common heritage while often carrying out protracted conflicts against one another. He compares the two religions to family members whose fights are due to their similarities rather than their perceived differences. Lewis examines the on-going Christian-Islamic conflict from a Muslim perspective utilizing a wealth of primary and secondary sources. The result is a work that without doubt provides a fresh viewpoint on

the topic but unfortunately one that seems to be framed around a scathing response to Said's critique of Lewis' previous works.

Lewis' unveiled defense may indeed be warranted based on Said's rather lengthy critique of Lewis' work in the final chapter of *Orientalism*, in which Said states,

On the one hand Lewis wishes to reduce Islamic Orientalism to the status of an innocent and enthusiastic department of scholarship; on the other he wishes to pretend that Orientalism is too complex, various, and technical to exist in a form for any non-Orientalist to criticize.³⁸

Said goes on to accuse Lewis of refusing to address the convenient and simultaneous development of modern Orientalism with the expansion of colonialism. Lastly, Said expresses disappointment with Lewis' defensive reaction to his initial publication of *Orientalism*, since Lewis' own work is constantly contradictory. Said states that Lewis is continually writing in the defense of Islam while at the same time Lewis often speaks out against various Arab causes in settings as formal as the U.S. Congress.

In *Islam and the West*, Lewis systematically refutes the central thesis of Said's work. First, Lewis states that *Orientalism* is not all encompassing. Secondly, Lewis says that when Said writes about Islam, he is really only writing about the Arab world; thus Said fails to account for the two key Muslim regions under Persian and Turkish hegemony. Thirdly, Lewis criticizes Said's failure to fully integrate German, Russian, and Arab sources into his argument. Lewis adds that German sources are some of the most important works in existence. Finally, Lewis makes the biting accusation that Said has an overall poor command of history and

³⁵ Bernard Lewis, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 136.

³⁶ Ibid., 136-44.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Said, 342.

geography.

Aside from his critique, Lewis states that in general the Western perception of Islam is partially the victim of lackluster scholarship, poor translations from Arabic into Western languages, and adds that they tend to be biased due to centuries of Turkish threats to the European peninsula. In keeping with his familial theme, Lewis says that while most Eurasian civilizations met each other slowly and developed relationships in relatively open-minded ways, Christians and Muslims have had constant contact and communication since Islam's initial formation in the seventh century. Since then both sides have believed they know a great deal about the other when in reality much of the information gathered is over exaggerations based on biased sources.

Lewis states that another problem with the Western perspective on Islamic issues is that they tend to be characterized in a manner uniquely consistent with Western dilemmas. Lewis says, for example, that Western journalists often described the Lebanese civil war of the 1970's in terms of left and right wing factions when in fact the divisions were religious in nature. In a second example, Lewis indirectly criticizes Gibb when he states that Muslims have never called their religion *Mohammedanism*, since Mohammed's role in Islam is not the same as that of Christ in Christianity.

Shortly after his critique of the term *Mohammedanism*, Lewis indirectly supports the central thesis of Gibb's work when he says that to truly understand Islam, one must realize two points, "one is the universality of religion as a factor in the lives of the Muslim peoples, and the other is its centrality."³⁹ Lewis goes on to say that in the early centuries of Christianity, the religion was antagonistic to the state. Conversely, "from the lifetime of its founder, Islam was the state, and the identity of religion and government is indelibly stamped on the memories and awareness of

the faithful from their own sacred writings, history, and experience."⁴⁰

Lewis says that in contemporary society there has been a rise in Islamic fundamentalism. While Muslims are rejecting Western commercialism and forms of government, they are simultaneously migrating to the West in greater numbers than ever before. This has led Muslims to reevaluate how they should conduct themselves under non-Muslim rule. Until modern times, this issue was only dealt with in regard to Muslim visitors in non-Muslim lands, and during periods of non-Muslim conquest and subjugation of Muslim communities. Lewis points out that some view the massive migration of Muslims to the West as the final and successful Muslim invasion of Europe. He says that, "Capital and labor have succeeded where the armies of the Moors and the Turks both failed."⁴¹

Lewis states that within the population of both Muslim and Christian countries the territorialization of religion set the stage for the rise of nationalism. Lewis implicitly counters Anderson's thesis when he adds that nationalism in Muslim lands was a brief moment in history, which the contemporary resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism has countered.⁴² Lewis says this renewed fundamentalism will become an increasingly effective domestic force in Muslim countries, and will usher in a resurgent conflict with the West. Lewis in fact foreshadows the thesis of our final author, Samuel P. Huntington, when he states, "indeed, the whole complex process of European expansion and empire in the last five centuries has its roots in the clash of Islam and Christendom."⁴³ A key difference between Lewis and Huntington is that Lewis evaluates the international pan-Islamic movement of the mid-twentieth century and sees limited results unlikely to produce a

³⁹ Lewis, 135.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 135.

⁴¹ Ibid., 42.

⁴² Ibid., 136-45.

⁴³ Ibid., 17.

genuine international political force. As we shall see, Huntington views pan-Islam quite differently.

Political experts as diverse as Henry Kissinger and Francis Fukuyama consider Huntington's, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, to be the most controversial work of political science to be published in many years. In this work, Huntington boldly develops a new political paradigm to explain crucial events that have occurred in world history since the end of the Cold War, while providing a political map for future policymakers and scholars. Unlike the previously held notions of overarching political divisions, Huntington's model divides the world according to civilizational blocks. Huntington states that civilizations are the broadest level of a culture's identity, and that a combination of factors such as ethnicity, language, and religion determine what a civilization's identity will be.

Huntington states that future conflicts will occur along the rifts, or "fault lines," of these major civilizational blocks. He designates the civilizational blocks as being the Japanese, Hindu, Orthodox, Latin American, African, Buddhist, Sinic (Chinese), Islamic, and the West. Huntington states that while the West is currently the predominate global power; its hegemony is in a slow, irregular decline. Huntington feels the main challengers to the West's preeminent global position are the Sinic and Islamic civilizations; that with the advances being made economically and technically within the Sinic civilization, China is likely to engage in a future large-scale conflict with the West. Huntington predicts that over the short term, low to medium level conflicts between Islam and its civilizational neighbors, including the West, will be the biggest threat to global security.

Huntington states that the conflict between the Islamic civilization and the West is inevitable for two reasons. First, he

says religion is the most important factor in determining civilizational divisions. Huntington goes on to say that, "To a very large degree, the major civilizations in human history have been closely identified with the world's great religions; and people who share ethnicity and language but differ in religion may slaughter each other."⁴⁴ Secondly, Huntington states that religious differences leading to civilizational division will inevitably result in conflict because the Islamic and Western civilizations share a geographically expansive and historically volatile border. He adds that the inherent militancy of Islam will exacerbate the conflict.

Huntington blames Islam for the majority of global conflict, stating that recently there have been, "three times as many intercivilizational conflicts involving Muslims as there were conflicts between all non-Muslim civilizations."⁴⁵ Huntington goes on to say there are six possible reasons for this disparity. First, Islam has always been a religion that holds military virtues in high regard. Second, since the initial sixth century spread of Islam out of Arabia, Muslims have conquered a vast amount of territory and have converted a vast number of different ethnic and religious groups. Huntington concurs with Lewis on the premise that in times of crisis Muslims look for strength in their Islamic religion rather than seeking support amongst their fellow territorial or ethnic groups. Third, more so than other religions, Islam is an absolutist faith that does not meld well with other religions. Fourth, Muslim minority groups have recently been high profile victims of discrimination and prejudice. Fifth, Islam does not have a strong *core state* that can maintain stability among the plethora of smaller Islamic countries. Lastly, Islam cannot adequately deal with its contemporary demographic explosion.

Huntington feels the resurgence of

⁴⁴ Huntington, 42.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 256-7.

Islam is one way of dealing with modernization and a phenomenal rate of population growth, combined with immense oil wealth, fuel this Islamic revival; that the former will lead to a demographic spike in young people who traditionally instigate protest, reform, and revolution. He adds that the Islamic revival will cause new generations of Muslims to be more fundamentalist, and declares that the combination of a youthful population and fundamentalism will continue fueling a Muslim militancy intent on clashes with the West and other civilizations. Huntington deduces that the Soviet-Afghan War of 1979-89 was the first contemporary clash, while the Gulf War of 1990-1 was the second. He states that, "the Gulf War thus began as a war between Iraq and Kuwait, then became a war between Iraq and the West, then one between Islam and the West, and eventually came to be viewed by many non-Westerners as a war of East versus West."⁴⁶

Huntington agrees with Said's overall viewpoint that the West has created an *us* and a *them* over the course of time. Taking this thesis a step further, he states that:

Instead of 'East and West,' it is more appropriate to speak of 'the West and the rest,' which at least implies the existence of many non-Wests. The world is too complex to be usefully envisioned for most purposes as simply divided economically between North and South or culturally between East and West.⁴⁷

Said has not been equally as kind to Huntington in his recent additions to *Orientalism*. Said views Huntington's theory of the world being divided into a finite number of civilizational blocks as being far too simplistic. Additionally, Said states, "that cultures and civilizations are so interrelated and interdependent as to beggar

any unitary or simply delineated description of their individuality."⁴⁸ It is ironic that Said's statement could be lifted straight from the pages of Hodgson's work, while Huntington's views fit neatly into Gibb's thesis fifty years earlier. All six of our authors are remarkably learned men whose contribution to the field of Islamic studies has been truly exceptional. At times their varied and changing perspective is graphically stated, yet through analyzing all six works we have come to a greater understanding of our Western perceptions of Islam over the course of the last five decades.

Islam is a truly rich, infinitely complex, and colorful religion. As Gibb points out, Islam has been a wonderful stimulus leading to fantastic advances in civilization. Like the Christian Bible and Hindu Bhagavad-Gita, portions of the Qur'an touch ones very soul. Yet we must keep in mind that the purity of the Islamic scriptures or that of any other religion is countered by the fact that it has been handed down to mortal human beings, driven not only by their adopted religions but by a multitude of other considerations. Hodgson demonstrates the varied fashion in which assorted Muslim groups have encountered the changes of modernity. Pre-ordained genetic codes; individual emotions and motivations; family values; and ethnic, cultural, and linguistic traditions; along with Anderson's convincing evidence on the importance of Nationalism are all key factors in determining how Muslims and non-Muslims alike perceive and deal with the world. Additionally, Lewis gives us great insight as to how our Western problems and dilemmas taint our view of Islam. We have much to learn about this great religion, the people who follow its tenants, and our own perceptions of both. As knowledge advances, let us open our minds to the changes in perspective that come with debate, for it is only on the heated battleground of

⁴⁶ Ibid., 251.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 33.

⁴⁸ Said, 347.

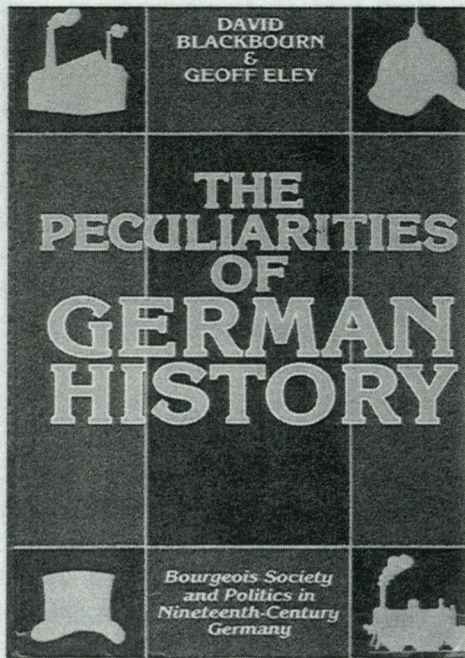
scholarship that the victories leading to a better understanding of both ourselves and Muslim humanity will be achieved.



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He currently works as a detective with a local law enforcement agency. As a member of the United States Marine Corps Reserve, Jason presently deals with terrorism and related issues. Upon completion of his Master's degree, Jason intends to continue in these fields for a few years while improving his foreign language proficiency. His medium-term goal is to earn a job with the United Nations International Court investigating war crimes and human rights abuses for one of the Tribunals. Jason eventually plans to obtain a Ph.D. in International Relations with an emphasis in Islamic studies.

In spite of this hectic work and study load, Jason occasionally finds some much-needed time for himself. He describes his perfect three-hour period as . . . Sitting on the patio during a warm California spring afternoon with your homework finished, reading a classic novel (take your pick), drinking a grande cup of Starbucks coffee (just a drip of cream and a half packet of Sweet and Low), smoking a Partagas Perfecto cigar (genuine Cuban leaf tobacco preferred), all while listening to an Angel's baseball game on your AM radio (a come from behind victory in the bottom of the ninth inning is essential!).



David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley.
The Peculiarities of German
History: Bourgeois Society and
Politics in Nineteenth-Century
Germany.

By David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1984)

The authors, David Blackbourn is a professor of Modern European History at Harvard University and Geoff Eley is a professor of History at the University of Michigan; originally presented their essays at several conferences in Britain and Germany. They soon realized that their works were complementary, so they decided to collaborate in writing *Peculiarities*. The book is divided into two parts, one written by each author, and includes a lengthy introduction initiating the historiographical discussions, which comprise the majority of the book. Both authors use critical analysis in their examination of the most relevant theories explaining the peculiarities of German history; ultimately they park themselves in the analytical camp of the

social historian. Their work adds to the wealth of information on modern German history.

Blackbourn and Eley saw a need to produce a work on German history that would examine the historiography of modern Germany, probe the basic assumptions of those theories, and provide answers for what the authors believe to be certain deficiencies, most particularly the *Sonderweg* thesis, asserting that Germany developed along a "special path" significantly different from paths taken by other western countries on the road to modernization. The basic assumption of this theory is that Germany suffered a failed bourgeois revolution and was therefore, compared to Britain and France, backward in achieving a liberal, capitalistic, democratic society. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie's lack of success left in tact an authoritarian power structure that did not crumble until Germany truly gained the status of a modern nation-state after the collapse of the Third Reich.

The original essays were clearly written for the academic arena. Although, the authors attempt to appeal to a wider audience, it is nonetheless apparent that the reader must be familiar with modern European history, and more specifically, modern German history. The bibliographical note offers a list of "salient works in English for the guidance of the non-specialist reader," which further demonstrates that this work is for specialists in Modern German History (293).

This work is primarily a dialectical discussion and critical historiography of the theories accounting for the peculiarity of German history. It is also a response to the basic historical assumptions of causal relationships in the formation of the modern nation-state, most notably class-formation and class-consciousness in the nineteenth century. In the introduction, the authors assert that, "our own arguments are not in any sense an attempt to roll back these

substantial achievements . . . our book was written in response to arguments that these historians helped to establish”(9). The authors therefore argue that the basic assumptions of a bourgeois revolution based upon the theories of German historical peculiarities are inappropriate when examining the actual successes of the German bourgeoisie. In a broader sense, the authors also seek to redefine the idea of “bourgeois revolution” by arguing that the complacent acceptance of the *Sonderweg* assumptions by historians in their analysis has led to a stagnation of fresh historical inquiry. Thus, they dispute the notion that this special path is due to the failure of a proper bourgeois revolution. On the contrary, it is only a failure when measured against the success of the British and French bourgeois revolutions. They argue further that, not only did the German bourgeois revolution not fail, but that the traditional arguments upon which we measure the success of a bourgeois revolution are flawed as well. Eley argues that the development of class-consciousness in Britain and France and the subsequent upheavals are not solely responsible for the social and political changes resulting from that period. Their belief, therefore, is that the whole standard used in the assessment of bourgeois revolution merits closer scrutiny.

In their essays, the authors uncover the unique qualities and special aspects of the German bourgeoisie that make it a successful revolution in its own right. Blackbourn finds that the strength and effectiveness of the German bourgeoisie lay in its “silent and anonymous” nature (204). More explicitly, “the German pattern of revolution from above between the years 1807-12 and 1862-71,”(144) reiterates that the German bourgeoisie got what it wanted without the usual significant political upheaval disrupting the established power structure, and without bringing about the institutions usually characterizing the onset of liberal democratic reform. The objectives the bourgeoisie

obtained included “a national market, the Reichsbank, . . . and patent laws,” among others (178).

Taking all of these theories and setting them against the *Sonderweg* paradigm, Blackbourn and Eley’s conclude that the German bourgeoisie was successful when examined independently from France and Britain, and further asserts that “the insurgent bourgeoisie triumphantly realizes its class interests in a program of heroic liberal democracy is a myth” (144). In their view, the term bourgeois revolution needs to be defined in broader terms, and that a bourgeois revolution is more than a political process of democratic reform (144).

The two essays are topically related, however it is clear that they are two very distinct and separate essays related through a common thesis and questioning attitude towards historical standards. The larger portion of the text is a systematic evaluation of *Sonderweg* through the works of other historians. It is at times difficult to decipher the author’s own assertions within this complex fabric of historiographical analysis. It seems that the authors question the prevailing theories, assert their own views, then comment that this is only the tip of the iceberg, leaving the reader with a hypothesis awaiting significant supportive research.

While several interesting and insightful aspects of the German bourgeoisie are introduced, Blackbourn and Eley fail to completely convince the reader of their thesis. A bourgeois revolution is a definable term with a particular set of expectations, which include a clearly defined and unified class-consciousness, a mass movement for political change, and the achievement of liberal-democratic reform. The German middle class did fail to achieve these defining features of a revolutionary movement of the bourgeoisie. A system of reciprocity between the bourgeoisie and the state was the method used to gain certain measures of reform, not revolution.

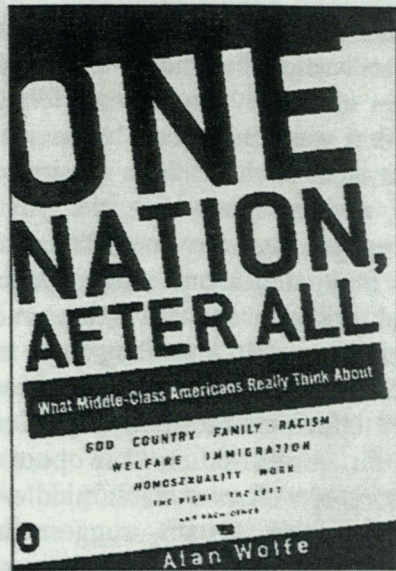
The authors provide a carefully crafted dissection of the prevailing theories. Rather than provide the reader with appropriate primary sources to support their claims, the authors offer only their own assertions as evidence to support their argument of deficiencies in the *Sonderweg* theory. Blackbourn and Eley profess a desire to add a new dimension to the study of nineteenth century Germany but clearly refute the *Sonderweg* theory with great meticulousness as they dismantle the work of other historians.

In conclusion, Blackbourn and Eley offer an interesting new interpretation of the peculiarities of German history. They do not, however, adequately support their claims. Blackbourn and Eley are successful in bringing to light the problem of complacency in historians by readily accepted what they have deemed "standards" or "norms." The greatest lesson of this work is a warning against the acceptance of assumptions in historical discourse and a reminder to look critically, question, and approach topics from a fresh perspective.

Allison Rubalcava is a graduate student in the History M.A. program at California State University, Fullerton. Her emphasis is the United States and the Middle East. She is currently working on her thesis, which is under consideration for publication in the New Palgrave Oral History Series to be published by St. Martin's Press.

Allison has been extensively involved with Phi Alpha Theta, the national history honor society; she is a former board member of the Theta Pi Chapter at CSUF, and has presented papers at various conferences. She also served as the Editor of the Welebaethan in 1998, and continues to assist as an editorial consultant. After completion of the M.A., Allison plans to teach part-time at the community college level until her children are grown, at which time she will pursue a doctoral degree.

In addition to her studies and work as a teaching assistant for the History Department, Allison devotes herself full-time to her family: husband Steve, sons Trevor and Riley, and daughter Emily.



One Nation After All: What Middle-Class Americans Really Think About: God, Country, Family, Racism, Welfare, Immigration, Homosexuality, Work, The Right, The Left, and Each Other. By Alan Wolfe

(New York: Penguin Books, 1998)

"The notion of what constitutes the middle class has always been a bit strange because both people who are quite poor and those who are objectively way up the scale tend to think of themselves as being in the middle. But, if calling America a middle class nation means anything it means that we are a society in which most people live more or less the same kind of life."

Paul Krugman, "The Spiral of Inequality," in *Mother Jones*, Nov/Dec 1996.

Contemporary America is a country that evokes specific images throughout the world. These images are provided primarily by the popular cultural accouterments of movies, television, and magazines where all

manners of American ideals and morals are set forth in colorful and exciting scenarios. Yet, what are these ideals and morals, and of whom are they truly representative? There exists in this country a middle class image whose lifestyle and grand design inspire these scenarios. It is a theoretical icon so firmly entrenched in society that an enormous proportion of the population, regardless of education and income, lay claim to it. Yet, how homogenous is this middle class group in its manner of thinking? While commentators reported an ongoing culture war in the ranks of Middle America over the state of ethics and principles, Alan Wolfe navigated through an alleged moral war-torn suburbia in *One Nation After All*, through a series of two hundred interviews. Along with his research assistant in this Middle Class Morality Project, sociologist Maria Poarch engaged suburbanites from Massachusetts to Georgia, and from Oklahoma to Southern California, by questioning their beliefs on religion, immigration, work, family, racism, welfare, homosexuality, and politics. What they found was a consensus among this group in that tolerance, and even a live-and-let-live attitude, appeared to be the reality of a negotiated peace.

Acknowledging the limitations placed on such a study by the number of interviews, Wolfe nevertheless determined his sample to be representative of America's middle class as it deals with challenges to its identity in society. Wolfe chose the suburbs as the setting for the interviews as they are typically the domains of the middle class. These dialogues were divided into twenty-five per region, (East, South, Midwest, and West Coast) and varied in length, with only a handful lasting more than two hours. In further selecting the sites for study, he determined middle class status according to income earnings between \$45,000 and \$100,000, and attempted to find areas

relatively dissimilar under various criteria, (namely racial, economic, cultural, ethnic, and job-related). The researchers, however, did allow some exceptions regarding income earnings as the study emphasized middle-class community rather than individual qualifications. Wolfe used both ethnographic as well as survey methods to add to the scope of his work, relying on both personal interviews and particular surveys. The researchers claimed not to shirk from challenging inconsistencies in the respondents' answers and sought to confront people by requiring fuller explanations in order to receive more honest responses, particularly regarding religious beliefs.

The alleged ongoing battle for the soul of suburbia appears to occur, according to Wolfe, more in the imagination of the intellectual elite than in the trenches, so to speak, of middle-class America. While the middle-class supports traditional values, it also appreciates the necessity of changes wrought by the modern world. According to Wolfe, people are more than willing to acknowledge and to compromise when it comes to understanding the "other side." His findings revealed that the middle class is strikingly tolerant of religious differences as well as changes in traditional family structures. While individuals held set views, the consensus was that private beliefs should not be imposed on others. Stay-at-home moms and dads understood the necessity of double incomes and the need for some to find affirmation outside the home, while working mothers and fathers appreciated the importance of raising young children at home rather than at day care. Religious fundamentalists believed deeply in their faith, but also recognized the right of others to follow their own spiritual path. This type of tolerance seemed to be the prevalent findings uncovered by the Middle Class Morality Project.

Encouraged by the relatively altruistic perspective of America as the best place to live in the world, the middle-class showed sensitivity towards those less fortunate. Immigration was understood by most to be inevitable and to have both positive and negative consequences for the country. While recognizing the importance of a "benign multiculturalism" and finding a source of pride in this diversity, middle-class Americans felt that allegiance to the United States should be placed ahead of individual ethnic or racial loyalty. General support for more aid to the poor and unfortunate, as well as a black middle-class movement to the suburbs, suggest that a disposition towards ignoring social problems, or what might also be termed an affirmed middle class "withdrawal symptom," may not be as entrenched as assumed.

While there are divisions due to regional diversity, America's middle class tends to lean towards a united, "one nation" moral format. There appears to be a firm belief that society can adapt to even the most drastic changes if it keeps a middle course directed towards moderation. Thus, reasonableness in all decisions is in order. While individuality is important, personal opinions must not impose upon or interfere with neighborly conduct. "I think America wants to be in the middle more than anything," (277) states one respondent, "one nation of those in the middle," (320) describes Wolfe. This concept of "deliberate democracy" exemplifies the middle class appreciation of the importance of getting along with as little conflict as possible.

Economist Paul Krugman questions, "How can we have common 'middle-class' values if whole segments of society live in vastly different economic universes?" The constant threat to this class is the uneven distribution of property in society, which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer.

This recognition of the potential for instability through the increase in crime or job loss is very much in the thoughts of the middle class. However, while misfortune is recognized as sometimes inevitable, the importance of individual and social responsibility weighs heavily in the minds of this group. While events can change a person's circumstances, and they may need some sort of economic assistance such as welfare, it is the responsibility of the individual to work hard at improving his or her condition. Americans have idealized middle class status to such an extent that they naturally see the goal of every working person to be inclusion in that economic and cultural group.

"The middle class is the middle class because it's in the middle. It doesn't like one extreme or the other. It likes to be in the middle." This was the unhesitating response from my 14 year-old daughter when I asked her what it meant to be middle class. And, as with the basic premise of Professor Wolfe's book, I have to concur. I have lived in middle class suburbs ranging from the Ford Motor Company's Dearborn to upscale Bloomfield Hills, Michigan; from the university towns of Iowa City, Iowa and an urbane Greenville, North Carolina, to the burgeoning city of Brea, California. I found that my neighbors varied as far as religion, ethnicity, culture, jobs, education, and income. And, depending upon the region, while I may have felt some discrimination relating to culture and religion, even more people made it a point to understand the things that are a part of me. My experience coincides with the results of Professor Wolfe's study. Although middle-class individuals may think quite differently on certain issues, they will generally tend to be so considerate as not to impose their views and beliefs on others. Middle class America is not going anywhere. It is staying right there, smack in the middle.



Carlota Ferreyra Haider received her Bachelors degree in psychology many moons ago, but once her children got older she returned to her first love-History. "My interest has always been in history, especially the cultural history of the United States." However, inside the

intellectual there also stirs the adventurous: "my daughter and I are having so much fun belly dancing." Hailing originally from Argentina, she has a passion for Argentinean restaurants and steak cooked the gaucho way-with nothing on them but salt and a dash of pepper.

Her career plans include "improving my perceptions and understanding of my world through study and observation," maintaining her home and family life, "being a good influence on my two daughters," and belly dancing. Later this year you can see mother and daughter perform at the Orange and Los Angeles County Fairs. Carlota lives in Brea, California.

IN
PURSUIT
OF JUSTICE

JOSEPH R. GRODIN

**In Pursuit of Justice: Reflections of
a State Supreme Court Justice.**
By Joseph Grodin

(Los Angeles: University of California Press,
1989)

From Puritan colonists fleeing the perceived evils of Catholicism and establishing their "City on a Hill," to the censure of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, the often times dramatic conflicts between the white of right and the black of wrong have been a staple of American culture. This drama is found in abundance whenever two lawyers meet before the bar of justice to plead their cases. It stems from the winner take all dynamics of the courtroom and the messages of good and evil, right and wrong, produced by and through the narratives of trial participants: lawyers, judges, witnesses, and juries. As the narratives change, the truth - a relative truth at best - takes on its unique and often distorted shape. The audience sometimes applauds when the results confirm their paradigm of truth, but often it seems to ignore such confirmations and moves quietly along with other business. It is when the results assault the paradigm that society erupts into conflicting camps; only the good should win. In one camp will be

those who see the assault as a new paradigm, while the other sees the assault as an attack on the dominant culture itself.

Courts, especially the criminal courts, represent high drama, the cosmological play of good against evil, order against chaos. "Crime, particularly violent crime, is at or near the top of everyone's list of social concerns."¹ It is the spectacle of order staving off chaos, the stuff of the great Greek playwrights, which gives criminal law its aura. It is also "a high public priority... not for reasons of deterrence alone," that makes criminal law such a compelling part of our lives. "Even those of us who have not experienced crime directly can empathize" with victims of violent crime.² For "victims and their families it is a matter of personal vindication" that some grief fall upon the head of the perpetrator.³ Thus, in a society that believes the state has the right to take a life in retribution for crimes committed, the efficacy of deterrence has little meaning and is, therefore, not the real issue. Instead, it is this matter of vindication *both personal and social* that keeps the death penalty alive in our justice system. To use Joseph Grodin's own words, "it seems reasonable to hold [the courts] responsible when the system fails to do its job."

This is particularly the case when we observe a trial court dismiss a prosecution or exclude evidence on what appear to be technical grounds, or impose a sentence that appears overly lenient, or when we observe an appellate court overturn a jury's guilty verdict for reasons we do not entirely understand or accept.⁴

As such, the act of a state intentionally taking the life of one of its citizens provides

¹ Joseph Grodin, *In Pursuit of Justice: Reflections of a State Supreme Court Justice*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1989, 86.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Grodin, 86.

a necessary social spectacle and public catharsis, and seems therefore to militate against any real need for efficacy. Those like Joseph Grodin and Rose Elizabeth Bird who use the power of their court to block such spectacular retribution will find political vengeance heaped upon them.

Grodin centers his argument upon the constraints established by federal court precedent placed over state courts; these are constitutionally beyond the control of state justices and are a conundrum that the public does not understand. No legal expert would argue that the decisions discussed by Grodin, *Miranda*⁵, *Carlos*⁶, *Johnson*⁷, and *Chapman*,⁸ do create opportunities for reversible errors, any one of which would compel the state to retry the defendant. Yet, in spite of his eloquent explanation of the legal Gorgonian Knot that is the appeals process, most Californians find these arguments severely taxing to their sense of reality, finding them instead to be a pathetic, self-serving apologia. The fact remains that he and other members of the Bird court after seeking out, *on their own volition*, decisions which had not been sent to them on any sort of appeal, did return capital cases for penalty phase retrial at great expense and social stress to the public, and with little or no public return for the expenses incurred.

The press, always a confounding component for Grodin, had both a right to criticize and a duty to question the California Supreme Court's torturous convolutions in returning decisions like *People v. Garcia* back to the jury- without regard to which phase of the trial was being reheard. A critical public respects the rule of law because it provides order, and the price of that respect is the spectacle order creates in the courtroom when chaos threatens in the streets. Grodin's goal worked at cross-purpose with the message perceived by the

public, threatening to create chaos in the criminal courtroom. Grodin's political opponents extrapolated this threat to include chaos in the civil courtroom, a place where big business and the consumer often meet as adversaries, a place where the playing field is level enough and the monetary veins large enough that lawyers can feed almost at will.

The purpose of law is to hold chaos at bay and allow the social order to move along in an orderly process. Periodically, what was considered order in an older cultural paradigm creates chaos as it is tossed by societal tides upon the shore of a new one. Grodin's hubris, his attempt to stem this tide, has a tragic consequence. Within his California Supreme Court cohort was the embryonic advancement of consumer rights. These rights are only implied in the Federal Constitution, yet the implications are clear. The Grodin cohort was needed to shepherd a new theoretical canon of consumer case law and precedence through the legal maze. Instead, the cohort allowed a political opposition made up of those interests whom they had alienated to seize political initiative. Insurance companies and big business thereby grasped as an issue the still-existing and very healthy death penalty paradigm and, through skillful media manipulation, allowed the public to become:

convinced that the [California Supreme Court judges'] view of the law and its relationship to society is so extreme that it lies outside the mainstream of legal thought and community values.⁹

Reinvigorating *Garcia* proved to be a knight-errant's job, the cohort tilting at windmills. It was in the area of tort reform and strict liability that the cohort wrote its greatest message, and in which it incurred the wrath of big business and insurance companies. It was on the slippery slopes of

⁵ *Miranda v. Arizona* 384 U.S. 436 (1966)

⁶ *Carlos v. Superior Court* 347 U.S. 483 (1954)

⁷ *Connecticut v. Johnson* 460 U.S. 73 (1983)

⁸ *Chapman v. California* 386 U.S. 18 (1967)

⁹ Grodin, 186. The quotation refers to a judge-singular. For clarification of my argument, I have changed it to paraphrase Grodin's admonition to a student's question, and to which he was addressing.

capital punishment that the hopes of consumers were set back by decades. As Grodin observed about the creation of law and the dichotomy between the judicial and legislative branches of government:

There are certain areas of the law in which development is best left to the judicial branch. The legislature, when it does act, necessarily takes wholesale action, making broad rules of general application. Courts, on the other hand, act typically at the 'retail' lever¹⁰ [and] although legislatures are expected to give voice to the interests of the people as a whole; they are inclined to listen most carefully to the voices of politically powerful people and groups.¹¹

The courts have too many important battles to fight; they must be most judicious in the ones they chose. If, as Grodin believes, the court is the legislature of the common man, then laws of greatest value to the most people should be of the highest priority. Because the cohort chose to battle on behalf of a convicted mass murderer in a relatively meaningless debate over whether a lower court had given the jury proper instructions about the application of the death penalty, millions of consumers today do not have the protection they might have otherwise received from the Bird court, assuming she remained on the bench until her recent death. This is a case where the truth of one position, no matter its seeming legal importance, betrayed another of equal or greater social importance.

The questions posed by Grodin involve the courts as both places of spectacle and *juris practica*. While we would like to believe in the sober application of law by all factions of the legal establishment, circus and entertainment remain an important and viable part of the process. "Judge Judy" and "The People's Court," "Family Law" and "Murder One" do not survive season after season, and then survive indefinitely on cable reruns because people cannot find

value in their entertainment. In a perfect world Grodin's choice of rehearing *Garcia* would not have ultimately had an effect on consumer rights; but in a perfect world there would never have been a *Garcia* case to rehear, and the audience would have no need of the ensuing high courtroom drama.

Michael A. Pierson: see staff biography

¹⁰ Grodin, 82.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

Welebaethan 2001 Paper Prize Winners

Theta Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta has awarded prizes this year for the best paper in the following categories: Best Overall Paper, United States History, European History, and Western/Local History. An awards committee selects the winners. The final edited versions are printed in this year's Welebaethan. A total of \$150.00 is awarded to the winning authors. The 2001 prizes were awarded as follows:

Lawrence B. de Graaf Prize for Best Overall Paper :

Allison Rubalcava

My History is Better Than Your History:

The Spirited Debates Within Zionist Historiography

Best United States History Paper:

Ryan Swanson

Lincoln: Liberator or Tyrant?

Ric Miller Prize in Best European History:

Michelle Mormul

Prostitution and Political Change in Eighteenth Century Paris

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

Colleen Robledo

The Grapes of Wrath: Making History

In September 1957 the state of California authorized the establishment of an Orange County state college campus. The History Department was created the following year. In 1959 Dr. William B. Langsdorf was appointed president of the Orange County State College by the State Board of Education. At the time, there were only 452 students attending upper division and graduate courses, but by 1974 enrollment had passed 20,000. After several name changes, the college became known as California State University, Fullerton and, in 1989 a satellite campus was added in Mission Viejo. In 1993 CSUF awarded its one hundred thousandth degree.

Phi Alpha Theta came to the California State University Fullerton campus in 1962. In 1974 the Welebaethan began as a simple, staple-bound compilation of student papers produced within the History Department. In 1992 the Welebaethan staff began an effort to professionalize the quality of the copy, editing, and layout of the journal. The Welebaethan you see today is the result of the past twenty-six years of learning experiences, advances in technology, and commitment on the part of the History Department students, faculty, and staff.

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

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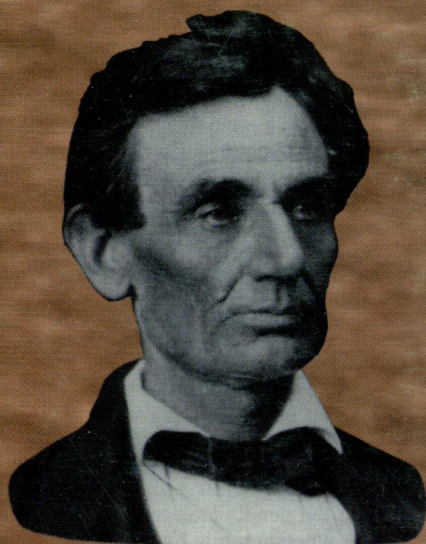
History Department

A degree in history serves as preparation for historical writing, teaching, law, government, and other professions and services. A history degree also serves as the foundation for advanced study at the graduate level.

Degrees offered: B.A., M.A.

Possible career opportunities: Advertising Manager, Criminal Investigator, Editor, Foreign Service Officer, Intelligence Analyst, Political Campaign Aide, Public Historian, Public Policy Advisor

Special programs offered: History Internship, Oral History Program, and Public History



The End

